

Socialism: Promise or Menace? By Morris Hillquit, Author of "History of Socialism in the United States;" "Socialism in Theory and Practice," and "Socialism Summed Up," and John A. Ryan, D.D., author of "A Living Wage." New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914. 265 pp. \$1.25 net.

The papers composing this book first appeared not long since in seven consecutive numbers of "Everybody's Magazine," and attracted considerable notice. A debate is usually interesting—always so if the subject is an important one, the debaters able and informed and the discussion conducted in a high spirit of courtesy and fairness. These conditions are about as nearly fulfilled in this case as is ever practicable. Mr. Hillquit is one of the leading socialist writers in this country, and Dr. Ryan is an able Catholic priest and the leading spokesman of the Catholics in America in the world-wide campaign which that Church is waging against Socialism.

The subjects discussed are "Social Evils and Remedies," "The Socialist Industrial State," "The Philosophy of Socialism," "Socialism and Morality," "Socialism and Religion." Mr. Hillquit undertakes to defend "orthodox" Marxian Socialism—for Socialism has already acquired an "orthodoxy." In this he seems to many informed persons to have unnecessarily handicapped himself, as some of Marx's doctrines have been hopelessly discredited and are no longer maintained by many genuine socialists. However, Mr. Hillquit is a sincere Marxian, though even he does not seem to stand for some of the Marxian doctrines in their rigid statement. Dr. Ryan uses this advantage to the utmost. But he is himself not quite consistent, for in his effort to discredit Marx's forecast of the development of society he fairly lays himself open to the rejoinder that, if society has not developed exactly in the way prophesied by the early socialists, it is because of the partial and gradual adoption of the socialists' program—*i. e.*, Socialism comes more gradually than Marx anticipated.

In the discussion of the Philosophy of Socialism, Mr. Hillquit has an equally difficult and unnecessary task on his hands. In defending Marx's doctrine of economic determinism, he does not maintain it in the absolute sense in which Marx taught it.

As Mr. Hillquit states it, there is practically no difference between his position and Dr. Ryan's; and if he had not at the beginning loaded himself with the responsibility of defending the Marxian position, he would have had no trouble.

As to "Socialism and Morality" Mr. Hillquit maintains the doctrine of relativity in morals and Dr. Ryan opposes; but on the whole the latter does not carry himself so well in this part of the discussion, for while he stands stoutly for the orthodox notion that there is an absolute standard of ethics, he fails to show that it has ever been embodied in any actual code, and is utterly unable to identify it with the ethical code of modern capitalistic society.

When the relation of socialism to religion is taken up, it is Dr. Ryan who labors under a serious handicap. As a Catholic he cannot clearly distinguish religion from Catholicism and cannot even make a brave pretence of defending the record of his Church against the charges which Mr. Hillquit presents. Here Dr. Ryan manifestly dodges. It is the only recourse open to him.

All in all the discussion is helpful and illuminating. It really adds nothing new. The ground has been worked over too often to afford an opportunity for much original thinking. But it brings the considerations for and against the Marxian Socialism into relation to one another within a short compass, and will help many to grasp the issues more clearly.

C. S. GARDNER.

Violence and the Labor Movement. By Robert Hunter; author of "Poverty," "Socialists at Work," etc. New York. The Macmillan Co., 1914. \$1.50 net.

Mr. Hunter is the ablest and best known of American Socialists. He manifestly wrote this volume for the purpose of enabling his readers clearly to distinguish Socialism from Anarchism and Syndicalism. The popular mind is very hazy as to the tenets and programmes of these three "isms."

Many people, indeed all people, who are interested in these questions—and who is not?—should read this book of Mr. Hun-