

this field. This would furnish a metaphysical contribution to ethical judgments. His work is at least a serious attempt to justify such a contribution.

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THE MEANING OF NATIONAL GUILDS. By C. E. Bechhofer and M. B. Reckitt. London: Cecil Palmer and Hayward, 1918. Pp. 452. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

This book continues the argument in favour of National Guilds which began about five years ago and of which the most recent exposition was given in Mr. G. D. H. Cole's book, *Self-government in Industry*. Mr. Bechhofer and Mr. Reckitt aim at explaining first the fundamental principle underlying the Guild idea. It is that the wage-system is a form of slavery and that control by the workers over the circumstances of their working life is the only true freedom. Further, this Guild idea involves a criticism of social and economic organisation from the point of view of the producer, wherever the earlier forms of Socialism appear not to have emphasised the need of liberty for producers. One of the most effective arguments of the supporters of National Guilds is that human labour is always an employer of the instruments of production and should, therefore, never be regarded as one among these instruments. The distinction between employer and employed should, then, be abolished and each worker, whether in manual labour or in brain labour, should be recognised as part of an economic group which may be called a guild.

In the book under notice here, the position of the middle classes is analysed and it is shown that they have no real community of interest with the capital-owning classes. The authors then proceed to discuss Trade Unionism, on which the Guilds they advocate must be founded. A chapter on "The Mirage of Reconstruction" contains a condemnation of sentimental goodwill. The proposals of the Whitley Committee are severely criticised. The argument then shows the nature and functions of the Guilds and their relation to the State. The distinction between Syndicalism and this newer school of thought is well rendered; and the book ends with an emphatic repetition of the belief in the social destiny of labour. The whole argument is valuable; and the authors have added considerably to the devel-

opment of the idea of National Guilds. But we can hardly separate their work from that of the small group whose works they continually quote. It seems clear that the idea of National Guilds is the only vigorous and original contribution to political, economic and social theory during the past ten years. We cannot yet estimate its effect; but already it is more than "a school." The practical effect on Trade Unionism in England is already beginning to be seen.

Apart, however, from the substance of the argument, we may find much to criticise in the manner of its presentation. Too much attention is given by the writers on National Guilds to the various individuals or schools of thought with whom they disagree on minor points. The disagreement between the contributors to the *New Age*, for example, leaves the rest of the world entirely cold: and it would perhaps be well if the writers on National Guilds would distinguish between the great names in the history of thought and modern schoolboys who write to the papers. There is a feeling, which the reader cannot escape, that the writers of such books as we now have under review live in a very small world.

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SHORTER NOTICES.

ROADS TO FREEDOM: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism. By Bertrand Russell. London: G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1918. Pp. 213. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Bertrand Russell summarises the history of the three "roads to Freedom," Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism; and extracts the essence of these three movements. His opinion is that pure Anarchism—which is opposed to every kind of forcible government—is for the present impossible, and would not survive more than a year or two were it adopted. His personal sympathies are with guild socialism which advocates a system of federalism among trades for reasons similar to those which have recommended federalism among nations, but which has at present a small party of supporters. Besides the analysis of the three movements (chapters i-ii), Mr. Russell deals with "the world as it could be made" in the manner of the *Free Man's Worship*, and also gives (p. 193 and ff.) a brief survey of his Utopia.

Education should, he thinks, be compulsory up to the age of sixteen or perhaps longer; after that it should be continued or not at the option of the pupil, but remain free (for those who desire it) up to at least the age of twenty-one. When education is finished, no one should be *compelled* to work, and those who choose not to work should receive a bare livelihood and be left completely free. The whole community, he believes, could be kept in comfort by means of four hours' work a day on the part of the great