fully avoids the expression) was psychological. If one does not want to refight the Civil War by saying which side had more rights, a legitimate question, nevertheless, remains: should politics and the democratic process be divorced from moral principle? *The Growth of Southern Nationalism* appears to answer affirmatively, while many historians will vehemently disagree.

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Maurice G. Baxter

*Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908.* By James J. Martin.


The foreword by Harry Elmer Barnes for this account of native American anarchism states that the author has "made a memorable contribution to American intellectual and social history." American anarchistic thought has been generally neglected and misunderstood by writers on American thought, who have noted the anarchistic trends of the ideas of Thoreau and the arrival of European anarchists in the 1880's but have done little research between these points. Individualist anarchism has not been given a place in accounts of American radical thought.

This monograph is divided into three parts, each centered about the ideas of one or more intellectual anarchists. Josiah Warren, the earliest of the first group, was interested in Robert Owen's New Harmony experiment but rejected most of Owen's economic and financial theories, endeavoring to put into practice his ideas of money and labor in a succession of communitarian settlements of his own. In them he tried to preserve individual initiative and personal rights and interests and to prevent cooperative life and thought from becoming the victims of coercive communism. Warren's labor theory of value and his effort to work out some logical relationship between money and the return due to labor were his main preoccupations and a part of the various experiments he sponsored over a twenty-year period. The Cincinnati Time Store and the communitarian settlement
founded in 1851 at Modern Times, Long Island, were his most notable efforts to put his ideas into practice.

The second section of the book deals with a group of individualist anarchists the author calls philosophical egoists: Ezra Heywood, William B. Greene, J. K. Ingalls, Stephen Pearl Andrews, and others. The third section is devoted to the life and publications of Benjamin Tucker, whose work falls in the period in which European anarchism reached the United States and struck terror into the hearts of American conservatives. Tucker consistently opposed the trend toward violence and direct action of the immigrant anarchists but was deeply interested in their theories. He made known through his periodicals the work of Proudhon and other Europeans. He deplored and condemned the violence of the Haymarket Square affair but defended the cause of the anarchists arrested and protested the travesty of their trial and the tragedy of their fate.

The American individualist anarchist was from the first an intellectual, a gradualist, an advocate of non-violence, an experimenter, and a prophet. He preached neither nihilism nor revolution, and perhaps the very fact that he was not feared caused his ideas to reach and influence only a few and his work to be quickly forgotten. This book brings back into perspective a whole line of American thought that has been too long disregarded.

One of the outstanding merits of Martin's monograph is the extensive use of long quotations from newspapers and periodicals published during the seventy-five year period under consideration and by the leaders of whom he writes. Such material is found in few university libraries. Its detailed use here is an introduction to much new source material. There is, also, much bibliographical material, not only at the end of the book, where a long list of works used follows a bibliographical essay, but also at the end of each chapter where annotation and references are concentrated. There is an index of names and authors. Upon reading the book, one agrees with Professor Barnes in feeling gratitude to the author for this presentation of the course of American anarchistic ideas.

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