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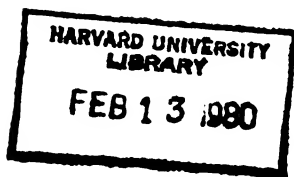
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NO. I

The Freemen of Ancient Athens.

THE materialistic interpretation of history, first discovered and formulated by Marx and Engels and first adequately elaborated by Labriola, is only now beginning to be applied, at least in writings accessible in the English language. The histories to which we must go for our facts if we would know anything of the past life of the world are still the histories written by men with theological or other ideological explanations for the course of events, by men who believed that ideas fell from heaven or were bestowed upon the race by gifted individuals who arose from time to time, and each in his turn infused new life into a sluggish, stupid humanity.

Yet these old historians and the sheltered, conservative scholars who cling to old traditions have preserved countless facts of untold value, which only need to be re-interpreted in the light of historical materialism, to make the past history of mankind luminous with meaning and prophetic with the promise of a larger life for the generation next to come.

My subject in this article is the freemen of ancient Athens. I wish to speak in particular of that period of Athenian history, the fourth and fifth centuries before the Christian era, and more especially the last half of the fifth century, in which were produced so large a proportion of the works of literature and art which have left their impress on the intellectual life of the world ever since. Was it by accident that in this one city at this one epoch the mind of man reached heights that have scarcely been equaled through all the ages, even amid the material achievements of the last hundred years? If no accident what was the cause? This is a riddle that has baffled the historians of all subsequent ages, and only the socialist has the clue to the answer. It is found in our fundamental principle of historical materialism.

For an adequate statement of this theory, it is necessary to go to Marx, Engels or Labriola, but this time, instead of quoting from these writers, I will try to give a brief summary of the theory in easier and simpler language than they employ. I am well aware that I shall be sacrificing complete accuracy to simplicity, and I trust it will be understood that I am not attempting a scientific definition.

Human beings, in order to live, are obliged to provide themselves with food, and, outside the tropics at least, with clothing and shelter. All human beings of whom we have any definite knowledge have supplied these material wants by some sort of associated labor, from the communal gens of the Iroquois Indian to the capitalist society of today with its wage slaves and its trust magnates. Now the discovery of Marx is that each successive industrial system, by which the people of any given time and place supply their material wants, is the determining cause of the political systems which accompany it or follow it, and likewise of the general currents of thought, opinion and feeling which accompany or follow it. In other words, it is not the ideas of men which determine their material conditions, but, speaking generally, it is, in the last analysis, the past and present economic conditions which determine the prevalent ideas, and in fact the whole current of what we call intellectual life. This does not mean that ideas have had no part, in the progress of the human race, but it does mean that every victorious idea has had its roots in a definite economic situation, and could not have developed had the economic situation been radically different.

There is a sharp contrast between the social life of the self-governing cities of Greece, and that of the despotic monarchies of vast extent which covered western Asia and north-western Africa. One obvious cause for this difference lies in the geographical character of the territory. The level plains of Assyria and Egypt were favorable to the movement of large armies, and the primitive communism of these countries was crushed out by the growing military power of rising rulers, at least two thousand years before the Christian era.

Greece, on the other hand, is cut up into little valleys by steep mountains, while a large part of its territory is composed of islands large and small. The communal system thus persisted far later than in Asia, and its traces are distinctly visible in the organization of the state of Athens as we find it at the earliest historical period. And as clans and tribes evolved into states, with ruling and subject classes, each valley and each island in Greece became a state by it-

self. Frequent wars between tribes and the discovery that a prisoner was a valuable asset, since he could produce more food than he could eat, had made general a system of chattel slavery throughout the states of Greece. The slaves were not members of an inferior or alien race. They were almost always native Greeks, of the same blood as their masters, and with the shifting fortunes of war, it was not impossible for master and slave to change places. Agriculture was of course the main industry, especially in the earliest historical period. But Greece was not only mountainous, it was also easily accessible to the sea, with a multitude of good harbors, and the timber for ship-building ready at hand, and so it was that the Greeks became a sea-faring people, exchanging their own products with those of Phoenicia, Egypt, Italy and the other shores of the Mediterranean. Piracy in those days was a respectable industry, and necessarily every merchant ship had to be a war ship in self-defence.

Thus about the year five hundred before the Christian era we find the people of Greece living in their little self-governing states, gaining their living by agriculture and commerce, using slave labor to a limited extent, and mainly taken up with their wars between city and city, and with their spreading commerce. They had founded colonies wherever their ships sailed, and some of the most important of these colonies were cities on the west coast of Asia Minor. At the time we are considering the king of Persia had consolidated under his rule all the other great monarchies of western Asia, and laid siege to these Greek cities. They called on Athens, the largest city in Greece, for help, and the Athenians accordingly fitted out an expedition. It did not save the Greek cities of Asia from capture, but inflicted considerable damage on the Persians, and drew down the wrath of the Great King upon Athens. He fitted out a fleet to attack the city of Athens. It was wrecked in a storm and the expedition came to nothing. The king persevered, and in the year 490 B. C. fitted out the famous expedition we have all read of in our school books, which landed near Marathon, on the coast of Attica, near Athens. The battle of Marathon resulted in the defeat of the large Persian army by a much smaller army of Greeks. It is what the old-fashioned historians call one of the world's decisive battles. Perhaps it was, if battles ever are decisive. But there were economic forces that turned the scale in the battle of Marathon, and it resulted in its turn in a re-adjustment of economic forces that were to bring about immense changes before a generation passed away. The Persian army was composed largely of unwilling soldiers drawn from subject nations, forced on pain of

death to go to an unknown country and fight the battles of the Great King. The Greeks were the rulers of their own state. They had no theories of natural right and no conscientious principles whatever against the system of chattel slavery, but when it came to applying that system, they preferred to be on top rather than underneath. They won the battle of Marathon, and the moral effect of that battle was to give confidence to the Greeks in subsequent wars with the Persians, and to increase the prestige of the city of Athens among the other Greeks. The Athenians, or at least the wiser heads among them, knew that the Persians would not be satisfied with the result of the battle. The Persian king died soon after, and Greece thus gained a breathing spell, which the Athenians used in building more ships. Ten years after the battle of Marathon came the famous invasion of Greece by the immense army and navy of Persia under Xerxes. Conventional historians waste most of their enthusiasm, in describing this war, over the battle of Thermopylae, where three hundred Spartans threw away their lives in defending a pass after the enemy had already found another way around. This historical episode reminds me of the remark of the little girl who had been regaled with Mrs. Hemans' story of Casabianca,

"The boy stood on the burning deck
Whence all but him had fled,"

and staid there until burned up because he had been ordered by his father to remain until further notice, and an untimely death on the part of the father had prevented the further notice. The opinion of the little American girl was, "I fink he was drefle good, but he wasn't the least bit smart." So with the Spartans, they may have been drefle brave, but they didn't display any great amount of brain work.

The Athenians were different. When the Persian army, said to number a million men, reached the neighborhood of Athens, they didn't stand their ground and fight against overwhelming odds until the last Athenian was slain. That might have made fine material for poets, but the Athenians were strictly materialistic. They moved their wives, their children and their movable property from the mainland to a neighboring island, while their fighting men went on board their ships and with rather ungracious support from the other Greeks, met the Persians where they were weakest, at sea. Persia was an inland country, and its fleet was drawn from subject nations who were none too enthusiastic in fighting for their conquerors, moreover, they were no match for the Greeks in naval tactics. The Persian fleet was driven

from the coast of Greece, then pursued home and demolished there. The land campaign dragged on for a year, but the Persians finally withdrew in defeat, never to return. It was at sea that the real contest was fought out, and the smaller states of Greece were obliged to recognize that it was to the energy and vigor of Athens that they owed their escape from slavery to the Persians.

The Athenians, as I have said, were materialistic, and they were not slow in utilizing this sentiment for practical ends. They organized at once a confederacy of the maritime states of Greece, under their own leadership. The object of this confederacy was to keep the Aegean sea clear of Persian war-ships. At first each city provided its quota of ships, but by insensible changes one city after another began to pay a sum of money instead of furnishing war vessels, until finally the confederacy had become an empire. Athens provided the ships and the marines while the subject cities put up the money.

As every socialist knows, the character of a people is modified profoundly by changes in its way of getting a livelihood. Let us then try to get a glimpse of the economic change that came about in Athens as the maritime supremacy of this city became an established fact.

The new revenue, which made Athens the wealthiest city of Greece, arose partly from the direct money tribute of the subject cities and partly from the commerce with countries near and far, now made possible by the fact that the Athenian navy commanded the seas, and could protect its merchants and merchant ships wherever they went, an advantage far more rare and important in those troublous times than it seems now.

Private wealth in Athens increased by leaps and bounds. But there was a distinct obstacle to its concentration in the hands of a very few. The political power was not, as in more civilized nations, in the hands of a small group of plutocrats, it was in the entire body of free citizens. There were occasional attempts on the part of the better classes, as they called themselves even at that early day, to get control, but they were usually ineffective. On two occasions the aristocrats were temporarily successful, but only to be hurled from power again.

In the long run, it is the essential class which holds the political power, and in imperial Athens the essential class was the citizen soldiery, ready on occasion to put down revolts of subject cities, and to meet the enemies of Athens in the field or at sea.

So it was that the democracy remained in power. And it

used its power to put pretty heavy taxes on the holders of exceptionally large fortunes, and to provide a modest support, in the way of pay for jury service and other political duties, for all free Athenians who did not draw a comfortable income from the labor of slaves. Commerce was to a large extent in the hands of aliens and freed slaves, of whom there were at the age we are considering, according to the figures of Engels, 45,000. Of free Athenian citizens there were 90,000, and of slaves 365,000.

I am not attempting to discuss the physical, moral and social status of these slaves who made up the greater portion of the population, nor shall I try to discuss the question of whether slavery was right or wrong. The Athenians were fond of ethical discussions, but we have no record of their discussing this question. Slaves then were the same necessary element in production that machinery is today. And by the way, at Athens the slaves were private property, while at Sparta they were collective property, but that slaves could be dispensed with simply did not occur to either Spartans or Athenians.

Some facts are preserved regarding the social status of the slaves, but they would be irrelevant here. We are now concerned with the freemen.

Here at Athens was a situation absolutely unique in the history of the world even up to the present day, yet presenting a striking analogy with the probable situation when collectivism shall have been established. Here were ninety thousand men, women and children in a single community, all raised above the need of drudgery and the fear of want, with a large degree of freedom and an abundance of leisure. If we were to accept the theories of the opponents of socialism, we should expect to find a brutish degeneracy, a reversion to savagery. What as a matter of fact we do find in this one epoch and in this one city, is the most intense intellectual life that the world has ever known, a life that produced the tragedies of Aeschylus. Sophocles and Euripides, the orations of Pericles and Demosthenes, the dialogues of Plato, and the sculptures of Phidias and Praxiteles.

To socialists there is nothing strange in this. We understand that human beings can not survive on this earth without gratifying their material desires. We understand that as long as social adjustments make it hard for each individual to gratify his material desires, so long he must be mainly concerned with them, since otherwise he probably would not survive. And we can see, too, that if a large body of people in one community, where they can act and react upon each other, could be relieved from the everlasting pressure of material wants, the way would be open for intellectual wants to rise

into consciousness and dominate the life of the community. This is precisely what happened at Athens, and it does not seem unreasonable to look for like results when like conditions shall repeat themselves on a larger scale.

There is, however, one point of contrast to be noted between the motives operating on the freemen of ancient Athens and those operating on the freemen of the future collectivist society. At Athens the matter of greatest concern was to maintain the supremacy of the city by war and diplomacy, and therefore these arts were most highly esteemed and were perhaps the readiest path to distinction. In the future society the most essential thing will be the improvement of means of production, the perfecting of processes so as to produce the greatest results with the least outlay. The inventor and the efficient superintendent will thus be honored as the greatest public benefactors.

But while noting this one contrast, we must note many points of agreement. And first, ethics. The moral ideal which was current among the Athenians was not an ideal of personal holiness, of self-renunciation and saintly purity, to be rewarded by eternal felicity in some hypothetical hereafter. True, they had their traditions and their speculations about the hereafter, but we may safely infer from one of the popular comedies of Aristophanes that they did not take them very seriously. Their moral ideal was the ideal of a citizen highly developed in all his faculties and highly useful to his native city, and this ideal being a reasonable one and to an extent attainable, was sincerely held. The Athenians did not need to be hypocrites and they were not hypocrites. Hypocrisy is the consequence of a different economic situation from the one that prevailed at Athens. Most well-to-do Americans are hypocrites, but it is foolish to blame them for it, they have to be if they are to become or remain well-to-do Americans under present economic conditions. I shall not go into particulars, I do not wish to say unkind things regarding a class among whom I have friends. Besides, there is a better example to contrast with the Athenians, and that is afforded by a contemporary and neighboring nation with whom they came into frequent contact.

The Spartans, so dear to bourgeois moralists, were consummate, contemptible hypocrites. Perhaps contemptible is too strong a word. I should rather say deplorable. They were hypocrites because they had to be hypocrites to keep their commanding position, just like countless other hypocrites since. They were the descendants of a small but warlike tribe who, shortly before the historical period began, had migrated from northern Greece into the peninsula west of

Athens known as the Peloponnesus, and had established themselves as rulers over the natives. They were only a small part of the population there, they had no particular advantage in the way of superior weapons, and their position as the ruling class gave them a very comfortable living on the labor of others. But this position was a precarious one, and it rested on the belief that they, the Spartans, were invincible in battle and were marvelously brave, to the point of preferring death to surrender. Now this was a colossal humbug, the Spartans were very much like other people in their natural impulses, and on one notable occasion, when the Athenians had a Spartan army cornered on the little island of Sphacteria, it sensibly chose the alternative of surrender rather than death, much to the surprise of the rest of the Greeks, who had been successfully humbugged by the Spartans for so many years.

I said a little while ago that the Spartans held their slaves as collective property. There was a necessity for this. The very existence of the Spartans as a ruling class depended on the efficiency of their military discipline, along with the popular opinion of the other Greeks as to their bravery. If they had allowed their young men to divert their interest from military affairs into the pursuit of wealth, their supremacy would have ended. Historically, that is the way it finally did end. They kept up the pretense of superhuman bravery and contempt of wealth so effectively that they won the allegiance of most of the other Greeks, and, with their aid, finally defeated Athens in a war which lasted a whole generation. The Spartan generals then had immense resources at their disposal, they forgot their traditional contempt for wealth and went after it eagerly, the military discipline of the nation was relaxed, and with the next war Sparta was defeated and sank into obscurity, never to rise again.

The difference between Sparta and Athens was this: the supremacy of Athens rested on a genuine efficiency, intellectual as well as physical, on the part of a large body of equal citizens. There was no subject class at Athens except the slaves, who didn't count, not being soldiers, and the freedmen and resident foreigners, who were well treated and contented. There was a substantial identity of interests among the ninety thousand freemen of Athens, and therefore it was not necessary for them to be hypocrites. They had not learned to make a virtue of total abstinence from the wine that their vineyards produced, neither had they learned to make extra profits by putting poisonous chemicals into their wines. They had not learned to sentimentalize over the eternal justice of recognizing the equality of all men, Greek and Barbarian, bond and free, but on the other hand they had not

invented the sweat-shop, and they inflicted summary penalties on such of their own citizens as were guilty of cruelty toward their slaves.

The traditional religion of Athens, with its roots in an economic situation far earlier than the one we are considering, was a worship of the Olympian deities such as Homer describes, and especially of Athena the tutelary goddess of Athens. This religion was a social, not a private matter. There was no special coterie of particularly good people, who were more religious than the rest and were therefore supposed to be surer than the others of a safe passage to the Elysian fields, which by the way are rather a more artistic conception than golden streets. Quite the contrary, religion was an everyday matter for the men as well as the women, but it was closely identified with patriotism. And again, patriotism was not something that had to be harped on as a sacred duty, it was to the Athenian the natural expression of his enlightened self-interest, since the welfare of every Athenian citizen was closely bound up with the prosperity of the Athenian state.

My statement may be challenged by some who have read of the Eleusinian mysteries, which undoubtedly contained the germ of the introspective, personal-holiness element of Christianity. But the interesting point to note is that these mysteries did not develop into an important part of Athenian life until the liberties of the city had been lost. When the gods ceased to provide the Athenians with the material comforts of life, and with the fullest liberty for self-expression, then the need was felt for an introspective religion by way of consolation, and the versatile Athenians developed a very good religion of its kind; indeed no one knows how large a deposit it may have left in our historic Christianity.

Introspective religions have prevailed during the world's long night of slavery. But with the dawn of freedom we listen back to Athens for our moral ideas. Not purposeless self-sacrifice but rational self-development, not asceticism but the moderation that prolongs and intensifies pleasure, not humility and obedience but strength, beauty and freedom, these are the ideals that will reanimate the men and women of all the world as the victorious proletariat wins for itself the same right to live that the freemen of Athens enjoyed twenty-three hundred years ago.

As to the art of Athens, the facts are so bewildering in their number and significance that I shall not attempt any comprehensive survey. The architectural remains of the Acropolis have served as models for Europe and America through all the ages since this era we are considering, and the sculptures are still preserved as our most precious possessions. But it is of the dramatic art of Athens that I wish to speak especially, because here

the influence of genuine democracy upon art is most clearly manifest.

The early beginnings of the Attic drama were bound up with the primitive worship of Dionysos, the god of wine. The first festivals of Dionysos-worship of which we know anything consisted of choral singing in praise of the god or in commemoration of some of the simple legends about him. As the choruses grew longer and more elaborate, an actor was introduced, who carried on a dialogue with the leader of the chorus while the singers rested. Later, a second actor was added, and finally a third, three being the limit to the number of actors on the stage at one time even in the most highly developed Attic drama.

The festivals of Dionysos were held twice a year, and it was only on these occasions that dramas were presented. All ordinary occupations were suspended at these times, and thirty thousand men were seated in the great theater of Dionysos. It was open to the sky and the dramas were always presented in the daytime. On each occasion several new plays by as many different authors were offered in competition for a prize. All day long the thirty thousand Athenians listened with critical attention to plays of a character that demanded even more intellectual effort on the part of the spectator than the plays of Shakespeare. Thirty-three of these tragedies and eleven of the comedies have been preserved intact through the ages, and they are still in many respects the models of the dramatic art.

Conventional writers speak of the surpassing genius of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, the writers of these plays that have been preserved, as if the genius of these individuals explained the pre-eminence of Athens in the dramatic art. But we know that while these writers won many dramatic contests, they were sometimes defeated by others whose works have been lost. There was thus a large group of dramatists of surpassing intellectual power, suddenly appearing as Athens reached the economic stage we have been discussing, and disappearing when that stage was passed. Art can grow only when there is a public capable of appreciating it. And to this appreciation two things are needed, leisure and education.

Education at Athens was not thought of mainly as a means for fitting boys to earn their living. The freemen of Athens all lived fairly well, measured by their own standards, and they were not oppressed by the fear of starvation, except once after the loss of a great naval battle, when the enemy commanded the sea. What they were mainly concerned with in the training of their boys was that they should grow up into well rounded men, capable of serving their country as soldiers, orators or diplomats, but also ca-

pable of enjoying life intellectually as well as physically. Poetry and music, art and literature, were the inheritance of every freeman at Athens. This liberal education along with freedom from mere drudgery and anxiety for bread made the freemen of Athens the leaders of the world.

We hear much now of industrial education. It is perhaps a necessary swing of the pendulum back from the merely ornamental education which prevailed a generation ago. Body and mind need to be educated together. The Athenians knew that and acted upon it. Again, it is perfectly true that the progress of modern industry makes necessary extreme specialization of study and of effort, if progress is to be continued. But from ancient Athens we need to learn that no specialist can do his best work in any great undertaking without the appreciation and the criticism of a large body of people capable of apprehending in its main outlines the special work he has to do. And no specialist can do the highest work in his own chosen field unless he can take a broader view that will show him the relations of his own special work to the work of the rest.

The Athenians were not perfect. Privately I am inclined to believe that a perfect nation would be uninteresting, but I never knew of one and so can not be sure. They were emerging from barbarism just as we are emerging from commercialism. They had an inspiring sense of solidarity and loyalty to their city, just as we the workers when we turn from the final conflict for our emancipation to the task of rebuilding the world shall inevitably have a splendid sense of the solidarity of the working class, a class that by the disappearance of parasites large and small will have become as broad as humanity itself. They realized, as we shall realize, that the welfare of each was inevitably bound up in the welfare of all. They had no need to be hypocrites as we shall have no need. They accepted physical pleasures as rational if taken in moderation, with a clear view of their consequences. But they trained their children in such a way as to open up before them an intensity of intellectual enjoyment that made physical pleasures very small by comparison and made possible intellectual achievements that have stimulated the life of all who have come after.

The city of Athens was submerged by the physical force of ignorant despots, but the ideals of Athens, rooted deep in fortunate economic conditions that are soon to re-appear, not this time for a few, but for all, these ideals will re-assert themselves in the free and happy life of the world that is soon to be.

CHARLES H. KERR.

Socialism and the Trades-Unions.

THE question of the relationship of the trades-union movement to the Socialist movement is still an open question. It is true our national convention spent two days in debating it, and finally by a divided vote passed a comparatively innocuous resolution on the subject. But it is unsafe to assume that the resolution passed really states the views of all the delegates actually recorded as voting for it. The debate unfortunately took such a turn that many delegates who believed an expression on the subject unwise and unnecessary, felt that a vote against the proposed resolution would inevitably be construed as an expression of hostility to trades-unions, and so reluctantly voted for a resolution which they believed injudicious.

Regarding, then, the whole question as one open for discussion, with no pretensions to infallibility, or even to being a mouthpiece of the derided "intellectuals," I shall try to contribute a few thoughts that may aid the comradeship in reaching a rational conclusion. By way of preface, permit me to say that, though I was one of those who were opposed to any resolution on the subject, I gladly admit that the new resolution is a great improvement over the Indianapolis resolution, as it is in the main a statement of fact, while the Indianapolis resolution was an attempt to persuade us that an iridescent rainbow was a cold, hard fact. So far, so good. But there is one sentence in the new resolution which places us in an absurd position. The sentence referred to is: "Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement." What an edifying spectacle we present—the omniscient Socialists perched on our theoretical mountain-peak gazing at the distant battlefield, where the American Federation of Labor and the American Labor Union are engaged in a war to the death, shouting through a cracked megaphone to the combatants that their division is not "justified"! Justified or not, the division is there; the war is on and is going to be fought out. If we are to be true to our own philosophy, we must deal with the facts, as they exist, not as we would have them to be.

But this by the way. Let us try to take a deeper view of the whole question. To this end, the view-point of our more intelligent antagonists may be of real service to us. Prof. John Bates Clark, of Columbia University, in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1903, says:

"The recent extension of the principle of monopoly, both in the practice of the trusts on the one hand, and in that of the trade-

unions on the other, has brought prominently into the field of discussion the nationalization of industry on a socialistic model. Now that free competition has been driven from the field in many branches of industry, it is admitted that its action tended toward progress and a wide approach to honesty in the sharing of products, such as monopoly altogether precludes.

"The conclusion, however, that socialism is the only cure for monopoly is premature, for the trade-union, although it may appear friendly to socialism, is in principle opposed to it. * * * The reason for the probable conservative attitude of the trade-union is not difficult to discover. If organization causes some workingmen to thrive *partly at the expense of others*¹ there are limits to the extent of the co-operation between the more and the less favored classes. It is commonly said that trade organizations are monopolies; and if the statement is true, there must be something about the working of them that is contrary, not only to the public interest, but to the interest of the remainder of the working class itself. 'Give us an advance in wages, and charge it to the public,' is often the demand, tacitly or openly expressed, of union men in the employ of the trusts. It is often to the advantage of a monopoly to share its spoils with its employees. * * *

* * * "Such an ultra-democratic program as socialism proposes may not be expected to appeal strongly to those whom monopoly gains have raised above the common level of immigrant and unskilled, or at least, unorganized laborers."

In the ordinary Socialist conception of the trade-union movement as the economic army of the working class, in the same sense that the Socialist movement is the political army of the working class, has not the wish been father to the thought? And has not the coldly critical eye of our enemy, Prof. Clark, discerned the facts more accurately? Is not Prof. Clark on the solid ground of reality when he says that the victories of unionists are won *partly at the expense of others*? To illustrate, while I was in Wellington, New Zealand, the workers in the meat and butchering industry secured an award from the Arbitration Court, giving them fairer conditions and a substantial increase in wages. Immediately the retail price of meat advanced to a point hitherto unknown, and when I left New Zealand the retail price of New Zealand lamb and mutton was lower in London (England) than in Wellington. I do not assert that there may not have been other factors, such as monopoly, in this rise in the retail price of meat, but I do assert that the rise in wages was a factor in the rise in meat, and that the victory of the meat workers was "partly at the expense" of all the workers, organized and unorganized, in Wel-

¹The italics are Professor Clark's.

lington. For the meat workers this rise in the price of meat was more than compensated for by their increased wages, but there was no such compensation for the unorganized workers or for many of the organized, as for instance those in the building trades. These are cold facts, and the only safe rule for a Socialist is to continually test his theories by seeing how they fit proved facts.

De Leon and that ilk might reply by saying that the rise in the price of articles of consumption is no concern of the unorganized worker, since, be his food and clothes high or low, he gets a bare subsistence wage in either case. Apply the infallible fact test. Has the rise in the cost of living in the past seven years here in America been compensated by an equivalent rise in wages? Consult Bradstreet and Dun, and you will see that this reply goes down before the fact test.

It is true that wages tend to the subsistence level, but this level is not fixed and stationary. It is possible to depress the standard of living of the working class. In these days of international competition every rise in the cost of living is a lever to depress the standard of living of the American working class. As our new platform says, "The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level." The subsistence level of the individual varies with varying conditions. Things that I formerly thought absolutely indispensable for my subsistence, I have found, since I became a proletarian agitator, to be entirely superfluous. My standard of living has been depressed.

Trades-unionism, then, is not a struggle of the working class to better its conditions of life; it is not a class struggle, but a struggle of individuals (combined, it is true, but not sufficiently differentiated economically to form a true class) to better the conditions of life of the individuals in the unions, "partly at the expense" of the non-union workers. It is true the unorganized workers in a partially organized craft share a part of the fruits of the victories of the organized workers, but these benefits never reach the unorganized crafts at all. If these conclusions be sound, if they pass the fact test, let us Socialists have the courage to proclaim them, whether so doing seems expedient or not. A revolutionary movement can never afford to sacrifice truth for expediency. It emasculates itself when it does so. *Tonjours l'audace* is the only motto for the revolutionist who has burned his bridges behind him.

The Socialist movement would not deter a man from joining a union to better his condition in life; it would not deter a man from buckling his belt tighter every meal time in order to save money to buy himself a house; it would not deter a man from denying

himself beer and whisky with a view to his financial, physical and moral well-being. But, on the other hand, there is no reason why Socialist parties should pass resolutions counseling their membership as to their action in these purely individual matters; and indeed it is impertinent and undemocratic for them to do so.

As trades-unionism is essentially a struggle of individuals to better their condition at the expense of other (less favorably situated) individuals, so the philosophy of trades-unionism is the radically individualist philosophy of *laissez-faire*, of the Manchester school, of the late High Priest of Competition, Mr. Herbert Spencer. The chief methods of the union—picketing, boycotting, sympathetic strikes and refusal to work in “open shops”—can only be defended by Spencerian arguments—the same arguments used by capitalists everywhere to defend the competitive system and capitalist methods in the conflicts of capital with labor. In maintaining the employers’ right to blacklist, Judge Rogers of the United States District Court at St. Louis held “(1) that an agreement by any number of persons to do a lawful thing is not a conspiracy; (2) that employers may maintain and circulate a blacklist, provided that its contents be truthful; (3) and that employers may deprive workmen of opportunities to earn a livelihood and even combine to attack and destroy organizations of employees, by means of blacklisting agreements.” As Mr. Victor S. Yarros has truthfully said, “No labor leader has ever gone beyond the position taken in this judicial opinion. Substitute the word ‘boycotting’ or the words ‘peaceable picketing’ for the word ‘blacklisting,’ and every contention of organized labor is sustained. * * * There is no theoretical *issue* between organized labor and organized capital, since neither side honestly and earnestly denies what the other side affirms. Both invoke the same individualist principles.” To quote Mr. Yarros once more, “Neither morally nor legally does an employer’s blacklist differ from a unionist ‘unfair list.’” Governor Peabody and Comrade Haywood, of Colorado, both rely in justification of their respective courses on an extreme individualist philosophy, but slightly differentiated from Anarchism—in fact, on that “idea of liberty” in which, our national platform truly says, our “nation was born.”

Do not the facts thus far disclosed justify Prof. Clark’s statement that “the trade union is in principle opposed to Socialism”? Trades-unionism rests upon an extremely individualist philosophy perilously close to the border-line of Anarchy. Socialism boldly proclaims the philosophy, or rather, the religion of Human Solidarity, and does not hesitate to say the individual must give

¹Am. Journal of Sociology, May, 1904, p. 777.

way wherever the assertion of his so-called rights would relax or break the bonds of human oneness. Viewed from this standpoint, how absurd was the attempt of the Indianapolis convention to make Siamese twins of Trade-unionism and Socialism! Nor was this ridiculous freak of belated utopianism wholly abandoned at Chicago. The "intellectuals" at Chicago were derided as utopians because they were charged with ignoring the battle in progress on the economic field. The true utopians and visionaries were the defenders of the trades-union resolution, who asked us to judge of the trades-unions by their roseate conception of what the trades-unions should be instead of by the fact of what they actually are.

One more question. Is Prof. Clark right in saying that the "ultra-democratic program of Socialism may not be expected to appeal strongly to those whom monopoly gains have raised above the common level of immigrant and unskilled, or at least unorganized laborers"? Let us appeal to the fact-test again. In my experience as an agitator here in Kansas City (Mo.) of the past few months, I can say emphatically that I have found the mind of the non-union man far more open and receptive to the doctrines of Socialism than the mind of the union man. I do not suppose this to be a fair criterion by which to judge union men all over the country. But I shall be surprised to find that it is not true in more places than it is false; and where it proves false I shall expect to find local and special conditions accounting for its falsity. What is the explanation of this fact (assuming it to be a fact)? The first and most obvious explanation is the one suggested by Prof. Clark and implied in our rallying cry: "Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain!" Workingmen occupying the specially advantageous position that many trade-unionists do, may readily enough fancy they have something to lose by the change socialism would bring. The unorganized worker can harbor no such delusion.

Believing, as we do, that thought is moulded by economic conditions, we would naturally expect the organized skilled worker working in a social form of production, and convinced through his union of the advantages of combination, to be peculiarly accessible to our propaganda, but this is offset not only by the reason given but also by the fact that in defending his actions as a unionist, he is compelled to resort to *laissez-faire* principles so constantly, that all his psychological processes come to conflict with the philosophy of collectivism.

What practical conclusion is to be drawn from our investigation of the essential nature of unionism? That there is no natural connection or relation between unionism and socialism and that the utopian attempt to depart from the sure ground of fact and artificially combine or connect the unrelated is to do violence to both

and good to neither. Does this mean that we ought to fight unionism *per se*? Not at all; any more than we ought to fight thrift, temperance, insurance or any other effort of the individual to better his condition. Unionism is simply one product of a moribund system, capitalism, and when capitalism falls, unionism (if still in existence) will fall with it.

The chief reason why I personally was strongly opposed to any trades-union declaration at Chicago was that we are making history in this field so rapidly that it is unsafe to make any party declaration upon it to stand for four years. With the principle of the Taff Vale decision established, and with their present organization (ever growing more perfect), employers *can* destroy unionism if they want to. If they do not, it will be because they recognize that unionism is a valuable buffer against socialism. In short, my belief is that before 1908 there will be no trades unions, or trades unions will have become the first line of defense of capitalism against socialism. In either case, the Chicago resolution was a mistake.

My genial comrade Carey will no doubt be shocked to find that an article defending the "intellectual" position on the trade-union question is not peppered over with quotations from Lassalle, Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Vaillant, Lafargue, Labriola *et al.*, and that the only quotation I have permitted myself from socialist authorities is from the Communist Manifesto, and is so familiar to every comrade that even he might have made it, without losing caste in A. F. of L. circles, but none the less I hope that he and the rest of my union friends will not disdain to read an argument that is utterly unsupported by any authority, save that one so despised by our "practical" friends, the authority of the facts.

ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE.

Kansas City, Mo., May 20, 1904.

The Socialist Movement in the Argentine Republic.

BUENOS AIRES became necessarily the starting point of the socialist movement in the Argentine Republic, not because it is the metropolis, but because industrialism and capitalist exploitation developed nowhere else in the land so strongly and rapidly as in that city.

On January 1, 1882, the German club *Vorwärts* constituted itself with thirteen members, at the initiative of G. Nocke and C. Mücke. Its declared object was to "assist in the realization of the principles and aims of Socialism, as expressed in the platform of the German Social Democratic Party." The club *Vorwärts* grew slowly through the advent of new German elements that had, like the majority of its founders, fled from the persecutions which began after the adoption of the anti-socialist laws. It developed and extended its influence within the bounds of its means and environment. It had acquired 250 members when it inaugurated its own headquarters at 1141 calle Rincon, in 1895.

In May, 1886, the club acquired its first meeting room. And in October of the same year it published the weekly *Vorwärts*, edited in German by A. Uhle. This paper was continued until the middle of 1901. A dramatic section and a singing society were also founded, which many of its members joined. And in 1890 a co-operative bakery was founded which existed until 1898.

The club *Vorwärts* has offered the free use of its club rooms to all workingmen who began to unite for the amelioration of their condition, since 1886. It also has to its credit the manifesto, written in Spanish, which was dedicated to the working class of the federal capital in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution. It furthermore took the initiative in celebrating the First of May, in 1890, and in agitating, since 1891, for the naturalization of strangers with a view to encouraging their participation in the political struggle and wresting concessions from the Argentine bourgeoisie.

The initiative in the celebration of the First of May resulted in the constitution of a committee of organization in 1890, which had charge of the program corresponding to that adopted by the international congress of Paris, July, 1889. The first celebration of the First of May in Buenos Aires proved a success far beyond the expectations of the committee of organization. Three thousand citizens met in the Prado Español, and the public meeting held in that place decided to organize the *Federacion*

Obrera de la Republica Argentina (Federation of Labor of the Argentine Republic). An international labor committee was organized, which was entrusted with the formulation of a suitable program. This was quickly accomplished, and the federation was permanently constituted on June 29 of that year.

Although exclusively a labor organization in character, the federation nevertheless had a straight socialist program, modeled after that of the most advanced European countries. It soon had a strong section in Buenos Aires, composed of carpenters, shoemakers and a federal union; also sections in Mendoza, Rosario and Santa Fé, where the First of May had also been celebrated.

On December 12, 1890, the first number of the periodical *El Obrero* (*The Worker*) was published, edited and managed by Comrade G. Ave-Lallemant. It became the organ of the federation.

This organization presented two petitions to Congress and one to the president of the republic, asking for laws protecting the working class, and for the organization of a labor exchange. The Santa Fé section did the same before the legislature of the state of Santa Fé. It goes without saying, that all these petitions met the same fate—they were shelved without the respective committees taking the trouble of considering them.

On August 15, 1891, the first labor convention was held by the federation. The carpenters and auxiliaries, the German printers, the bakers, the socialist club Vorwärts, the metropolitan federal union, and the local unions of Santa Fe and Chascomus attended. The comrades who then devoted themselves to this organization and to the socialist movement were full of confidence and enthusiasm. But they met many difficulties. Along came the financial embarrassment of the country, the political disturbances, and a prolonged state of siege. The growing organization was prevented from continuing its propaganda and in 1892 it was completely weakened and dissolved. the periodical *El Obrero* was discontinued.

But under the ashes the sparks still glowed. Comrades A. Kühn and G. Hummel, who had belonged to the federal union of the Federation of Labor, formed the *Agrupacion Socialista* (Socialist Group) in December, 1892. Their organ was *El Socialista*, which began publication in March, 1893, but was abandoned soon after.

On April 7, 1894, the publication of *La Vanguardia* (*The Vanguard*) was begun, with Comrade Dr. Juan B. Justo as chief editor. And in August of the same year the *Agrupacion Socialista* changed its name to *Centro Socialist Obrero*, which it has retained to this day. Three other groups also came into the field: A French group, *Les Egaux* (*The Equals*), which soon after published the periodical *L'Egalité* (*Equality*); an

Italian group, *Fascio dei Lavoratori* (Bond of the Workers), which edited *La Rivendicazione* (*The Demand for Betterment*); and a group of students, *Centro Socialista Universitario*. There were, then, five socialist groups. This led, in December of the same year, to the formation of a central committee, which was the first link between the Argentine socialists.

In 1895 there were already seven socialist groups in Buenos Aires. They adopted a declaration of principles and a minimum program, and decided to take part, for the first time, in the elections of 1896, with comrades Dr. Juan B. Justo, J. Schaeffer, A. Patroni, G. Avé-Lallemant, and G. Abad, for candidates. On June 28-29 of the same year the first socialist convention was held in Buenos Aires, which resulted in the permanent constitution of the Socialist Party. As the invitations for this convention were liberal, it was attended by the delegates of ten straight socialist sections, seven labor organizations, eight unaffiliated socialist sections and seven unaffiliated labor unions. The *Centro Socialista Obrero* transferred *La Vanguardia* to the party, making it the central organ.

Since then the affiliated sections and individuals of the *Partido Socialista Argentino* have carried on their work continuously. The existing labor organizations and the propaganda of the socialist ideas and principles have taken all their time. The state of siege of 1902 was unable to shake them.

It must be admitted that the progress of the party is slow. But, nevertheless, it is manifest. The sections belonging to it have grown in quantity and quality. While only ten sections were represented at the convention of 1896, there were thirteen in 1898 and eighteen in 1900. The fourth convention, held in La Plata in 1901, the only one called outside of the federal capital, showed an increase to twenty-one sections, and the fifth, held in July, 1903, counted thirty.

Owing to special local conditions and vicious election practices, against which the mass of the people are indifferent, the party has not obtained many votes in the four national elections in which it participated. The unreliable official statistics gave us 52 votes in 1896, 99 in 1898, 136 in 1900 and 204 in 1902. But it must be considered that many socialist votes were never counted. The election officials have a wonderful ability in confiscating the votes of the opposition. Computations made by reliable and very reasonable comrades attribute to us 250 votes in 1896, 500 in 1898, 700 in 1900, and 1,100 in 1902.—*M. H. Schultze in Almanaque Socialista de la Vanguardia Para, 1904. (Translated by Ernest Untermann.)*

Economic Classes and Politics.

IN VIEW of the approaching presidential campaign, a description of economic classes as they exist in America today, and a discussion of their political expression, may not be amiss.

The basis of economic classification is the manner of getting a living. All living must come by labor, either one's own, or another's. "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," is still in the long run the embodiment of a great truth, though much of the energy of the race is expended in seeking to avoid a personal application of it. Two classes are distinguished by the fact that they live from the labor of others, not by their own—the capitalistic and the criminal.

The first of these, the capitalistic class, is the most influential and important in America, as in other countries brought under Western civilization—is in fact the governing class. Its living is derived from the three sources of rent, interest and profit, a trinity made familiar by populist agitation. Through these channels the wealth of the country steadily concentrates in its hands, bringing with it increasing power and an aristocratic status; and these possessions and power are used in the effort to hasten the process, to get more wealth and get it faster. Hence arises a more perfect and elaborate organization of the industrial structure, the elimination of competition through trusts and combinations, and the immensely increased productivity of our modern industry. For while in its perfect development this class becomes purely parasitical, its economic function is the extremely important one of organizing industry in a collective fashion, and stimulating production. Historically it is an outgrowth of the middle class.

The next in point of prestige and influence is the professional class, which, however, owing to its lack of distinctive economic interests, is commonly overlooked by socialistic theorists. It may be made to include not merely doctors, lawyers, preachers and teachers, but also scientists, authors, artists, etc. While the capitalistic class is the real authority in government, the actual occupancy of official positions is, in America, generally intrusted to members of this class. Its living is derived from technical or highly specialized labor performed for the public at large in consideration of specific fees for each act of service, or salaries paid by the whole or considerable portions of the community. Historically it is the oldest of existing classes, dating its origin back to the priests and medicine men of pre-historic times. Its lack of any peculiar economic purpose or significance is because, in any

community, its members, chameleon-like, take color economically from their clientele, whose prosperity is their prosperity. A peculiarity of the labor performed by this class is that it is chiefly devoted to the production of desirable conditions, rather than of commodities. This makes the problem of its compensation under the co-operative commonwealth one of the puzzles of constructive socialism.

Probably the next oldest class in America, as also, probably that largest in numbers, is the middle class. This class represents an ideal, if relatively primitive, condition of industry, in which the worker is himself the owner of the means and materials of labor, before the introduction of machinery and the factory system make individual production on a small scale costly and unprofitable. The members of this class are workers, working with their own capital in the production and distribution of commodities, and the class includes farmers owning their own farms, small storekeepers, mechanics having their own shops, etc. The historical evolution of this class from the handicraftsmen and merchant traders of the middle ages down to and including its parentage, in America, of the capitalistic and proletarian classes, is of great interest, and constitutes much of the material of critical socialism. At the present time, the control of production having passed (except in agriculture) to its lusty descendant, the capitalistic class, its new position as a purchaser and consequent contributor to the stream of profit which feeds this descendant, is sapping its resources and bringing about its disintegration. Already it has practically disappeared from the cities and become a rural class. To rise from it to the capitalistic class, though once a normal evolution, is now practically impossible, since the capitalistic class itself, though increasing in wealth, is decreasing in numbers. The more able of its children find their way into the professions, while the great bulk lapse into the proletariat. Remembering its lost wealth and dominance, the middle class is reactionary, seeking always to turn back the march of industrial progress and restore its vanished Eden of a scanty population, living in primitive luxury by individual production independent of accumulated capital. It still complacently refers to itself as "the great unorganized public" and "the people," though contemporaneous political events, mentioned later, would seem sufficient to dispel the latter delusion. Its unfortunate condition begets in its members a peculiar personal vindictiveness towards the capitalistic class, the members of which decline to indulge in internecine competition for its benefit, and organized labor is also not infrequently an object of this animosity. Its future, as a class, is hopeless, except in the domain of agriculture, which as yet capitalism has not successfully invaded.

We come now to a congerie of classes which we may collect-

ively describe, with perhaps a slight critical inaccuracy, as the proletariat. These are wage-laborers, tenant farmers, and the criminal class. We shall also notice a development from the wage-laboring class, which has ceased to regard itself as proletarian, namely the sub-class of executive agents of capital.

Aside from the criminal class, which as before remarked seeks to live without labor, the characteristic of the proletariat is the performance of productive labor by the use of the capital belonging to others, that is, for practical purposes, to the capitalistic class. Proletarians are thus the "dispossessed," those whose only property is their labor power, and who in consequence become the subject matter of that qualified traffic in human flesh known as the wage system. Of these proletarian classes the most numerous and important is the wage-laborers, a class which properly includes not only skilled as well as unskilled laborers, but also those whose labor is of an intellectual rather than a manual sort, such as the great army of clerks, bookkeepers, salesmen, the less skilled musicians, actors, etc. Members of the professional class, employed by a single master, become wage-laborers, since it is no longer the result of their labor that is paid for, but their labor power. In America this class has developed from slaves, imported and afterwards freed, from immigration, and from the disintegration of the middle-class.

Tenant farmers, with farm hands, form the so-called "rural proletariat." They are either farm hands who have married and become renters in the hope of supporting a family, or else they represent a further phase of middle class disintegration. The condition of the rural proletariat is, in many sections, pitiable in the extreme—poverty, hardship and isolation combining to make the lot of the urban wage-worker happy in comparison.

The criminal class is commonly included in the proletariat because its membership comes largely from the "dispossessed," and, on reformation, again proffers itself in the labor market. The criminal class, economically defined, is that which obtains the property of others by wager, stealth, fraud or violence, or through the medium of illicit traffic. What traffic is to be deemed illicit in this connection depends on the provisions of the positive law. An important capitalistic addition to the criminal class must be noted—namely, stock gamblers.

As the capitalistic class ceases more and more to discharge the functions of superintendence, they are intrusted to the stronger, more willing, skillful and successful wage workers, who thereby become what we have called executive agents of capital. These may be regarded as forming a sub-class of wage-workers which is proletarian in all but interest and sympathy. Their remuneration is commonly large enough to make them beneficiaries of the capi-

talistic system, and they are, therefore, among its most enthusiastic supporters. It is these the Sabbath school teacher and the politician have in mind when they assure the children of the poor, and the poor themselves, that in this free and glorious America, honesty, industry and loyalty to the employer's interests will open the door of opportunity to the humblest, etc. But as the number of superintendencies is necessarily limited, and only the strongest and most able can attain them, the incentive to virtue thus held out is not, in analysis, so alluring as its exponents might wish.

Having thus sketched the economic classes which exist in a republic founded on the principle of equality, let us look at their practical expression in the field of politics. Here we cannot enter upon a historical survey, but must be content with the assumption that since the days of Andrew Jackson one or another group of the capitalistic class has been in control, though at times not in perfect or undisputed control, of the national government. To understand, therefore, the economic significance of present day parties and policies, we must first attend to these capitalistic groups as they now exist.

The capitalistic class, which in politics designates itself as "the business interests of the country," lives, as before remarked, off of rent, interest and profit—the first two representing investments in land and loans, the last investments in industrial and commercial enterprises. Two groups of capitalistic interests are thus formed; the first such as flow from relatively fixed incomes, independent of trade, the principal or "parent capital" of which is, in the case of loans, also to be returned in kind; the second, such as arise from the receipt of profit depending immediately upon commerce and manufacture. Now this first group of interests lies in having the purchasing power of the fixed incomes mentioned as great as possible, while the goods purchased are rendered as cheap as possible. In this way the incomes themselves reach a maximum. Accordingly the conservative or "gold" wing of the Democratic party grows perfervid in its advocacy of sound money, and is also the exponent of a free trade policy. Being independent of trade, these interests and the political faction which represents them are free to conciliate the radical Democracy by an acceptance of a reactionary, anti-expansion policy, which is the more favorably received as it promises a lightening of the burdens of taxation.

The second group of capitalistic interests, being immediately concerned with trade and manufacture, must through its political representative, the Republican party, voice their exigencies. Of these a protective tariff is foremost, both to enable a bonus to be collected for manufacturing enterprises from a purchasing public, and also to preserve the American market from being used to relieve the characteristic glut formed by capitalistic production

abroad. But the glut formed with the same inevitableness at home, must also be relieved. Hence the entry into the world race for foreign markets, expansion, the "open door," imperialism, etc. The policy of sound money in the Republican party is merely a half-hearted concession to the first group of capitalists, made at their persistent and frantic importunity at St. Louis, in 1896, after the control of the Democratic organization had been temporarily wrested from them by the insurgent middle class.

The radical Democracy, under the picturesque leadership of Mr. Bryan, represents the middle class, and has its stronghold in the rural west where that class is dominant. This is evident from the characteristically reactionary nature of its policies. As a purchasing class, the middle class seeks to restore competition among sellers by legal fiat; hence its violent opposition to trusts, and its veneration of the Sherman Act as the acme of statesmanship. It is not interested in manufacture, rather, having lost control of it, is hostile to it; consequently it favors free trade and opposes expansion. More than this, it develops ultra democratic tendencies—advocating measures calculated to facilitate its political ascendancy, such as the initiative and referendum, etc. But most of all, constituting with the rural proletariat that portion of the community on which the rent and interest-receiving capitalists prey, did it find its shibboleth in "free silver," seeking by an expansion of the currency and cheapening of the dollar to lighten the contributions to capital thus levied upon it. It is this diametrical opposition of interests between the middle class, and the first group of capitalists, that explains the peculiar hostility between the factions of the Democratic party, which leads either to prefer capitulation to the Republican forces, rather than acquiescence in the other's leadership.

Passing by the Prohibition party as representing a moral sentiment rather than an economic interest, and therefore destined to insignificance, we thus see all classes which have distinctive economic interests represented in the field of politics, except that large, voiceless, politically inert mass, the proletariat. For with the exception of the part borne by the rural proletariat in the middle class rebellion of the latter '90s, these classes have had no part in the country's political life except to furnish the votes by which the ascendancy of "the business interests of the country" has been maintained. The wage-earning class, dependent itself on trade and manufacture, has, consistently enough, presented its vote to the second group of capitalists, and in 1896 and 1900 thus helped to disastrously defeat "the people," despite the fact that the latter was aided by the solid south, which, on account of its peculiar prejudices, must be reckoned as a separate political element. At present, Mr. Roosevelt's somewhat simple-hearted endeavor to enforce the law (i. e., the Sherman law) as he found it, has made

him the idol of "the people," and left Mr. Bryan with a diminished following. But it has also put Mr. Roosevelt decidedly out of touch with "the business interests of the country," and placed him rather in the attitude of one who has proven recreant to his party's historic function. The query arises whether, assuming Mr. Roosevelt's nomination by his party, the middle class can win over the opposition of the solid south, where under otherwise similar circumstances, it suffered two crushing defeats, though aided by the solid south. This must obviously depend on the vote of the wage-earning class, and, though a protectionist, Mr. Roosevelt is not exactly the idol of wage labor. Nevertheless the protective policy might prove triumphantly decisive, were it not apparent that, as long as the capitalistic system of production exists in America, there is no possible danger of free trade.

We have spoken of the proletariat as the "dispossessed", a consequence of the capitalistic system, which separates the laborer from the materials and instrumentalities of labor, access to which is only permitted in consideration of a toll laid upon him; and we have also spoken of the laborer's want of representation in the political field. This latter circumstance is not, however, explicable on the theory that he is destitute of economic interests, nor on the more common assumption that these interests are identical with those of his employer. The rapid growth of trades unions on the one hand, and the formation of employers' associations and "citizens'" alliances on the other, and the savage conflicts between the two, presaging with increasing menace a state of industrial chaos, sufficiently demonstrate that identity of interest between the proletariat and the capitalistic class is a poetic figment of the politician's imagination, or of middle class ignorance and outworn ideals. And nothing is clearer or more certain than that a conflict between economic interests must be reflected and finally disposed of in the field of politics.

Now, it is evident that nothing can afford the proletariat, both rural and urban, complete relief, but the restoration to the laborer of the means of production and distribution, free from any toll levied by the capitalistic class. And it is equally evident this can only be brought about, consistently with human progress, not by breaking up accumulated capital into individual holdings, according to the middle class ideal, but by preserving and promoting the high organization to which capitalistic domination has brought industry—in other words by public or collective ownership. And a third thing is evident, namely, that this change in the legal form of title to capital can only be brought about through the political dominance of the proletariat, since it would be folly to expect the capitalistic class and its adherents to let go voluntarily. This is

socialism, and the declared purpose of the Socialist party. After such a revolution the capitalistic class, having fulfilled its mission in human history, would have disappeared. But as the middle class has proven itself unable to alone grasp political power, so it is probable that the proletariat can never be fused into such an intelligent and harmonious whole as to win its cause unaided. It must look to the middle class for assistance, and this raises the question of how far the proletarian solution of the problem meets the interests of that class. One thing is daily growing increasingly obvious, and that is that for proletariat and middle class alike capitalistic domination becomes intolerable. Yet the interests of the two differ in this, that the proletariat desires free access to the materials and tools of labor, while the middle class merely desires to use the means of production it already privately owns, free from the extortions of capitalistically controlled industry and means of distribution. Public ownership will evidently accomplish the former for the proletariat, but will it not equally accomplish the latter for the middle class? The now defunct Populist party, which was even more frankly and intelligently middle class than the radical Democracy, thought so, when it declared for government ownership of railroads.

But one objection immediately occurs to the middle class farmer, and is, as to him, entirely valid. Would socialism take from him his farm? If so, he will have none of it. It should be apparent from what has already been said that collective ownership and operation of industry can only follow a capitalistic stage in production, during which the industry is brought to a high state of organization and efficiency; and that capitalism itself can only invade those industries which lend themselves to the factory system, or in which quantities of machinery so large as to preclude ownership by the individual laborer can be successfully employed. Now, with all its powerful incentive to make a profit when and where it can, capitalism has not yet succeeded in competing with middle class production in agriculture. The reason is plain. The development of agricultural machinery has not yet passed the point where ownership by the farmer himself ceases to be practicable. It follows that agriculture is not yet ready for collective operation, and may never be. Middle class production in agriculture, therefore, not only may but must persist, even under socialism. True, it would undergo modification. For instance, hired help would no longer be available, since the quondam hired man would have a farm of his own. The amount of land possessed by one farmer would therefore be limited to what he and his boys could themselves successfully operate. Title to all realty might be placed in the state, but this would only operate as a guaranty against capitalistic landlordism and "mortgageeism," while, perchance, giving the public the right to insist on husband-

like farming. On the other hand public control of the distribution of products would operate as a most efficient insurance against crop failures and accidental losses, while the exchange of goods at labor cost possible under socialism, and the final freedom from capitalistic extortion, would undoubtedly raise the farmer's income to a point now reached only by the most prosperous.

It must be frankly conceded that radical public ownership is not the ideal middle class remedy. The point is, though, that it is the only remedy which the advance of industry has left practicable. More than that, it is the only platform on which, from the very necessities of the case, the proletariat can stand, since middle class production could not support so dense a population as our own. The question for the middle class voter, therefore, is not as to a choice of remedies, but whether he prefers capitalistic oppression or an advance to the next stage in industrial development, namely, the collective ownership and operation of capitalistically organized industries.

* * * * *

But all that an analysis of the political situation based on economics can do, at best, is but to explain in some degree the ebb and flow of majorities and the decisive influences at elections. The great mass of the voting population casts its ballots in obedience to a blind habit, prejudice or tradition, with the vital connection between economic interest and party affiliation scarcely if at all perceived. Yet, nevertheless, it is these same economic interests that in the long run and large view are the determining factors, not only in popular, but in all, government.

CLARENCE MEILY.

A Twenty Billion Dollar Combine.¹

A BOOK on trusts by a man who has spent a lifetime in Wall Street and is willing to tell "the truth about the trusts," must at all seasons command public attention, especially so on the eve of a presidential campaign in which both leading political parties will be waging war on the trusts, while the trusts will supply the sinews of war to both sides. The whole truth about the trusts will not be told until the law will compel corporations to make public reports of their business and the government of the United States will be honestly determined to enforce the law. As it is, Mr. Moody may rightly claim the credit for having given to the public more of the truth than the United States census, with all the resources of the national government at hand. The book is replete with reference matter and statistical information, though mostly in crude form, not easily available for general use. It is the object of this paper to digest it for the benefit of the busy reader.

There are, according to the author, in the United States today an aggregation of over 440 large industrial, franchise and transportation trusts of an important and active character, with a floating capitalization exceeding *twenty billion dollars*. The McKinley Industrial Commission a few years ago estimated the capitalization of all trusts at *seventeen billion dollars*, while the XIIth census places it at a little over *three billion dollars*. To the statistical student it is clear that this enormous variance is due to a difference in classification. The Census has framed a purely artificial definition of an "individual combination" as an aggregation "of formerly independent mills which have been brought together into one company under a charter obtained for that purpose." As a result, many important trusts were excluded, "comprising a number of mills which have grown up, not by combination with other mills, but by the purchase of old plants." In other words, if a trust has bought out all its competitors instead of admitting them into the councils of the new body, it is, according to the census, not a combination. Moreover, the strength of the most powerful trusts lies in their mining and railroad properties. But the census of 1900 was limited to manufactures in the strict sense of the term; therefore the income of the trusts from their mines and railroads was eliminated from the census returns.

(1) *The Truth About the Trusts. A Description and Analysis of the American Trust Movement.* By John Moody. Editor "Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities." XXII+514 pp. Moody Publishing Co. New York.

As a typical specimen of this sort of statistics may be cited the fact that the reported value of the output of all refineries in the United States for 1899 exceeds the cost of production by about \$11,000,000,¹ whereas during the same year the Standard Oil Co. distributed in dividends \$33,000,000 and had for three years previous paid the same rate of dividends.²

Mr. Moody has accepted the definition of a trust framed by Mr. Dodd, solicitor of the Standard Oil Co. According to this definition, a trust is a combination "formed with the intent, power, or tendency to monopolize business, to restrain, or interfere with competitive trade, or to fix, influence, or increase the price of commodities."

The solicitor for the Standard Oil Co. certainly knows what is an "industrial combination," and explains it with frankness because his article was written for the *Harvard Law Review*, which is not read by the *Hoi Polloi*.

All trusts are arranged by Mr. Moody into the following classes.

I. The Greater Industrial Trusts. This group includes:

(1) The Standard Oil Co., which is a consolidation of about 400 formerly independent plants;

(2) the United States Steel Corporation (the Steel Trust), which controls 785 formerly independent properties;

(3) the Consolidated Tobacco Co., controlling 150 properties;

(4) the American Smelting & Refining Co., which controls 121 plants; this trust has of late become conspicuous by its relentless war against the miners' organization in Idaho, Colorado and other western states;

(5) the American Sugar Refining Co., which has absorbed 55 plants;

(6) the Amalgamated Copper Co., or the Copper Trust, with 11 properties, and

(7) the International Mercantile Marine Co., the Morgan Shipping Trust, with 6 properties.

II. The Lesser Industrial Trusts.

III. Important Industrial Trusts in process of reorganization, i. e., in plain English, bankrupt trusts.

IV. Franchise Trusts, which include telegraph and telephone trusts, and 103 gas, electric light and street railway consolidations.

V. The Great Steam Railroad Groups.

VI. The "Allied Independent" railroad groups, i. e., minor railroad trusts.

(1) Twelfth Census, Vol. X, p. 683.

(2) Moody, l. c., p. 111.

(3) Moody, l. c., p. XIII.

The following table presents the principal features of these consolidations:

	Number of trusts.	Number of plants controlled.
Greater Industrial Trusts	7	1528
Lesser Industrial Trusts	298	3426
Bankrupt Trusts.....	13	334
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Total Industrial Trusts	318	5288
Franchise Trusts	111	1336
Great Steam Railroad Groups	6	790
"Allied Independent" Railroad Systems.....	10	250
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total Franchise and Transportation Trusts	127	2376
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Grand Total	445	8664

The total outstanding capitalization of these trusts, as stated, exceed \$20,000,000,000, of which about *three and three quarters billions* represent franchise trusts, over *nine billions*, railroad consolidations, and over *seven billions*, industrial trusts. Of course, it must be understood that these values are purely fictitious even from a capitalistic standpoint, being largely diluted with "water," which is a conventional term for fraud practised by the bigger fish upon the capitalistic small fry. But these figures serve, nevertheless, the purpose of graphic illustration. They clearly indicate the importance of public ownership of railroads and municipal ownership monopolies as parts of the general collectivist program.

Nominally there are today about two thousand railroad companies in the United States. In reality, however, a small circle of capitalists controls directly 93 per cent. of the vital steam railroad lines and influences the policy of the remainder. This is accomplished through the so-called "community of interest" plan, i. e., through the concentration of a controlling interest in the outstanding stock of those lines in the hands of the same group of capitalists.

The details of this organization are interesting. There are now about 204,000 miles of steam railroads in the United States; of these, however, about 26,000 miles are small local lines, which are either feeders for the large system and are therefore dependent on the latter, or else they are directly controlled by six "communities of interest," viz., the Morgan group, the Rockefeller-Gould, the Vanderbilt, the Harriman, the Pennsylvania and the less known Moore group. The same interests dominate and partially control the balance of the 13,000 united, and it is only a question of two or

three years when they will absorb most of the latter. The roads over which the Railroad Trust exercises no control, comprise the useless, worn out, profitless mileage of the country, which represents the waste of the American competitive system of railroad construction. Whatever portion of it may become valuable to the larger systems will sooner or later be acquired by them.

Furthermore, the six groups, with the allied "independent" lines are banded together by the closest of commercial and industrial ties. There are elements in every group which are also parts of other groups. The financiers who dominate this railroad trust are J. Pierpont Morgan, the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts, George J. Gould, Cassatt, Hill, Rogers, August Belmont (the democrat), and a few others.

No intelligent man can be blind to the fact—says Mr. Moody—that general railway consolidation in the United States has now proceeded so far that we can never go back to the old discarded method of the many small competing lines. When the Supreme Court of the United States declared traffic agreements and pools illegal, the various competing lines were impelled from motives of their self-protection to consolidate into various "communities of interest" with much greater rapidity than they might otherwise have done.

The author, conscious of the corporation censorship of the press, offers directly no remedy of his own; yet, as the custom is wherever the press is censored, he lets the reader see through the lines of the following statement:

"The question of public ownership and operation will not be discussed here. Its wisdom or unwisdom can only be judged according to the point of view. It is of course an abstract proposition at the present time as far as the American railroads are concerned, and it is not believed that more than 10 per cent. of the American people would advocate its adoption."

Translated from the Russian into the language of free men, it means that though the demand for public ownership of railroads is as yet not strong enough to make its adoption an immediate political issue, yet there are already as many as 10 per cent. of the American people, or 1,500,000 voters who would advocate its immediate adoption.

Speaking of municipal franchises the author again finds himself compelled to adopt Aesop's language in order to hide his ideas from the corporation censor.

"A franchise monopoly," he says, "is a natural condition, and there is no way to prevent its existence, and, furthermore, there should be no desire on the part of the public to prevent its existence. Of course, there are those who claim that this monopoly

should be transferred from the hands of private individuals or corporations, to ownership and operation by municipalities or state. The wisdom of such a course can only be judged according to the point of view of those interested."

Of the 318 active Industrial Trusts, 236 have been incorporated since January 1, 1898. This embraces only large combinations. "Countless smaller and less important combinations" have not been included in these statistics. The degree of control exercised by the trusts within their respective fields has been ascertained by the author for 92 combinations. This is better than the report of the Industrial Commission, which has ascertained this percentage only for 25 trusts. The 92 trusts may be summarized as follows:

Share of trade controlled. Number of trusts.

80 per cent and over	26
60 to 80 per cent	31
50 to 60 per cent	21
Less than 50 per cent	14

Total 92

Where a combination controls the major part of an industry, while the rest of the field is divided among a number of competing concerns, it is "lack of sincerity," as Mr. Moody puts it, to deny the existence of monopoly.

"The more conservative element," says he, "insist that there is no such thing as monopoly in modern industrial and commercial life; and the cant is given learned expression from the mouth of the modern augur in professional cap and gown. A typical specimen of these "official denials" is quoted by the author from a personal conversation with the manager of one of the larger trusts:

"This talk of the elimination of competition is all nonsense. Competition is keener than ever today, but it is of course carried on on a larger plane. Where formerly the small producer competed to reduce his costs and undersell his competitors by the ordinary means of great economy and superior efficiency, he has now gone beyond that point; he has passed the mean level where he can recklessly compete and survive, having found that he must look to other and better methods to obtain advantages over competitors. The advantages he now seeks are not so crude. They consist in going to the root of things, in acquiring and dominating the sources of supply and the raw material; in controlling shipping rights of way; in securing exclusive benefits, rebates on large shipments, beneficial legislation, etc."

See the point? Talk of the elimination of competition!

Why, just look at the bullish market for legislation! Legislators common sell above par, legislators preferred in great demand!

Mr. Moody cannot be accused of equivocation. He states squarely that monopoly does exist. The day is past when competition was the life of trade. Nowadays men find that they can accomplish the same ends far more cheaply and satisfactorily than in the old ways. Monopoly has become a necessary part of modern commercial and industrial methods. The organization and workings of the new industrial system are described in the following lines:

"The greater trusts are all dominated by Standard Oil interests. The dividends of the Standard Oil Co. are more than \$40,000,000 a year and its net profits exceed \$60,000,000 per year. The same interests dominate a variety of minor industries.

"The Rockefeller interests practically dominate the entire public service aggregations of Greater New York, represented by over \$725,000,000 of capital; they are allied in interest with the well known United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, which is itself the leading corporation of the famous Philadelphia or Widener-Elkins group, and which dominates the public utility interests in a number of the largest centers of population in the United States, and in addition controls the lighting interests of a score or more of the smaller American cities.

"And turning to the steam railroad field, we find that the Standard Oil interests are one of the conspicuous factors and are steadily increasing their influence there. It is now freely predicted in Wall street that the next decade will see the Rockefeller interests the single dominating force in the world of railway finance and control.

"The great Rockefeller alliances in the railroad and industrial fields are supplemented and welded together, as it were, through the New York city financial interests of the group. Their banking influence is of very great importance, and their ramifications are far reaching and of great effectiveness. Thus, the Standard Oil chain of banking institutions, headed by the great National City Bank, with a capital and surplus of \$40,000,000, and deposits exceeding \$200,000,000, includes also a number of smaller institutions. Some of these banks have strong dominating influences with the larger banking institutions of other great cities. The Standard interests are also closely allied with the great life insurance companies, such as the Equitable and the Mutual of New York.

"The Morgan domination, like the Standard Oil, makes itself felt through the means and influence of large metropolitan financial institutions and great banks.

"The great life insurance companies, such as the New York Life, and trust companies, are generally rated as being at least partially under the Morgan control.

"It should not be supposed, however, that these two great groups of capitalists and financiers are in any real sense rivals or competitors for power, or that such a thing as "war" exists between them. For, as a matter of fact, they are not only friendly, but they are allied to each other by many close ties, and it would probably require only a little stretch of the imagination to describe them as a single great Rockefeller-Morgan group. It is felt and recognized on every hand in Wall Street today, that they are harmonious in nearly all particulars, and that instead of there being danger of their relations ever becoming strained, it will only be a matter of a brief period when one will be more or less completely absorbed by the other, and a grand close alliance will be the natural outcome of conditions which, so far as human foresight can see, can logically have no other result.

"Around these two groups, or what must ultimately become one greater group, all the other smaller groups of capitalists congregate. They are all allied and intertwined by their various mutual interests. Viewed as a whole, we find the dominating influences in the trusts to be made up of an intricate network of large and small groups of capitalists, many allied to one another by ties of more or less importance, but all being appendages to or parts of the greater groups, which are themselves dependent on and allied with the two mammoth or Rockefeller and Morgan groups. These two mammoth groups jointly (for, as pointed out, they really may be regarded as one) constitute the heart of the business and commercial life of the nation, the others all being the arteries which permeate in a thousand ways our national life, making their influence felt in every home and hamlet." (pp. 491-593.)

Though the power of monopolistic combinations over American industry is thus firmly entrenched, failures are not unknown in the realm of monopoly. People with whom optimism is professional never miss the opportunity to point to these examples as proof that monopoly cannot endure. The table quoted above shows 13 trusts, controlling 334 plants, "in process of organization," which means fraudulent bankruptcy. That is only 3 per cent of all trusts reported and about 4 per cent of all consolidated plants. As well might one claim that capitalism has an ephemeral existence because a few capitalists have been declared bankrupts.

The recent slump in all "industrials" has wiped out nearly two billion dollars of their market value.

With a carefully concealed sarcasm the author reminds the

trust managers and manipulators of the "widows and orphans," who were induced by trusted advisors to transfer their savings into stocks like steel common, copper, etc. Many thousands of this class have been involved in the general collapse. The stocks of 100 leading trusts have declined 43.4 per cent. below their former value. It would seem that there is in that little occasion for rejoicing. Yet the "Commercial and Financial Chronicle"—representative of Wall street interests—has triumphantly declared that "the Trust problem has solved itself": free competition has automatically rectified the overcapitalization of the Trusts by reducing their quotations, to their actual value and now no further remedies for the Trust evil are wanted.

Mr. Moody deceived neither others, nor himself with regard to the future of the Trusts. It is quite probable, he thinks, that there will be various reorganizations within the next few years, but that most of them have come to stay there is no doubt.

The anti-Trust legislation, in the light of past experience, will prove ineffectual.

"Since the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, the public agitation in opposition to Trusts has resulted in no Federal legislation of importance, unless the recently created Department of Commerce and Labor can be regarded as important. The new department has now been in existence about one year, but like the Interstate Commerce Commission, it is already quite apparent that its scope will not go beyond that of a mere statistical bureau, which will file records of comparison for general public uses. It was claimed at the time of the passage of the bill that the new department would have a large and important influence on the future of Trusts in this country. The clause creating the department reads: "The commissioner shall have authority to make under direction of the Secretary, diligent investigation into the organization, conduct and management of the business of any corporation, joint stock company, or corporate combination engaged in commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, and to gather such information and data as will enable the President of the United States to make recommendations to Congress, for legislation for the regulation of such commerce and to report such data to the President from time to time as he shall require.

"If the various remedies which have from time to time been tried or are now being discussed aim at anything they aim to 'curtail monopolies said to be maintained in restraint of trade.' That those which have been tried have not 'cur-

tailed' anything has been well demonstrated by events and we may be equally sure regarding the others.

"In view of these facts, the Anti-Trust legislation which has thus far been tried or broached in this country would appear to be singularly inefficient and beside the point. It does not seem to be in any sense in conformity to the spirit of modern tendencies and conditions. It aims merely to pick the pimples of the social problem, rather than go to the root of things. For when we realize what monopoly is, its depth and width and general importance in modern industrial and commercial life, we can readily see that any kind of legislation aiming to abolish or materially retrench monopoly, would have to be far-reaching and radical in its effects and would constitute a practical revolution in the bases of modern society. Whether one may regard monopoly as a cause or a blessing it is too deeply rooted in civilized society to be whisked away with a broom. This being so there would seem to be no immediate prospect of effective legislation touching the Trust problem." (pp. 498-501.)

As a result of these conditions the author notes the growth of a Socialistic sentiment. "Prominent men in business, journalism and also in financial fields are beginning to quietly admit that they are Fabian Socialists, and assert that public sentiment should be guided with a view to the possibility of a quasi-socialistic regime coming upon us within a generation or so."

Coming from a writer who, as he says himself, has had special facilities for viewing the Trust question from the Wall street standpoint, this testimony is significant. It coincides with other manifestations of the same trend of middle class public opinion. The resolutions in favor of government ownership which were presented by the committee on commercial law of the American Bar Association at its session last August were given wide publicity by the press and need not be repeated here. We wish to quote, however, the following from the final report of McKinley's Industrial Commission:

"There is logically no reason why, if Government operation is desirable as to railroads and natural monopolies, it should not be made to apply to monopolies coming from patents, or to capitalistic monopolies whose chief advantage is that of great capital shrewdly handled."

Among the witnesses who testified before the Commission was Mr. F. B. Thurber, a Trust promoter and a contributor to "The Trust, Its Book" (a eulogy of the Trusts). The following is taken verbatim from his testimony:¹

¹Final Report of the Industrial Commission, p. 646.

Q. Perhaps this is the right place to ask whether, in your study of combinations and Trusts, you have discovered, together with a tendency toward the development of monopolies in all industries, a tendency toward government control of such monopolies; or, in a word, is there a direct tendency to ultimate Socialism of some kind, or government ownership of all things?—A. The tendency is undoubtedly in that direction.

Another witness, a Republican congressman from Ohio, Mr. Robert W. Taylor, gave evidence of the utter helplessness felt by the old party politicians in the face of the Trust problem and his fear of Socialism, whose ultimate victory he clearly sees to be inevitable. Said he¹:

I do not know what the remedy is for the evil—if it is an evil, as I assume it to be—or how we are going to get at it. I do not think that any set of men can be trusted with the power possessed by the combinations as we now find them. I think that no normal man under normal conditions can ever be trusted with great and, in a human sense, omnipotent power, and therefore when you reach that position you have the menace of everything conceivable. I do not doubt at all that as a physical fact of society, as well as an evolutionary movement in the minds of men, the Trust leads to Socialism, points inevitably to Socialism, and will reach governmental Socialism. This is because, first, of the condition of the public mind growing out of it, and, secondly, because whenever the people discern that instead of a number of interests owning or controlling any product or property or production or method of transportation, those elements are unified into one group under one mind and one control, there will come the temptation and the opportunity to the public to say: 'Now, we discover that these enterprises are operated by only a few for the benefit of the few; it is a perfectly simple physical act for us to lay hands on them, and so we will now acquire and operate them for the benefit of all.' The difficulties of government acquiring ownership and the difficulties of bringing the public mind up to the proposition of government ownership arise largely out of the vast contrariety of interest and ownership. Whenever it becomes a simple physical proposition to lay hands on that thing and say, 'We will take that under the right of eminent domain and administer it for the benefit of all,' then you are likely to have that result speedily following.²

It is interesting, indeed, to watch the stock objections to Socialism crumble under the pressure of economic conditions.

¹Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. I., Testimony, p. 8.

²Reports of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XIII., p. 603.

Speaking of the recent Wall street wars for railway control, the *Bankers' Magazine* in a recent issue notes their demoralizing effect upon the management of roads. While the superiority of private over public operation is vanishing, the conduct of government business, says the editor, is, with the extension of the civil service system, becoming more efficient.'

The middle class sentiment in favor of public ownership of industrial enterprises is the outgrowth of "Morganization of Industry," to use a phrase coined by Mr. Moody in a little pamphlet issued about two years ago. "State capitalism" suggests itself to the capitalistic mind as a safeguard of the interests of the capitalist class as a whole against usurpation by a clique of trust magnates.

* * *

In conclusion, the writer wishes to recommend Mr. Moody's book to Socialist lecturers and speakers as a veritable storeroom of information on Trusts. Details are given on a hundred leading combinations; fifteen pages devoted to the smaller Trust will be read with interest as a side light upon the Colorado events. A feature deserving of especial notice is a series of graphic illustrations representing the Trusts as celestial bodies with their comparative magnitudes clearly shown. Statistics are indigestible food for an audience, but these illustrations could be made quite effective and telling with the magic lantern or in the form of charts.

MARXIST.

¹The *Bankers' Magazine*, November, 1903, p. 674.

Impossibilism, Opportunism and Marxism in Italy.

FROM April 8 to 11, the Italian Socialist Party held its eighth national convention, at Bologna. Nearly the entire time of the convention was taken up by the discussion of the tactical extremes which form the Scylla and Charybdis of the socialist parties of all countries. A short glance at the past history of the party will explain how it is that this tactical problem could assume such dimensions in Italy.

In 1892, at Genoa, the Italian Socialists separated from the anarchists and adopted the Marxian method and philosophy. Next year, at the convention in Reggio Emilia, the young party prepared for a speedy conquest of the political power. However, in 1894, at the Parma convention, the Socialist Party found itself confronted by a royal decree of dissolution and by-laws of exception. Of course, even a royal decree could not stop the social evolution. The Socialist Party proceeded on its forward march, just as the German movement had done under similar circumstances, and adjusted its organization and methods to the changed conditions. The conventions at Florence, in 1896, and at Bologna, in 1897, showed the adherence of the party to strict Marxian tactics in their electoral and parliamentary activity. But in 1898, the capitalist counter revolution swept down upon the Socialist Party, and the defense of the most elementary rights took, for a time, precedence over all considerations of typical socialist philosophy. This forced the Socialist Party, quite against its will, toward a co-operation with the radical capitalist parties. As the immediate consequence of these conditions, there appeared a desire on the part of some socialists to approach the radical capitalist parties, and the strict Marxian tactics were gradually undermined by a pronounced opportunist sentiment. The next consequence was a counter reaction in the party itself, which produced an impossibilist wing as a balance for extreme opportunism. Between these two extremes, the strict Marxian tactics found themselves for a while in a rather difficult position. After the general elections in 1900 came the national convention in Rome which, under the guise of local autonomy, threw the doors of opportunism wide open. The unity of the party came into question more than once after that, and has been severely tried up to the present day. Indeed, the danger of a formal separation into a reform and a revolutionary party is by no means past. The convention at Imola, in 1902, found the opportunist element in full control of the party, and they soon went the full length of their rope. Then, when it be-

came apparent that the whole character of the party was being slowly but surely changed, when not only the class-conscious proletarian began to ask itself where it was "at," but also the capitalist government found that the pressure from below was growing perceptibly weaker, there came a double reaction. The government went to sleep so far as social improvements for the working class were concerned, and the class-conscious proletariat prepared for a house cleaning. The opportunist element was confronted by a determined opposition. Their leaders were finally overthrown and the control of the central organ of the party, *Avanti*, was transferred to the hands of the Marxian element.

But in the meantime, the impossibilist element had grown almost as rapidly as the opportunist element, and everybody felt the necessity of making an end to such an unbearable state of affairs and of finding out whether the incongruous elements now united under one political name could stay together or not. Two debaters were appointed, one from the opportunist, one from the impossibilist wing, and instructed to present to the next national convention a full statement of their side of the case. Leonida Bissolati, the former editor of *Avanti*, was selected as the opportunist champion, and Arturo Labriola (not to be confounded with Antonio Labriola, the writer of the "Essays on the Materialist Conception of History") as the champion of the impossibilist side.

Each debater presented his position in the form of a resolution and defended it in a detailed argument. Bissolati's resolution read as follows:

"The convention reaffirms that the Socialist Party must always maintain its autonomous character as a proletarian class party so far as any form or tendency of the capitalist government is concerned, for our final aim is the emancipation of the proletariat from capitalist exploitation. But while maintaining its class character, the party may support such tendencies of the capitalist government as offer a sufficient guarantee for the promotion of reforms that may at any given period be most needed by the proletariat. The convention declares that the party shall continue to make what use it can of the present institutions, without renouncing its intention to transform them whenever they may offer resistance to the demands of the proletariat."

On the other hand Labriola offered the following resolution:

"I. The convention reaffirms the permanently uncompromising and revolutionary character of the Socialist Party and its antagonism to the capitalist state. It brands as a degeneration of the socialist spirit the transformation of the political organization of the proletariat

into a pre-eminently parliamentary, opportunist, constitutionalist, and monarchically possibilist party. It repudiates, therefore, as irreconcilable with the principle of the class struggle and with the true essence of the proletarian conquest of the political power, that co-operation of the proletariat with the capitalist class which consists either in the participation in some monarchial or republican government of some members of the party, or in the systematic support of any tendencies of the capitalist government.

"2. Considering furthermore that any reform under the capitalist regime, even if due to the pressure of the proletariat and partially useful for it, remains always patch work and does not in any way attack the fundamental mechanism of capitalist production, the convention declares that the promotion of reforms shall be left to capitalist parties without any co-operation or compromise of the proletariat, whose mission it is to demand, call forth and superintend the execution of such reforms as manifestly represent the conquest of positions which are useful for the development of the class struggle against capitalism.

"3. Considering also, that the fundamental principles of the socialist theory are distinctly opposed to the institution of monarchy and that the prevalence of monarchial possibilism among the opportunist element demands at the present moment a clear and sharp affirmation of the republic, the convention is of the opinion that the propaganda of the party should spread the conviction of the incompatibility of the proletariat with royalty.

"4. Considering, finally, that the parliamentary activity of the party culminates in the propaganda accomplished thereby, in the training of the proletariat in the management of public affairs, and in controlling the action of the government, and that the party cannot inaugurate Socialism by an act of parliament, nor abolish capitalism or introduce even the measures preparing the new society, the congress declares that the party should not renounce any of its weapons of attack or defense, and should even reserve for itself the right to use force, if necessary."

Each of the two debaters had given out a printed argument in favor of his resolution. Bissolati's argument is summed up by Oda Olberg, in the *Neue Zeit*, in the following words: "The capitalist class is not one sole reactionary mass against which the proletariat must advance in a body. The proletarians have com-

mon present day interests with some of the more radical capitalist elements and must assist them in the struggle against the reaction. Socialism is prepared by reforms and daily realized by them. The reforms most needed by the proletariat at the present time are: Freedom to organize and to defend itself, school reform, tax reform instituting a progressive income tax in place of the tax on domestic consumption, municipalization of public utilities, reduction of the military budget, preparation for the organization of a militia instead of a standing army. The proletariat must support international treaties and arbitration courts, a tariff reducing certain duties and abolishing others, nationalization of railroads, and labor legislation. None of these reforms are incompatible with the monarchy, for the monarchy does not oppose any of them. The proletariat has, therefore, no reason to make any special objection to the monarchy at the present time. If the proletariat insists on doing this, the whole capitalist class will unite against it and thus prevent the conquest of powers by which the proletariat might increase its strength and class-consciousness and forestall a return of the reaction. The proletariat builds up the republic by its present day work, by rising to better conditions of existence through taking advantage of the various tendencies of the capitalist government, by the direct action of the economic organizations, and by the indirect action of legal reforms."

Labriola, on the other hand, claimed that "the conquest of the power by the proletariat does not proceed gradually, and that the co-operative commonwealth is not built up step by step. It must be inaugurated by force and by the sudden expropriation of the owners of the means of production. This expropriation is not prepared by any of the present day reforms. The Socialist Party must not spend its energy on any of these reforms, which will be introduced by the capitalist class itself in the interest of their own power. It is rather the duty of the Socialist Party to educate the proletariat and enable it to relieve the capitalist class in the conduct of public affairs. So long as the proletariat has not attained to maturity, all forcible transformation will end in disaster."

American socialists will readily see that both resolutions and both arguments are extremely one sided. Between these two extremes, the Socialist Party would be rent in twain, for there is no common ground on which they can stand. Luckily for the Italian Socialist Party, there is between these two irreconcilable extremes a strong element which sees the inconsistencies in both of them and acts as a check on them. This middle of the road element stands for unity and Marxian tactics, that is tactics which are neither opportunist nor impossibilist. While either of the two extremes would gladly split the party and each go its own way, provided either could take this middle element along, they

feel that they would be outclassed, if they attempted to split without this Marxian element. And so this element serves to keep them all together. The relative strength of these three factions may be seen by the vote on the two resolutions. When this vote was taken, the middle element abstained from voting and left the two extremes to fight it out among themselves, thus preventing a clear majority vote. Bissolati's resolution received 12,255 votes from 316 delegates, Labriola's resolution 7,410 votes from 198 delegates, while 315 delegates with 12,560 votes abstained from voting. Since the middle element held the balance of power, it forced the two extremes to consider and vote on a resolution which affirmed the unity of the party. This resolution, introduced by Enrico Ferri, read as follows:

"The convention declares that the principle of the class struggle does not admit of any support of any government tendency nor the participation of any socialist in the capitalist government. But the work of the Socialist Party includes many forms of present day activity for the education of the proletariat to a socialist form of consciousness, of criticism of the system of exploitation and parasitism, and of the conquest of political, economic and administrative reforms. The minority must abide by the decisions of the majority and the work of all socialists must be carried on in a united socialist party."

Ferri summarizes his argument in favor of his resolution, in *Il Socialismo*, in the following manner: "The unity of the party does not imply the superiority of one over the other, but the fraternal co-operation in a work of great variety, in which every one may follow his own nature, without hating the other or attacking him personally. So long as the capitalist reactionaries threatened the party, all stood together for the common defense. Now that comparative liberty has been obtained, every one is free to act according to his inclinations. And so it seems sometimes, as if there were ground for quarrels. But there are only natural differences of opinion. As for reforms, they are necessary, but it would be a mistake to devote ourselves entirely to them. Apart from obtaining reforms, we have still much more to do. And the main duty of the Socialist Party is the formation of socialist minds. It is often said that we cannot get reforms, because our thirty deputies are not sufficient to force any of their demands through parliament against the will of the capitalist majority, and that therefore we should work for the establishment of a democracy in Italy. But can we get that democracy with our thirty deputies? The comrades who argue in this way suffer from the illusion that we can reap without having sown. They believe that we can have

a democratic government simply because a few deputies may have an understanding with the present government. I am opposed to Bissolati's resolution, because it still insists on a ministerialist policy in spite of the bitter disappointments of the last years. And I cannot accept Labriola's resolution, because, first, I am opposed to a theoretical affirmation of violence, and second, because it does not express itself correctly as to the essence of reforms." Ferri closed with the appeal to forget personalities and think of the party.

The impossibilist element supported this resolution and it carried with 16,304 votes against 14,844. Thus the unity of the party was once more reaffirmed. But nevertheless, the ministerialist element is strong, and it is by no means certain that they will not bolt in the near future.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

An "Impossibilist" Position.

IT is perhaps unnecessary to say that the name "Impossibilist," as applied to a certain faction of the Socialist party in Chicago is not one of its own choosing. Certain friends who held to quite opposite views in regard to socialist tactics and possibly to fundamentals and who may or may not have considered name-calling argument—or it may have been in lieu of argument—supplied this rather euphonious title.

Not to quarrel over so small a thing as a name they have cheerfully accepted it, not however admitting its import but claiming on the other hand that they present the only possible line of tactics and that those who are opposed to them, program-ists and immediate demanders are self deceived, Utopian and unable to get away from the capitalist mode of thought.

While some of the aforesaid friends have been reasonably busy considering they were drawing no salary for it in explaining the position of the impossibilists the following is submitted as the nearest approach to anything like official action they have ever taken to define their position, being the platform they have proposed to be submitted to a referendum of the party membership in place of the one adopted by the national convention:

PROPOSED PLATFORM FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

We, the members of the working class, who are organized politically into the Socialist Party, call upon every member of our class to join with us for the purpose of capturing the powers of government, that we may take possession of the tools of production, abolish the wages system and establish a system of production for the benefit of the workers.

To-day the tools of production are owned by the capitalist class; they are operated by the working class, but only when their operation will make profits for the owning class. Ownership of the machines, mines, factories and railroads gives to the capitalist class control over the lives of the members of the working class through the wages system.

The owning class can give or withhold employment at will. As a result of this absolute power the workers who perform all useful labor must humiliate themselves by begging for jobs of a class that performs no useful labor. If this permission to work is withheld they and their families must starve.

The wages system is the cause of starvation, disease, crime, prostitution, child labor, stunted bodies and warped minds for the workers, while it gives to the capitalists palaces for homes, the pick of the world's markets for their food, the finest raiment, culture, education, travel and all that makes life worth living.

Society is thus divided into two hostile classes, capitalists and wage-workers. This condition has brought into birth the Socialist Party, the political expression of the struggle of the working class for power. This party owes allegiance to and is a part of the International Socialist Movement.

With a system of industry owned and operated by the workers the struggle for existence would be shifted from the individual to society as a whole.

The ownership of the means of production and distribution by the capitalist class gives this class control of the legislatures, the Courts and all executive offices; republican, democrat and reform parties are financed by the capitalists, and are, therefore, their servants, thus in effect making government the executive committee of the capitalists.

To capture the government in the interests of the working class is the mission of the Socialist Party.

We, therefore, in the name of the working class, call upon every worker, without regard to sex, race or color, to cast aside all considerations and unite with us for the purpose of transforming our class from the slave class of society to the ruler of society.

"Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

Washington, Idaho and I am informed some other states have already adopted this, platform with one slight change, also quite a number of locals so that it has some backing outside of Chicago.

For this platform we claim that it states our position and having done that stops without going into the realms of speculation; that it is written in the language of the working class and may be understood by any man who can carry on an ordinary conversation in the English language.

A platform amounts to very little in the Socialist Party except as it may indicate a tendency in the party to swing in one direction or the other. Chicago Impossibleists are fearful that the platform adopted by the national convention represents a tendency toward the middle class ideals. This is indicated more by its wording than the actual substance of the platform after one has sifted the wheat from the chaff. It acknowledges that the Socialist Party is a working class party but it appears to be afraid that some of its nice friends who wear good clothes and shine their shoes every morning will find it out.

Said one young man, a very intelligent fellow: "The more I study the platform adopted by the convention the better I like it." In that very declaration lies a fundamental objection. A socialist platform should be so plain that no one would have to study it. If interpreters are necessary then we are preparing the way for a set of priests who shall understand our platform and explain it to those who are dull of comprehension at so much per.

I don't say this is the case. I only speak of the tendency. I do not say, that there is even cause for alarm in it. The Socialist Party will swing in one direction one year and in another direction the next as action or reaction happens to be the predominating force at the time the platform is written. At all times it will reflect the economic interests of the delegates and their intellectual developments. Some may wince under this statement but but if it is not true then it is the case that we have had the law of economic determinism repealed for the special purpose of the socialists when in convention assembled. If a convention is composed largely of men who were elected as delegates because they could pay their own way or of men who are drawing salaries from the party then the platform will reflect their economic interest. It may be leze majeste to say it but we will have to hold power before we can calmly refuse to apply to ourselves the rules by which we explain history. In this connection I mention the fact that of the eighteen delegates from Illinois thirteen were either party officials, party employes, lawyers or newspaper writers. This is not to their discredit only it might jar a trifle with the theory that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of that class.

Conditions are different in this country from any other country. The capitalist class of the United States is not the capitalist class of Germany of ten and twenty years ago during the period of the rise and development of the Socialist Party over there. Here where the exploitation is the fiercest the socialist expression should be clearest.

We are now in our formative period but some of our programists insist that we shall play we are a full grown party and go out of our way to find issues that at best must savor of middle class demands. When we grow up we must express ourselves on all questions that in any way affect us but trouble of that sort will come soon enough without looking for it.

Now it is our business to teach economics and to develop "clearness" in our ranks for when the democratic party goes to pieces we will have a crowd coming to us that will tax all our powers to assimilate. The leaven which is to give life to the whole lump must be as large as possible. There will be members enough who want programs to balance the party up without those who want socialism meeting them more than half way. In our party at the present time the "left" which is represented by the impossibilists is too small to keep the party well balanced or else it has not yet found expression. If, however, the telescope through which I look at Colorado shows me clearly the signs of the times they indicate some immediate issues for us before which "schoolhouses not too large but large enough" (I quote from the program) will pale into insignificance.

D. M. SMITH.

EDITORIAL

The Platform.

Seldom has there been a more violent tempest in a tea-pot than the one which is now agitating a small portion of the socialist party over the question of the platform adopted at the Chicago convention. Yet, after all the volume of criticism is really remarkably small. When it is remembered that it was over a month after the platform was adopted before five out of nearly two thousand locals showed sufficient dissatisfaction to demand a referendum, it can hardly be said that the disaffection was widespread, even if it does appear to be deep. When we examine the criticisms we find them concentrated upon three points. First, on the historical accuracy of an allusion in the first section; second, on the somewhat scholastic phraseology, and, third, on the extreme length of the platform as such.

The allusions in the first section turn out to be due partly to the fact that the platform is generally published incorrectly. It has been assumed that there is a reference to the "American people" as being "the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self government," when as a matter of fact the "Socialist Party" is the subject of the clause quoted. Elaborate articles have been written to show that the American revolution was a move in the interests of the just arising capitalist class. No one is more pleased to see this fact recognized than we are, since we have been endeavoring to show this point for some years and practically all that has been said by those who attack the platform from this point of view is to be found in our "Class Struggles in America." But to catch up a phrase like this and tear it out of its text is one of the most dishonest methods of reasoning, and especially since nowhere will the modifications of this point of view and the class character of our present and past government be found more clearly stated than in our present national platform. Again, it is taken for granted that the writers and defenders of the platform do not know that "the idea of liberty" which prevailed at the time of the Declaration of Independence was purely bourgeois *laissez faire*, "free contract," etc., sort of liberty. But this idea of liberty was at that time absolutely essential to the development of social institutions, and those who overlook this fact are themselves taking the bourgeois view of history, in that they are

assuming the existence of "the nature of things," instead of taking the scientific, comparative, historical, evolutionary view, which recognizes that each institution springs into existence as a part of social evolution. There is not a word in the platform that leads any one to believe that its writers thought that the "idea of liberty" held at the time of the foundation of this government was in any way identical with that held by the socialists at the present time. Personally, I do not like this reference, neither do I like the attempt to utilize the bourgeois prejudices in favor of individual property which is found elsewhere in the platform, yet in each case the explanation is so clear that it becomes only a question of literary style and clearness of statement, and not one of principle.

Again, we are told that this platform ascribes some sort of a supernatural or, at least, super-revolutionary origin for the Socialist Party, when it says, "into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization the Socialist Party comes." If the word "into" was changed to "from," we would have an evolutionary statement which the strictest Marxian could not criticise. Again, it is claimed that the platform surrenders the inevitability of socialism. This is the first time that I knew that this was a dogma of the socialist movement. There is no reason why, so far, at least, as any one country is concerned, the capitalist class might not precipitate a bloody revolution which would, temporarily, crush all resistance of labor and leave us, not under a "benevolent feudalism," but under an autocratic reactionary tyranny. The first reply to this would be that this presupposes an unintelligent proletariat. Exactly. And an intelligent proletariat presupposes a socialist movement, which, if we permit the theological phraseology, is "to save the world from chaos." Again, I do not like the phraseology, but again no question of principle is involved, but only one of rhetoric.

It might be well, since we are on the subject of platforms and their influence on a party, to take a look at a platform which is held by a party at which some of those who are criticizing the platform of the Socialist Party are casting "goo-goo eyes." I therefore include here the present platform of the DeLeonite Socialist Labor Party:

"The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced

the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces; is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers, so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all of the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his facilities, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

I have given this quotation in full, because it is probable that nowhere else in the entire realm of the international socialist movement can there be found another platform that contains as many bourgeois, middle class, ideas as are included in that platform. It has Rousseau's Doctrine of Natural Rights; it ascribes a purpose to government, apart from its class character; it assumes the existence of a "true theory of politics" which involves the acceptance of the theological and bourgeois idea that governments derive their character from the purity of the theory in which they are founded. The platform makes the same error with regard to economics; assumes that we have a democratic system of politics; that our government is "corrupted" to class domination, instead of being such by virtue of the capitalist government organization, and talks about the "alienation" of public property, public franchises and public functions by the capitalists, as is they had ever been in the possession of any one else, and assumes with patriotic fervor that the "mightiest of nations" is in "abject dependence" upon that class, instead of being the creation of the capitalists. It assumes a "humane

purpose" on the part of "science and invention," and finally closes with a call "upon all other honest citizens" to come in as a sort of *deus ex machina* to right this horrible condition. It is especially worthy of note that it was no other than the great DeLeon himself, who personally defended all of this rot in the last S. L. P. national convention.

The reason, however, that we have taken up so much space with the platform of this defunct organization is, because it is worth while, as an illustration of the comparatively unimportant part which the platform plays in the development of a party.

As to the platform which the Chicago impossibilists have proposed to substitute for the existing one, this is mainly distinguished by the fact that it contains the word "class" nine times in the first three paragraphs, and seventeen times within less than four hundred words of length. Yet, in spite of all these "blessed words," it does not contain a statement of the class struggle, nor is it written from the class struggle point of view. The historical cause of the origin of classes is not given, and from all that the platform says, socialism might almost equally well have arisen under chattel slavery or feudalism. It has nothing to say of the historical function of the proletariat, nothing to say of the movement of concentration in industry, no explanation of why the working class wants to capture the government, and, in short, is little more than a jargon of some badly worn-out phrases.

Thus, it will be seen that, so far as any positive position is taken, the impossibilists are utterly lacking. So far as their criticisms of the existing platform are concerned, they are mostly questions concerning its literary style and its language. As we have said, several times, we do not like this, either, but we do believe that they are as good, or better, than anything that has been suggested, and we include in this the Indianapolis platform, of which we were one of the writers.

The fact is that the platform has chanced to be the object around which certain opposing tendencies within the party are attempting to rally. It is manifestly unfitted for this purpose, since its defects are not those of principle, and to make a party division over questions of rhetoric and phraseology is hardly possible, to say nothing of being fruitless in its results.

This position is further strengthened by the fact that the rank and file of the membership have paid practically no attention to the discussion so far. It has been carried on by the professional writers and agitators. This is in no sense a reflection upon the class to which we belong, but should serve as a warning that we will largely have our efforts for our pains.

The one lesson which, it seems to me, can be gained from this whole matter is, that our present methods of writing platforms are all wrong. As we stated in a previous issue of the Review, the platform should not be written "between days" by men worn out with convention work. Neither should it be the work of one or two individuals. The only way to avoid both of these things is for the national committee to appoint a

subcommittee at its meeting two years hence. This subcommittee to report one year before the convention of 1908. This will give ample time for examination and discussion and will reserve to the convention its true function, that of passing upon definite points of disagreement.

Some time ago we received a communication from Local Elgin of the Socialist Party, which has been crowded out for lack of space, signed by every member of the Local, certifying that none of the signers were the authors of the anonymous letter which was answered by Comrade Debs in the January issue of the International Socialist Review. The writer of the letter claimed to be a member in good standing of Local Elgin.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The class war in Colorado has attracted the attention of the American reading public more than any other industrial, political or social incident during the past month, having been thrust prominently to the front by the dynamite explosion at Independence, Col., in which a dozen non-union men were killed and many others wounded. Immediately the capitalistic press from one end of the land to the other began to charge the Western Federation of Miners with the crime, the militia that had been withdrawn from the district over the protest of the mine owners was returned, and a reign of terror such as this country has never witnessed since its formation was inaugurated. Every unionist and every sympathizer was hunted down by the soldiers, armed deputies and the Citizens' Alliance "law and order" guardians, thrown into "bull-pens," and later deported into Kansas and New Mexico. "Death to organized labor!" was the slogan, and not only the miners, but members of the A. F. of L., such as printers, carpenters, waiters and other workers were ordered to leave the district. Later, when the capitalists and their tools discovered that they had undertaken a bigger task than they could carry to a successful conclusion, they modified their orders and declared they would simply wipe out the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado, and finally they concluded that they would only uproot the socialism that existed in the miners' organization.

Almost simultaneously with the explosion at Independence the Supreme Court of Colorado decided the case of President Moyer, of the W. F. of M., who was languishing in a bull-pen, as the prisoner of Governor Peabody, who had denied the right of the miners to procure a writ of habeas corpus. The court upheld every act of Peabody, including the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and the latter, who was "doing" the World's Fair when the decision was handed down, quickly rushed into print with this remarkable statement:

"This is the first time the Supreme Court ever sustained this idea, although it has been advanced any number of times. Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, all tried to suspend writs of habeas corpus on occasions during their administration, but their action never was sustained."

Able attorneys question the accuracy of Peabody's claim that Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln attempted to suspend the writ of habeas corpus when the courts were duly organized and prepared to enforce the law. Howsoever that may be, the Supreme Court of Colorado, by a stroke of the pen, placed the crown of imperialism upon this little Nero's brow while he was fiddling away on the World's Fair pike. At one blow capitalism asserted and enforced its right to smash the fundamental principle of republicanism to protect its privileges and hold the working class in subjugation and slavery. Quick to appreciate their advantage, the mine owners and their Citizens' Alliance, in so many words and by their acts, the absolute rulers in the mining district, and the public officials, such as county judge, sheriff, auditor, clerk, etc., were duly summoned

to appear before the self-appointed guardians of law and order and show cause why they should not be removed and chased from the country. Where any of the officials attempted to remonstrate they had their attention pointed to a rope or were required to gaze into the muzzle of a gun, with the result that all the officials who were chosen at the ballot-box by the voters were forced to resign, and the farce was carried to its logical conclusion by the appointment of mine owners and their thugs to fill the vacancies.

To the uninitiated it may seem singular that little or no attention is being paid editorially to this revolution in Colorado by capitalistic dailies. Their efforts are wholly confined to casting suspicion on the miners for the Independence explosion. They ignore the unprecedented Supreme Court decision and clearly unconstitutional and anarchistic method of removing legally elected public officials. The truth of the matter is that the prostituted press is between the devil and the deep sea. If it upholds the courts and the mine barons it convicts itself of high treason to republican institutions, the country and the flag, and thus the shameful occupation of the editors of procuring and seducing voters for their capitalistic parties would become rather precarious. On the other hand, if the daily organs should denounce the capitalistic cannibals of Colorado and their lawless methods it would displease their masters all over the country, for if the capitalists are anything they are class-conscious and quickly checkmate the least sign of treason in their own camps. So the newspapers, "the molders of public opinion," "the watch-dogs of liberty," and so forth, are ominously silent regarding the invasion of constitutional rights and republican principles as they have been understood in this country for over a century, or occasionally mildly reprove the Peabodys and Bells and theirimps for being unduly severe in punishing persons who are not miners.

This same capitalistic press—which informs workingmen how to vote—was, it will be remembered, pretty unanimous that the miners were guilty of committing such crimes as the attempted wrecking of the F. & C. C. railway train, the explosions in the Sun and Moon and Vindicator mines earlier in the strike. Fierce were the denunciations that were heaped upon the "lawless" unions for their alleged criminal methods, and many and long were the editorials ground out to show how our institutions and society must be protected, how violence and the show of force is bound to injure the cause of the miners, and what a bad lot generally the latter really are. But when these cases came to trial and the thugs and scabs in court not only failed to fix these crimes upon the strikers, but convicted themselves out of their own mouths as being the real culprits, dynamiters and train wreckers, hardly a word seeped through the censored Associated Press, and the writer does not know of a single daily paper that made any editorial comment regarding the damnable plot to convict innocent men of dastardly crimes that were instigated by the mine owners or hatched by their imported thugs. Not one newspaper reader in ten has the slightest idea how those earlier trials culminated, and no doubt the vast majority believe that the miners were guilty of the crimes that were laid at their doors by the reptile press. The fact is that in the strike of almost a year not a single miner has been convicted of committing murder or any other overt act.

From all the information that I am able to gain by a careful perusal of the weekly newspapers that have not been suppressed in the strike district I do not hesitate to express the opinion that never before has this country been disgraced by such infamous conspiracies and crimes as those perpetrated by Peabody, Bell, the Mine Owners' Association, the Citizens' Alliance and the other unchanged scoundrels that they control. So rotten with corruption has Colorado's ruling class become that even Butcher Bell, in a moment of sanity, handed in his resignation before

the Independence explosion and the Supreme Court decision and issued a statement to the Denver newspapers in which he charged that his partner in inquiry, Governor Peabody, used the militia to further the ends of the mine owners, declaring that "that force was actually degraded to the uses of the local corporations who connived at the breaking of the law." Later it was stated that the reason Bell threatened to resign and go to Mexico to engage in mining was that he and Peabody quarreled about a division of spoils. Bell was to hold the militia near Denver, to make a demonstration at "target practice" during the municipal election and throw the troops into the city when an expected disturbance occurred that was doubtlessly planned beforehand, for which he was to receive \$5,000. But at the last moment Peabody is said to have made an arrangement with the Democratic bosses to give the latter a free hand to win a "victory" at his expense and because of his unpopularity. The Republican bosses and the Citizens' Alliance denounced and threatened him, but without avail—he had probably received his price. At any rate, by "borrowing" the money in a school fund, and with the assistance of his Denver Democratic allies, Peabody went down to the St. Louis pike, the Democrats won the election and Bell handed in his resignation. Thus the situation looked somewhat desperate for the mine owners. There was demoralization among their supporters, the militia was being withdrawn, and their mines and smelters were as crippled as ever. All was quiet for a few days, when suddenly the Independence horror occurred, the Supreme Court decision was sprung, Peabody and Bell apparently settled their differences, and the reign of terror began.

When all the facts are brought to the light of day, if that will be possible, they will undoubtedly startle the country as nothing has for generations. That there have been dastardly plots and foul conspiracies hatched among the petty tyrants and plutocrats of Colorado there is little doubt, and considering the history of the great struggle in that state, and the acts of those who have flagrantly trampled upon all laws, principles and constitutions, every fair-minded person is forced to come to the conclusion that if there is help to be stretched a beginning should be made at the top. It is to be hoped that the miners' officials will spare no effort to expose the real criminals in Colorado and bring them to justice.

In conclusion, I must mention the fact that the United States Supreme Court has just decided a case that was hardly noticed, and certainly not commented upon by the daily papers, but it was, nevertheless, one of the most important decisions rendered in the history of American jurisprudence. The Supreme Court holds that a fellow-servant is responsible for either the carelessness, the negligence or incompetency of another employee. The case at issue was one in which the operator failed to give orders, which resulted in the death of a fireman. His wife brought suit for damages against the company. The case was carried to the Supreme Court. The court held by a vote of 5 to 4 that the railroad company was not responsible, holding that the wife should seek redress from the operator who was in error. If this decision stands, and it will now that the highest tribunal has spoken, it means that employers' liability acts are not worth the paper they are printed on, and that henceforth capitalists need pay no attention to damage suits that are filed by unfortunate victims or their relatives who are compelled to suffer because of the greed of a calloused employer. This is the decision that every corporation in the land will hail with delight. Now Money Bags is no longer liable for the murderous method in which he dictates his shop, railroad or mine must be run. He has unloaded that responsibility upon labor, of course, and can now speed up the machinery and turn any industry into a veritable hell.

That the Colorado outrages are having a tremendous effect upon the working people of the country in causing them to seriously consider the industrial conditions of our time is undoubted. For weeks the class struggle in the Centennial State has been the one important question to be discussed by the labor press, in meetings of trade unions and among the toilers generally. Everywhere the men and women in labor's ranks are becoming aroused by the outrages that have been perpetrated by capitalism and its politicians, everywhere there is a demand for information and literature relating to the class war, and the thoughtful unionists are beginning to agree that something must be done in a political way to resist the unbridled tyranny of combined capital and its puppets in office. Add to the Colorado turmoil the activity of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Citizens' Alliance and various organizations whose avowed intention is to enforce "open shops" in every branch of industry and disrupt the trade unions, and it can be readily understood that the workers are in a frame of mind where they will listen to every reasonable plan proposed to safeguard their interests and defraud the few rights they still possess. They have seen the trusts and combines arbitrarily advance the prices of necessities that enter their homes with one hand and with the other cut down wages and destroy the purchasing power of the workers in the principal industries. While the unions resisted the reductions and were unsuccessful, and at the same time were helpless to prevent the raise of prices of living, the members are beginning to see that as industrial organizations purely they are unable to solve the problem, and that those who control the courts, the legislative bodies, the militia and police hold the whip. Hence it is that the principles of socialism—political solidarity of the workers along class lines to conquer the powers of government—are given ready ear, and it is admitted that they compose in fact the only real live issue before the people. There is no question but the campaign this year will result in widespread education and fewer men than ever before will be herded at the ballot-box like cattle by capitalists and voted for the old parties. The industrial developments during the past year have played straight into the hands of the Socialist party, and there is no escape for the working class except through that party. The Republicans are defenders of the great capitalist interests, as practically every student of economics admits. The Democrats are again "reorganized," the radical element having been killed off, and they are making a bid for the support of the trusts and combines. Thus it is merely a scramble for office, with both parties competing for the honor (?) of serving labor's historic enemy—capitalism. The trust barons have barrels of money to give out and the politicians are crazed by the smell of graft and they care absolutely nothing about labor or its complaints. What they have done or left undone in Colorado can be applied to any other state or community. When labor is in trouble the politician, who is kept in office by labor's votes, takes to the tall timber or aids the capitalists. He is never heard of assisting the men and women who go on strike against oppression and for better conditions. Then why should those hypocrites be placed in power? Let the capitalists, whose friends they are, vote for them and elect them if they can. If labor must make its own industrial fights, why should labor not make its own political fights? These are questions, I repeat, that are now being discussed by the organized workers, and the platform adopted and the candidates nominated by the Socialist party at the Chicago convention look good to the thinking men of the trade union movement.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Germany.

That the fear of German Social Democracy is steadily increasing among the ruling classes is evidenced by the recent establishment of an "imperial union against social democracy." The founders of this organization talk very much like the Citizens' Alliance and Employers' Association crowd in America. The capitalist papers, however, seem to think that much will come from it. The organization claims to have an income of 50,000 marks a year, of which 18,000 marks only comes from the memberships, the rest coming from some unknown individual. *Vorwaerts* remarks that the working class will derive new courage and new willingness to fight from the appearance of this new opponent.

There has been considerable discussion over the recent trials of some of the revisionists within the party, but the committee which was appointed to consider their cause has reported against the expulsion of any of them.

The Volks Tribune of Vienna comments as follows upon Edward Bernstein's new weekly paper *Das Neues Monttags Blatt*: "While there is no law in Prussia providing for legal rest on Sunday, this is the first instance of a Social Democratic paper appearing on Monday. One of the *Vertrauensmänner* from the Fourth Berlin Electoral District has protested against this latest private enterprise of the principal revisionist of the party and has called upon the comrades to withhold all support from the new editor. It seems like an insult to the idea of a May festival for a comrade standing in the foremost ranks of the party membership to bring out a paper on the second day of May dedicated to the support of a party which demands a thirty-six-hour Sunday rest and that the first number should be brought out, of all times, upon a Sunday which was the first day of May."

Norway.

The Norwegian Socialist Party held its congress on the 23d to the 26th of May at Drammen. There were 194 delegates present. The report of the party showed that the past year was one of the most rapid growth in the history of the party. Ninety-one new organizations united with the party, which now number 347 organizations, with 19,800 members. At the last election four delegates were elected to parliament with 24,326 Socialist votes. The municipal government of Christiania has 14 Socialist members in its council. These, however, are able to accomplish little, as they are faced by a compact majority of 48 reactionaries. There is a Woman's Movement connected with the party with 450 members. A municipal program was adopted, containing the following:

1. Continuous development of popular schools, having in view the attainment of universal education for all children (the expense of all instruction to be paid through taxation).
2. Municipalization of hospitals.
3. Municipal nurseries without taint of charity.
4. Humane care for the needy, old and incapable of work in municipal homes.
5. Municipal libraries and baths.
6. The regular municipal budget to be increased by the addition of a sum to be applied to the creation of a fund to supply work for the unemployed and for temporary assistance of the same as well as contributions to the treasuries of the unions.
7. Abolition of the contract system.
8. No new establishments for the sale of intoxicating liquors and the greatest possible restriction and taxation of those existing at the present time.

From *Vorwaerts* we learn that the liberal labor movement is rapidly dying out in Norway. One of the oldest liberal unions, that of Drammen, by a vote of 102 to 3, decided at its last general meeting to unite with the Social Democratic Party.

France.

Even the French Socialist papers agree that it is almost impossible to decide exactly what has been the effect of the recent French elections on the strength of the Socialists in municipalities. At first the election was hailed as a defeat to the Socialists, since Lille and Montluçon were lost to the party after having been held for several years. Nevertheless, when the elections as a whole are considered it is a conclusion of Louis Dubreuilh in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* that the party as a whole has gained since it controls more municipalities than ever before and has largely invaded new territory. Their defeat in the places named above was due to the fact that for the first time the liberals refused all support to the socialist ticket, so that the vote as it now stands is a measure of the clear socialist strength.

Belgium.

The following is the result of the Belgian elections: The Socialists have gained two seats in the Senate and the Government majority in that body, which was one of 16 before the election, is now only 10.

In the Chamber the Socialists lost seven seats and gained one; the Liberals gained nine seats, while the Clericals lost three seats. In the new Chamber the Government have only a majority of 20, instead of one of 26. It looks as if the Democrats had voted for the Liberals instead of voting as before for the Socialists. It must be remembered, too, that the Liberals had adopted some articles of the Socialist programme.—*Justice*.

Sweden.

The Swedish Parliament has once more adjourned without granting universal suffrage. It will be remembered that nearly two years ago there was a great universal strike in Sweden, lasting for three days, at the close of which the laborers were given assurance that the next session of parliament would grant them universal suffrage. However, the proposition was this time defeated by a very close vote of 116 to 108, which would indicate that the day of victory was not far distant.

BOOK REVIEWS

American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty. By Isador Ladoff.
Charles H. Kerr & Co.: Cloth. Standard Socialist Series. 230 Pages.

This work is very largely a compendium of facts. It is just the sort of study of census and other official documents that has been needed in the Socialist movement for some time. The chapter on Pauperism and Poverty in the United States leaves one with an impression of the terrible mass of poverty existing in the United States that can never be forgotten. In the third chapter these facts are specialized with regard to the "children of poverty." This gives details of the number of destitute children, the number who are engaged in industry, with some illustrations of the worst conditions in such industries. In the fifth chapter, on Industrial Evolution in the United States, we have a very satisfactory summary, with, as before, an immense mass of statistical information concerning the changes which have taken place in capitalization, wages received, amount of product, etc., for the United States. The final chapter on the Abolition of Poverty draws the irresistible conclusion from the facts built up in the previous chapters, that the terrible mass of poverty and suffering by men, women and children is unnecessary, and that it is due to the present organization of industry. Furthermore, he shows that this industrial organization is moving towards socialism. There are few books that will prove more irresistibly convincing to the non-socialist reader, or more fertile of valuable information to the socialist worker.

Les Trusts Americain. By Paul LaFargue, Giard & Briere. Paper, 147 pp.

It is interesting to note that the first work by a socialist on the American trust movement should be written by our well known French comrade. It shows the internationality, at once, of capitalism and socialism. The reason for the writing appears from the following quotation from Marx, which appears upon the title page: "The country the most highly developed industrially shows to those who follow upon the industrial scale the image of their own future."

There is an excellent survey of the existing trust movement, together with short chapters treating of the Standard Oil, Tobacco and Steel trusts somewhat in detail. But the most important portion of the book is that in which it discusses the economic action of the trust system. The various sub-heads of this part will give a hint of the subject matter. They are as follows: Industrial Integration; Trust System and Commerce; Profits, Banks; Depersonalization of Property.

Although the author repeats Marx's statement, that exploitation takes place in the act of production and not in the act of exchange, he accepts the position that the trusts have the power to raise prices, and states, in regard to the trusts and the handlers of agricultural products, page 86, "they dictate the price of grain and animals."

Life of Albert R. Parsons, with a Brief History of the Labor Movement in America; Also Sketches of the Lives of A. Spies, Geo. Engel, A. Fischer and Louis Lingg. Edited and Published by Lucy E. Parsons. Chicago, Ill.

The hanging of the anarchists in Chicago is now sufficiently a matter of history to permit its discussion without the heat of prejudice that a frightened capitalist press had thrown upon it at the time of its occurrence. The pardon of Governor Altgeld, with his reasons for granting it, which is included in this work, has shown with absolute certainty that the men who were hanged upon that November day in 1887 were murdered for no other reason than because victims were needed to frighten the working class back into humble submission. This work tells the facts of the events leading up to and during that tragedy in as full and accurate a manner as they are to be found anywhere. There is a brief introductory chapter, giving a survey of the labor movement in America. Then only a small portion is distinctly biographical of Parsons, the most of the work being given up to selections from his writings and speeches, and in describing the Haymarket massacre, and the subsequent events. This is as it should be, since these events make up a part of the history of the struggle of labor in America, and while, from the side of labor, this is principally valuable as showing errors to be avoided, it is also valuable as showing, if any further proof were necessary with Colorado before our eyes, that the present ruling class will stop at nothing in their endeavors to terrorize those who threaten their rulership. Although little attempt is made at "fine writing," there are portions which, because of the tremendous and terrible facts that are being told, reach a dramatic height that thrills and enthralls the reader.

Social Progress; A Year Book and Encyclopedia of Economic, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics. Josiah Strong, Editor. Baker & Taylor. Cloth, 273 pages, \$1.

This marks the beginning of what it is hoped will be a series of very valuable books. As a beginning, it is excellent. It contains within the compass of one convenient volume a large proportion of the facts which any worker along social lines will want to use. The portion on vital statistics is very satisfactory, covering, in addition to population, nativity, etc., the ownership of homes, marriages and divorces, occupations, size of families and persons in a dwelling, area of parks and play grounds, etc. The facts concerning the growth of manufactories in the United States since 1850 are given with considerable detail, the census figures being supplemented from other sources. The statistics on child labor are supplemented by a summary concerning child labor legislation, as is that on accidents by a similar summary of factory legislation. The figures on socialism have been compiled by National Secretary Maily, and the editor of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, and these are supplemented by an article by H. G. Wilshire on the Progress of Socialism in 1903. It is manifestly impossible to summarize anything so condensed as a reference book, and we have only attempted to give a suggestion of its contents. It would be easy to criticise. There are sins both of omission and commission, many of which will be rectified in a later number. Perhaps the most unsatisfactory part of the work consists of the series of articles on foreign countries. Some idea of their onesidedness is gained when we notice that the articles on France, Germany and Italy give no hint of there being such a thing as a socialist movement in existence, while the Russian article, on the contrary, is devoted almost exclusively to the socialist movement, and has almost nothing to say of the remarkable industrial evolution which lies back of the socialist movement. The bibliography which is given is, also, rather unsatisfactory, and will require much revision. Nevertheless, the book is one which every socialist writer and speaker at least should have at his hand.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM.

This series of booklets, started in 1899, and now including forty-one numbers, is one of the most important means for educating new converts in the principles of international socialism. Each booklet contains thirty-two pages with transparent parchment cover, the type being larger or smaller according to the number of words to be brought within the space. The size is just right for an ordinary business envelope, and the paper used is so light that one of the booklets may be mailed with a letter of one or two sheets under a single two-cent stamp. The booklets cover a wide range of subjects, so that they afford answers to almost every question likely to be asked by a prospective convert. The price is five cents a copy, but stockholders in the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company have the privilege of buying copies at a dollar a hundred, postpaid, or two cents each in smaller lots, while if ordered in quantities by express at purchaser's expense, the rate to stockholders is eight dollars a thousand. The latest addition to the series is "The Socialist Catechism," by Charles E. Cline. The answers to the questions in this booklet are for the most part given in the exact words of the standard writers on socialism, and they are supplemented by study-references to books explaining each subject in detail. The booklet is thus an exceedingly valuable one to put into the hands of a beginner.

New Stock Subscriptions.

The fifth day of July breaks the record for new stockholders. On that day three subscribers paid ten dollars each for a share of stock, two others made their final payments and received their certificates, two more made application for stock within the initial payment, and still others sent money to apply on stock subscriptions. The co-operative company has grown to a point where membership in it is a necessity to any local or individual trying to circulate the literature of scientific socialism. The company is not run for profit; it could undoubtedly make more money by publishing literature appealing to careless and ignorant readers rather than to those who are looking for the truth and are willing to study. But it is not run to make money. No one receives any dividends, and the officers have thus far worked for less than the wages of a union carpenter or bricklayer. Possibly they may strike when the debts are

paid, but to get the company out of debt is the first concern. As long as any money is owing to non-socialists, the danger remains that in a time of industrial crisis, the creditors may act for the capitalist class as a whole in suppressing the socialist publishing house. And there is even a danger in any permanent debt to socialists, since in the event of any acute disturbance over questions of party policy, the heavier creditors might bring pressure to bear to throw the influence of the publishing house on the side of one particular faction.

We have the nucleus of an organization which will insure the democratic control of the company by a large body of socialists, too widely scattered over the country, or rather over the world, to be subject to waves of local prejudice. (It may be interesting to note that one of the new subscribers to our stock during the month of June was the Social Democratic Federation of London.) But to put this company on a safe basis it is necessary to clear off the debt.

Contributions Since Last Month.

On page 776 of the Review for June is an acknowledgement of the subscriptions to the fund for wiping out the deficit on the Review for last year. This fund should grow until, with the increasing stock subscriptions, it wipes out the entire debt of the company. The fund now stands as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$718.47
George D. Sauter, Missouri .....	.60
Anonymous, Massachusetts	10.00
Mrs. Mary Girod, Wisconsin	1.00
Albert Smith, Maryland	1.00
W. D. Hurt, Missouri	1.00
George W. Blue, Indiana	2.00
Allen W. Stuart, Missouri	1.00
Henry Fliniaux, Nebraska	10.00
Frank Scherrer, Montana	5.00
Thomas Jensen, Washington	10.00
Cameron H. King, Jr., California	5.00
James C. Wood, Illinois (additional)	10.00
I. H. Watson, Texas	5.00
Mrs. A. M. J. Howe, New Hampshire .....	.50
Frank Fisher, California	2.00
H. R. Kearns, New Jersey	13.00
H. B. Asbury, Kentucky	8.50
A. F. Simmonds, New York .....	.50
Total	\$804.57

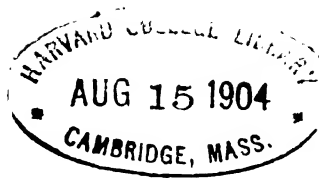
A circular letter has been mailed each stockholder explaining in fuller detail than our space here will admit, the offer of a stockholder to whom the company owes over \$8,000, that he will from this balance contribute

the equivalent of the total of all other donations made to the co-operative company during 1904. Large sums count on this proposition, and so do small sums. If each reader of the Review will do what he can, the necessary fund will soon be raised.

This announcement is not so interesting as the description of a large variety of newly-published books. But the company has already published books up to the limit of safety. The description of these in "What to Read on Socialism," mailed to any address on request, speaks for itself. To go on publishing more books on borrowed money, on the eve of a probable industrial crisis, would endanger the whole publishing house that hundreds of socialists have so toilsomely built up. One united effort during the next few weeks will clear the way for a more rapid growth in the output of socialist literature than has ever been known in any country before.

America is ripe for socialism. Whether genuine international socialism is to come at once to the front, or whether we are to have a long and painful siege of opportunism, depends largely on the amount and the kind of socialist literature circulated in the near future, and this again depends to a very considerable extent on the financial position of this publishing house.

Comrades, it rests with you to say whether the growth of our work shall be rapid or slow.



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AUGUST, 1904

NO. 2

The Ethics of Historical Materialism.

THE ethical teachers of the ruling classes spout forth their endless refrain of the sinfulness of human nature, and draw out long sermons on the necessity of changing human nature by simply embodying in the human brain certain ideas of a so-called altruistic or moral character. But the things of the universe, of which human nature is a part, are neither good nor bad. Ideas of good and evil are but standards made by the human brain. The circulation of matter is eternal, so far as we are able to discern. In a never-ending process of fertilization, of growth, of decay, atom displaces atom, plants come and go, animals and men appear and disappear, worlds develop and pass away. Whether we consider this process good or bad makes no difference. We have been, and still are, drifting particles in this great rush of life. We are swept along by the tide of the universe, whether we like it or not. We are but products of the world process, no worse and no better than it is itself. If there is any sin in us, it is in the whole universe. If in this process there is developed an intelligence which begins to discriminate between good and evil, it can only be a discrimination between that which is useful and that which is dangerous to its existence and progress. But such a discriminating intelligence is not an attribute of man alone. It is also found among animals far down in the scale, modified only by the possibilities of their physical structure. Such discriminating actions as the selection of the proper food, climate, sanitary locations and surroundings, avoidance of dangers, provision for the future, and the like, are found among even invertebrate animals. And we have but to open our eyes in order to see that human society can learn from such animals as ants and bees how to make co-operation and division of labor a means of amply providing for every member of the community. The majority of men are still far from co-operating consciously for such purposes. More than that, we

may well say without fear of contradiction that no man living today is so fully self-conscious and follows the dictates of his self-consciousness so closely that he always does just that which is ideally correct for his individual and social life. And if there were one so self-conscious and self-controlled, he could not materialize his ideals, because the present social system and the resulting social control over natural forces would prevent him.

Furthermore, if we closely analyze how this intelligence works in the human brain, we find that it is but a process of reactions on external or internal stimuli, all of which are in the last analysis controlled by chemical and physical laws. Without such a physical and chemical basis, there is no intelligence. The functions of our brain so controlled constitute our *soul* life, and the general principles of this process apply to the *soul* life of every particle of matter, whether it be a crystal, a vegetable cell, an animal protoplasm in the amoeba or in the human brain.

Where, then, is the starting point of your ethics, you teachers of conventional morality? Where is the place at which "evil" enters the universe? Where is the moral principle applicable to man which is not at the same time applicable to all of nature? Where and when did *sin* enter the cosmic process? If there is anything pertinent in your ethics, it is the golden rule. And what is there in that rule which did not exist in the relations of every particle of matter from time immemorial? Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you! But that is simply the so-called *conscious* expression of the fact that any atom of the universe is in the same boat with every other atom, and that an injury to one is an injury to all!

The social relations of man are subordinate to this infinite interdependence of every atom in the world process, and we need no other ethical code but the understanding of this process!

When the full significance of this materialistic conception of the world dawns on the intellect of man, he realizes that an injury to his neighbor, whether in the next house, or in the next continent, or on the next planet, is an injury to himself. What you must teach, therefore, is not abstract ethical formulas alleged to stand for all time to come, no mysterious juggling with *good* and *evil*. What is needed, and sufficient, and alone *ethical*, because alone vital and effective, is an understanding of the irresistible process of universal evolution, whether it be natural or social evolution.

With your ethics, you assume that man is a "free moral agent," has a "free" will, and can at any time decide whether he wants to do this or that. But whatever may be said of the so-called free will, science knows that the will of man is the outcome of hereditary qualities transmitted by an evolutionary process as old as the universe, and that this will can become "free" only

to the extent that the brain of man acquires control of his entire environment. The conventional ethics assume that any normal or "average" man is always master of his "free" will under any circumstances, and that any normal man can at any time rise above his entire environment. This is seen to be an utter impossibility when we grasp what the term environment really signifies.

Such a powerful will as the conventional ethics attribute to individuals and to mankind in general, can only be the outcome of a long evolution of the brain. It has never yet been possessed by a sufficient number of human beings to be felt as a social force, as a conscious class movement to rise above class environment. It would have meant nothing less than that ancient slavery would have been abolished, because the slave owners came to the conclusion at a certain historical moment that slavery was immoral; that the feudal lords, the strongest of whom was the great *moral* church, would have decided at a certain historical moment by their own "free" will that serfdom was immoral and abolished it; and that in our times, the capitalist class will arrive at the psychological moment where they, by their own "free" will, may give way to the working class and abolish wage slavery, because they suddenly realize that it is immoral. But we know as a matter of fact that there were thinkers in ancient society who condemned slavery as immoral, and yet it was never abolished until by the development of economic laws it became unfit to survive. And it came to the surface again and again, whenever the economic environment favored it, in spite of thousands of years of *moral* outcries against it, so that, for instance, the pious New Englanders were enabled to make plenty of money out of it, to foster it, and in their turn to condemn it as immoral when they found that wage slavery was more profitable. Serfdom also showed the same vitality in spite of all *moral* raving against it, and flourishes today in the shadow of the Stars and Stripes, as did slavery. So is wage slavery now denounced by the socialists as immoral. And yet the spokesmen of the ruling classes see nothing immoral in it, though it degenerates little children ere they develop a *soul*, though it drives countless innocent women into prostitution, though it is the incentive and motive of every corruption and vice with which modern nations are cursed. The ruling classes, so far from following their own ethical standard, rather defend wage slavery as moral, as the best system in the world. And it will continue in spite of its utter immorality, until the working classes will rise in their political might and remove the last tottering remains of the economic basis on which it grew.

Do I, then, attribute no value whatever to ethical teaching? Do not misunderstand me. If you refer merely to your conven-

tional ethics, I proclaim their utter bankruptcy. But if you ask me whether I believe in *any* ethics, then I proclaim the ethics of the proletarian revolution as the only vital and inspiring force of modern nations.

So long as human society consisted of primitive groups held together by bonds of blood kinship, there was no such thing as a belief in abstract moral forces, in a moral God. Sexual kinship served as the motive that guided all the members within a certain tribe, and these relations often assumed religious shape in cults and devotions. Within the sex group, blood ties and the need of common protection against the wilderness served as sufficient motives to hold the group together. Outside of the group, the "ethical code" prescribed blood revenge, life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth.

When division of labor passed the sex line and grew more specialized, when new economic relations arose in consequence, when the sexual groups were broken to pieces and property relations took their place, the antagonisms and wrongs of the new relations found expression in various moral codes, all of them taking for their basis the traditions of the ancient forms of group life and generally partaking of the character of sanitary rules and general wisdom of life. Gradually with the further shifting of property relations, these ethical codes grew into religions that offered a happy life after death for the lack of happiness here below which no amount of moral teaching was able to procure for the mass of mankind. With this same evolution, the ethical codes grew into "laws" forbidding interference with the "hallowed" property relations and appointing a supernatural God as the chief of police who was at the same time the supreme court and executive of all "authority" here below. Morality became a social code when morality in economic relations had ceased. This stage is reflected in the Mosaic ten commandments, which stand as a monument of a society based on "constituted" authority and unjust property relations, of a moral code grown out of a fundamentally immoral social system. The ten commandments were intended as the constitution of the early Jewish people, but like all constitutions it was soon found necessary to add numerous amendments to them, which we find scattered through Leviticus and the prophets, all of which, however, remained dead letters, much as do the amendments to the United States constitution and that venerable document itself. These religious morals have been preached, in a more or less religious disguise, as long as ten thousand years ago among Egyptians and Babylonians, perhaps not quite so long among the Chinese nations, as long as five thousand years ago among the Jewish people, as long as nineteen hundred years among Christian nations. Yet they never checked to any considerable degree the promptings of the material

interests of the ruling classes, nor palliated the exploitation of one class by another, nor stopped war among the various nations professing these so-called high morals. If they were used as an evolutionary force in historical movements, they were so only to the extent that they served the historical interests of rising social classes or of reactionary classes that used these ideas to maintain their supremacy. This was the case, for instance, with the early Christian teachings, which were finally captured by Constantine when they threatened to become dangerous to the then existing order. It was again the case in the 13th century, when the Franciscan movement, inaugurated by Francis of Assisi, and seeking to revive ancient communism, threatened to become a serious thorn in the side of papal feudalism. The reigning pope then emasculated this proletarian movement by persecuting the working proletariat, who were its vital force, and favoring the loafing proletariat, who were reactionary, until what might have been a truly revolutionary power became a begging appendage to religious feudalism. Francis of Assisi was finally proclaimed a saint, as a reward for his compromise with the papacy, much as a modern labor leader who believes in harmony between starving coal miners and Saint Baer of the coal trust is rewarded by a fat political job. On the other hand, when the reformation arose with its new and allegedly higher ethics than those of the conventional catholic dogma, it survived and expanded only by the help of those elements of Middle Europe whose material interests were served by antagonizing papal feudalism.

So far as any ennobling influence on the character of classes and their historical activity is concerned, we may, therefore, maintain with the full testimony of history behind us that moral teaching of the conventional sort has not had any appreciable influence on material considerations. And we have but to look about us today, to watch what is going on in Colorado, in the Southern states of the Union, in the child industries of America, North and South, in Russia, in Japan, in all so-called civilized countries, in order to realize that moral principles are but flotsam on the stormy seas of material class interests. The ethics of conventional religion and philosophy are not the basic factors of social progress any more than the butterflies that flutter around a pack of wolves are factors in the moral evolution of the wolves.

But, you may say, if not on the action of classes, then our ideas of morality have at least served as factors in the evolution of individuals. I ask: How many individuals among the billions that have lived and passed away in the historical process? How many individuals among the millions who live today? Has vice decreased to any appreciable extent or has it increased? Have crimes disappeared or multiplied? Has the physical or mental well-being of the multitude improved over that of early

human societies in a way that any of you can lay your hand on it and say: "This is the great accomplishment of our morality"? And if there has been any improvement in some social strata, is that due to your morality or to the progress of technique and science?

Christian ethics keeps down the brute in man, you say? I tell you it has quite frequently roused the brute in man, and in its name liberty and justice have been suppressed more than once, aye, are suppressed before our very eyes. You say it keeps the mob in check by a wholesome fear of law and authority? But your law is nothing but a club by which the ruling classes strike down the oppressed masses, and your ethical ideals of equality before the law, of abstract right and justice, exist only in your imagination, but not in fact. And what moral motive is that by which you justify these ethics? Fear and submission to authority! If that keeps the mob in check, does it do so for the individual development of the mob, or does it keep that mob in a cramped position of servility to the ruling class and prevent the full evolution of both rulers and ruled? Do you dare to call that moral?

And where does the mob come from? It is the logical product of the system which you defend in the name of morality. Your ethics are slave ethics, not the ethics of free men. Your moral check degrades masters and slaves alike. Not fear but reason, not faith but knowledge, not authority but brotherhood, these are the pilots of a free ethic. Your ethic cannot endure on such a free basis, it cannot endure when conditions are abolished which lift the masses out of their ignorance and superstition. A free ethic can materialize only in a society which will mark a new era of economic, and at the same time, of cosmic development, a society in which the struggle for existence will gradually come under the conscious control of a truly moral man, who will live his ethics as naturally as he conceives them.

Answer me also, what influence have moral ideas in a few individuals, if they have not the power to become social forces and serve mankind as a whole? The highest moral conviction, the purest life of any single individual, is lost in evolution if it does not vitalize society as a whole just as the best acquired characters of a plant are lost in evolution, if the environment prevents their transmission. If any individual example could have lifted mankind to high ideals, it would have been such a personal example as that which Jesus is supposed to have set. History shows that he has not saved humanity from the domination of material class interests. Neither will any other individual sacrifice ever become socially vital, so long as the whole social environment makes it necessary in the struggle for existence to follow the law of the tooth and the claw.

To hold up to view ethical motives without trying to create the environment of which these motives may be the logical outcome, in which they would be practiced in response to material considerations of life, is just like asking a man to fly without giving him wings and corresponding muscles, or furnishing him with a flying machine. We can no more rise individually above our environment than we can fly without wings or without flying machines. We may jump a few feet into the air, or hang on to a rope, or stand on a platform above the crowd, but the moment these supports are withdrawn we fall back to the level of all the others. And so it is with individual ethics. You must either give us an individual ethic which will be at the same time class ethic and so powerful as to change the whole nature of the ruling class, or you must abolish ruling classes by taking advantage of evolutionary tendencies, and then you can have ethics which will be the living expression of the century old golden rule. But don't expect to obtain by ethical preaching from the working class that which the ruling classes who alone have had the economic and political power to follow your ethics have never yet been able to do. Kindly remember that ethics cannot be individual without being at the same time social, and that you cannot have an individual ethic which contradicts and annuls social ethics. Robinson Crusoe has no use for the golden rule. On the other hand, if ruling classes are not moved in their historical actions by abstract ethical ideas, but by material class interests, then cease to preach to the oppressed classes an abstract ethic which the ruling classes themselves never apply, either in their intercourse among themselves or with other classes.

These statements do not imply that vast masses of men have not been swayed by ideal motives. They do imply, however, that if men were so swayed in great historical movements, they always served either a rising class or a ruling class in the conquest or maintenance of the political and economic powers, and that ethical ideals were permitted to survive and spread only to the extent that they served such purposes. But such ideals were never permitted by any ruling class to quietly survive and spread, if that meant danger to the existing order. If the rulers did not succeed in suppressing them, it was because the economic evolution undermined the foundations of the ruling class and thus shifted the balance of power in favor of the rising classes, giving them a means of transmitting their ethics to coming generations. But it is a fact that the very ideals which once served a rising class in its revolution against the formerly ruling class, have been, and are today, denied and violated, if they become useful in the struggle of a new rising class. The suppression of the Declaration of Independence in the Philippines and Porto

Rico, the suppression of all constitutional rights for the union workers in Colorado, are cases in point.

The only consistent ethics of the present time are those of the revolutionary proletariat. These ethics maintain that freedom, equality, brotherhood, morality, can have no life so long as they remain mere abstractions. But they do remain abstractions, so long as a ruling class exists. For the freedom of the ruling class spells oppression for the ruled class, the ethics of the ruling class are not practiced in the social life and serve their purpose only so long as they keep the oppressed class in its place.

But the ethics of historical materialism teach freedom, not submission. They do not teach self-denial, but self-control. They demand and strive for every opportunity that will develop all the qualities essential to a full life. The old ethics say: "Resist not evil." The new ethics cry out: "Resist every element in your environment which is an obstacle or a danger to your fullest development." The old ethics try to reconcile warring classes on the basis of unethical property relations, they are reactionary. The new ethics are revolutionary and teach that only by the evolution of the individualist system of production into a collective system of production can we arrive at ethics, which will be a theory and practice of life for every human being, and which will be in harmony with the evolutionary ethics of the whole universe.

If ethics are to become a vital force in human society and in the social progress of today, they must be in line with the evolution of the revolutionary proletariat. They must condemn the capitalist system, prove its economic doom, work for the abolition of wage slavery, and scatter the seeds of the full socialist philosophy, which demands, with the abolition of ruling classes, the inauguration of a society, in which there shall be only one class, the working class, in a social environment from which equality, fraternity and freedom rise as do flowers from a fertile soil.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

The Socialist Party and the Trade Unions (A Reply).

OUR good comrade, Robert Rives LaMonte, in his article on "Socialism and the Trade Unions" in your July number, seems to me utterly to misapply (I had almost said, "to abandon") our materialistic conception of history. The trade union is a *fact*. It is a *living* fact. It is a fact *arising out of the conflict of class interests*. If we should try to ignore it, or to treat it as a negligible factor in social evolution, or as a factor essentially separable from the Socialist movement—so much the worse would it be for us.

The argument that what trade unions gain they gain "at the expense of others" seems to me to involve exactly the same fallacy that was fatal to the theory of the Civic Federation (so far as that was a genuine theory and not a confidence game)—the error of supposing that there is such a thing as a "disinterested public." On this point, I would refer readers to Mr. Ernest Poole's excellent article, "The Disappearing Public."—*The World To-day* for July.

But even if it were to be granted that trade-union methods can make no real *net* gain for the mass of the workers, or that they cannot expect to continue doing so in face of injunctions and the Taff Vale damage suits and Ludwig decisions and Colorado precedents—even if, for the sake of argument, this were admitted, the great fact still remains that the trade unions bring workmen together on a basis of class interest and *train them to feel and think and act together as wage workers*.

It is no accident that at least three-quarters of the active men—speakers, writers, organizers, secretaries, whether in national, state, or local fields—in the Socialist Party are men who either are or have been in the trade unions. It is no accident, either, that our speakers and writers get the best attention and our organizers have the best success in places where there is a vigorous trade union movement. Go to a region or to a trade where there is no union and, nine times out of ten, you find a body of workingmen who are stolidly unresponsive to Socialist propaganda. Talk theory of surplus-value and economic determinism to them with all your might, they will set you down as some new sort of freak or of fakir, along with the Salvationists and the Holiness men and the patent-medicine peddlers. Why? Because, being utterly *untrained in the practice of solidarity*, they are incapable of collective thinking or of grasping a collectivist ideal.

"Unionism is simply one product of a moribund system, capitalism." Well, is not Socialism a product of that same moribund

system? If there were no capitalism should we have an INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW? I suppose not. Just because unionism is a product of capitalism—a reaction of proletarian thought and feeling against capitalist oppression—therefore it is presumptively, I hold, a movement to be viewed with respect and sympathy by Socialists.

Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell hold with Prof. Clark (whom Comrade LaMonte approvingly quotes), that "unionism is in principle opposed to Socialism." Senator Hanna used to express the same view. Hanna believed with Talleyrand that the function of language is to conceal thought. His whole labor policy was a policy comparable with that of old Louis XV., who said, "The rickety old machine will last out my time." Mr. Parry and his associates, whose policy is rapidly superseding that of Hanna, are bolder and franker. They recognize in trade unionism and Socialism but two phases, two aspects, two manifestations of one foe to capitalism—the growing self-consciousness of the wage-working class—a class consciousness nowhere perfect, not even in the Socialist Party, but everywhere becoming clearer and more intense.

"It was unsafe," says Comrade LaMonte, "to make any party declaration upon trade unionism to stand for four years," because, forsooth, the employers may kill the unions before 1908—or may convert them! Not to say it offensively, this seems to me the rankest ideology if it is not the weakest opportunism.

If the unions are in danger of being killed, and if it is advised that *therefore* we should have withdrawn from our fraternal relations with them—that is a degree of timidity which, once he realizes its meaning, LaMonte would never stand for. So our party may be in danger of its life work. With open and direct disfranchisement in one region, indirect disfranchisement by means of residence qualifications in others, deportation and censorship of the press in another, coalitions between the old parties to count us out where we cannot be voted down in others—with the half-veiled threats of blood-and-iron suppression (and power behind those threats greater than ever Bismarck had)—is it not conceivable that within four years our peaceful political movement, *as such*, might be utterly crushed out? And should we therefore fear to make a party declaration for the continuance of political action while opportunity still exists? And would we not think it basest cowardice in the United Brewery Workers or the Western Federation of Miners or the Brotherhood of Railway Employees or the *Arbeiter Kranken und Sterbe Kasse* to withdraw their expression of friendship for the Socialist Party, lest the party be crushed and they suffer in its fall?

No, we are not going to run away. If the unions are killed (which I do not at all expect), they will be killed in spite of

our loyal support, and their members will join with us in political or whatever other action may in that crisis be necessary.

On the other hand, it is suggested that the capitalists may convert the unions into "the first line of defense of capitalism against socialism." That suggestion is pure ideology. The unions were not created by leaders. They are the product of proletarian discontent and of incipient proletarian instinct and reason. They have arisen out of the fact of the class struggle. While that fact persists, neither subsidized labor leaders nor shrewd capitalist schemers can turn their course of evolution backward or even stop their progress or do more than somewhat hamper and delay it. That "buffer" game has been tried. The Civic Federation scheme—directed by a statesman of truly Machiavellian skill, administered by well trained and well paid labor misleaders and bishops and editors, and provided with ample funds besides—what has been its chief effect? To call attention to the fact of the class struggle and rouse the spirit of the workers for more determined and intelligent resistance. Again, Parry and others have tried the plan of organizing rival unions, just as certain leaders have done in Germany. Here, as there, these "buffer" unions themselves have gradually developed into true fighting unions turned against their creators and joined in the general labor movement.

The capitalists may bribe or cajole a good many trade union leaders. For all we know, they may succeed in bribing or cajoling a good many leaders of our party or sending their agents among us to do their work. But we need not be alarmed. They cannot buy or cajole the rank and file of our party—and that is what counts. Does anyone suppose—to put it to no other test but that of expense—that the capitalists could (or would) afford to buy out three million unionists to fight Socialism? If they could, if they should, the men would not stay bought.

But I trespass on your space and my own leisure. In closing let me only say this: When five years' experience of a certain policy has shown such all but uniformly good results as we have seen since our repudiation of the S. T. & L. A. in 1899, a proposition to abandon that policy may be put aside as "academic"—except in so far as it comes from certain non-proletarian and even possibly reactionary elements (I speak not here of Comrade La Monte) in our party, with which we may yet have to deal.

ALGERNON LEE.

Industrial Concentration in the United States.

THE two decades prior to the Civil War formed a time of industrial revolution in the United States analogous to that which took place in England between 1760 and 1820. It was the time of the change from domestic to factory industry. The 12th Census of the United States, Vol. VIII, part LX, describes this period as follows: "This (the factory) system obtained its first foothold in the United States during the period of embargo and the war of 1812. The manufacture of cotton and wool passed rapidly from the household to the mill, but the methods of domestic and neighborhood industry continued to and including the decade between 1820 and 1830, and it was not until about 1870 that the factory method of manufacture extended itself widely to miscellaneous industries and began rapidly to force from the market the hand-made products with which every community had hitherto chiefly supplied itself. It seems probable that until about the year 1850, the bulk of general manufacturing done in the United States was carried on in the shop and the household by the labor of the family or individual proprietors, with apprentice assistants, as contrasted with the present system of factory labor compensated by wages and assisted by power."⁽¹⁾

Levasseur tells us in his book on "The American Workman" that "in 1820 a Massachusetts cloth mill, the largest in the United States at the time possessed a mechanical equipment of four carding engines, one picker, three jennys, five hundred and sixteen spindles, one roper, six broadcloth looms and two cassimere looms. The company employed 46 men, 23 women and 23 children."

It was during this period that various industries were being

(1) "Prior to 1816 most of the shoes were hand-sewed, a few having been copper-nailed; the heavier were welted and the lighter were turned. This method of manufacture was changed about the year 1815 by the adoption of the wooden shoe peg, which was invented in 1811. . . . Up to this time little or no progress had been made in the methods of manufacture. The shoemaker sat on his bench, and with scarcely any other tools than a hammer, knife and wooden shoulder stick, cut, stitched, hammered and sewed until the shoe was completed. Previous to the year 1845, which marked the first successful application of machinery to American shoemaking, this industry was in the strictest sense a hand power.

"The change from which has been evolved our present factory system began in the latter part of 1700, when a system of sizes had been drafted, and shoemakers more enterprising than their fellows gathered about them groups of workmen and took upon themselves the dignity of manufacturers. . . . The first machine which proved itself of any practical value was the leather rolling machine, which came into use about 1845. . . . This was followed slowly by the wax thread sewing machine . . . and the buffing machine. . . . Then came a machine which made pegs cheaply and with great rapidity, and this in turn was followed by a hand power machine for driving pegs. In 1855 there was introduced the splitting machine for reducing sole leather to a uniform thickness. . . . The year 1860 saw the introduction of the McKay sewing machine, which has perhaps done more to revolutionize the manufacture of shoes than any other single machine."—Census 1900, Vol. IX, Part III, p. 46.

differentiated from agriculture. This was the case, for instance, with canning and preserving.

Manufacturing establishments were still small in 1850, the average capitalization of all manufacturing industries being but \$4,334. In 1860 this had increased to \$7,191.

It was in the great fundamental industry of iron making that most important changes were taking place. We find that "It was not until after 1850 that the use of bituminous coal began to exert an appreciable influence upon the manufacture of pig iron. In 1849 there was not one coke furnace in blast in Pennsylvania . . . In 1856 there were 21 furnaces in Pennsylvania and three in Maryland which were using coke or were adapted to its use, and their total production in that year was 44,481 gross tons of pig iron. After 1856 the use of this fuel in the blast furnaces increased in Pennsylvania and was extended to other states, but it was not until after 1865 that its use for this purpose increased rapidly."⁽¹⁾

The growth of the iron industry arose largely from the demand for this material in the construction of railroads.

It was during the period from 1850 to 1860 that America underwent its first railroad boom, which, although it attracted much attention at the time, was but a mild forerunner of those that were to come in later years. In 1850 there were only 9,021 miles of railroad in the United States, but there were 21,605 miles constructed during the next ten years. By far the larger portion of this was constructed in the Northern and Western States.⁽²⁾

This was a time when barter was giving place to money economy in large portions of the country. It was a period of rapid expansion of the currency. This was also largely brought about by the increase in the amount of gold mined, the most of this coming of course from the California gold fields opened in 1848. There were \$1,675,483 worth of gold coined in 1840 and this was the largest amount that had been coined in any one year up to that time. But in 1850 the annual coinage reached \$31,981,739.

Industrial progress rests largely on the inventions and improvements that are made in machinery, and the number of patents issued during any period is a fairly good measure of the rate of industrial development. In 1850 there were only 6,987

(2) "The art of smelting iron ores to obtain iron may be divided into three stages in the United States, on the basis of the kinds of fuel employed in the process. Down to 1840 the fuel in prevailing use was charcoal. . . . The time from 1840 to 1850, or even a little later, was something of a transition period. The experimental results of years were by that time embodied in methods of production to such an extent as to mark the beginning of the second or anthracite era in iron making on this continent. . . . Anthracite coal first exceeded charcoal in the amount of tons of pig iron produced in 1855. Twenty years later, in 1875, bituminous coal and coke show a larger production."—Swank's "Iron in All Ages," p. 370.

(3) Statistical Abstract United States for 1900, p. 374.

patents in force in the United States. But between this time and 1860, 19,661 new patents were issued, and the decade closed with 22,435 in force.(')

During this period of growing industry the small capitalist class was naturally extremely prosperous. But soon the limited market of this time was filled and the downward movement began.

In 1857 this burst of prosperity ended in a crisis which continued during the next two years: "The year 1859 came upon the people of the United States and found them suffering and in distress. Beggars and tramps began to ask for bread. In every large city and town numbers of people were without employment. Warehouses filled to overflowing, everything cheap and little or nothing buy with. Bankruptcy stood at the nation's gate. The panic of 1857 had reduced many to beggary."(')

This depression lasted for a little over two years, signs of recovery had just begun to appear when the Civil War broke out. Yet at this time the capitalists of the North had already reached a comparatively high stage of development. "According to Mulhall the United States held in 1860 the fourth rank among manufacturing nations, being surpassed by Great Britain, France and Germany."(')

Manufacturing establishments had therefore reached considerable size prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. The census of 1900 states that "the organization of great corporations in iron and steel, in foundry products of every variety, in leather and in other industries dates from the decade ending with 1860, or even earlier."

THE CIVIL WAR.

The Civil War affected industrial development profoundly in a multitude of directions. In the first place the large contracts given by the Government for uniform articles tended to build up great industries. Albert S. Bolles in his "Financial History of the United States" estimates that the total expenditure growing out of the war was \$6,189,929,908.58; of this \$381,417,540 were for the sustenance of the army, and \$345,543,880 for clothing for the army."(')

Taking textile industries, for example, we find that the total capital employed in these industries increased from \$144,362,181 in 1860 to \$279,319,740 in 1870 ('). But it is when the special branches of this industry are studied by years that the effect of the war contracts become most evident.

The following table taken from the "Statistical Abstract of

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- (4) Census 1900, Vol. X, Part IV, p. 763.
 - (5) Powderly's "Thirty Years of Labor," p. 29.
 - (6) Census 1900, Vol. VII, Part I, p. 15.
 - (7) In Shaler's "United States of America," article by Edward Atkinson, Vol. II, p. 24, the total expenditures on account of the war, including pensions and other expenditures to December 31, 1894, is given as ten billion dollars.
 - (8) Eleventh Census, page 8, of Volume on Manufactures.

the United States" for 1900 shows the remarkable increase in the consumption of wool for domestic manufacture. It will be noted that the consumption grew steadily and fairly rapidly until 1860 and that it then grew more in the next three years than in the previous twenty and in four years had increased nearly threefold:

1840	45,615,326	pounds.
1850	71,176,355	"
1860	85,334,876	"
1863	180,057,156	"
1864	213,871,157	"

The effect of the war on the woolen industry is stated by Levasseur in "The American Workman," page 26, as follows: "The tariff of 1846 reduced the duty to 36 per cent ad valorem and caused great distress among the manufacturers. In 1857 the rate was again reduced to 24 per cent, but as the duty on wool was also lowered, the industry prospered. During the Civil War the enormous consumption of cloth for uniforms, the scarcity of cotton and the general inflation of prices stimulated both wool-growing and the manufacture of woollens, in which the profits came rather from the quantity than the quality of the product. The census statisticians valued the woolen products at \$73,000,000 in 1860 and at \$217,000,000 (\$173,000,000 in gold) in 1870, an increase of about 115 per cent; they estimate the number of persons employed at 59,522 in 1860, and at 119,859 in 1870; during the decade the consumption of wool more than doubled (from 98,000,000 to 220,000,000 pounds) and nominal wages increased more than threefold (from \$13,000,000 to \$40,000,000)."

Of the manufacture of gloves we learn that "the industry received a decided stimulus during the Civil War, as large quantities of gloves, especially gauntlets, were required for military service. Both gloves and skins shared in the general rise of prices which took place during this period."

Improvements went on rapidly during the Civil War and nowhere was the development greater than in the iron and steel industry. The demand made imperative new and better methods of production. Steel rails were not manufactured in the United States until 1860 and the first Bessemer steel was produced here in 1864.⁽⁹⁾

In the article on the Iron and Steel Industry by Charles Huston in "One Hundred Years of American Commerce," page 325, he says: "During the years 1861-5 the resources of the iron industry in the Northern States were taxed to their utmost to provide the Federal armies with war material and the navy with

(9) Census 1900, Vol. I of "Reports of Manufactures." See also special article of Swank in Census of 1880, Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 126.

guns and projectiles. The industry in the South, strained at an early day beyond its feeble capacity, soon broke down, and most of the requirements of the Confederate armies were supplied from abroad. In the train of dire disaster wrought by the Civil War some good to the iron industry may be found, for not only did iron ships make their appearance in the navy, but the application of iron plates or "armor" to their sides had its inception . . .

"The first plant to produce (Bessemer) steel as a commercial article was put in successful operation by the Pennsylvania Steel Co. at Steelton, near Harrisburg, Pa., June, 1867. The first steel rails ever rolled in the United States upon order in the way of regular business were rolled by the Cambria Iron Co., Johnstown, Pa., August, 1867, from ingots made by the Pennsylvania Steel Company.

"The first open hearth furnace introduced into this country . . . was built in 1868."

The effect of this increased demand toward building up the large manufacturing industry was aided by the high protective tariff which was levied at the beginning of the war and which forced domestic production to meet these demands.⁽¹⁰⁾ In every way then the period of the war was a time of hothouse growth for industry.

At the same time these gigantic Governmental transactions established a system of high finance. It trained a body of men to the handling of millions and the manipulation of stocks, bonds and other securities and to banking operations on a scale hitherto undreamed. At the close of the war the national debt amounted to \$2,773,236,174. In the manipulating of this sum a new race of men had arisen who were to play an important part in the social life of the future. It was as a part of this evolution that our present system of national banks was founded by a law passed June 3, 1864.

Another influence which tended to increase the rate of industrial progress was the abnormal inflation of the currency. In addition to the increased gold supply which continued throughout the Civil War period there was the vastly greater inflation produced by the greenback issues.

The Internal Revenue taxes which were levied at this time also had important industrial effects, as will be shown later. The

(10) "Not until the decade between 1860 and 1870 did it become apparent that the complete supply of staple products for the home market was within the capacity of domestic manufacture. During the Civil War the great demand for manufactured supplies of every description and the high protective duties on imports necessitated by the revenue requirements of the Government stimulated enterprise and production to an extent not known before or since. The value of manufactured products more than doubled in that decade, increasing from \$1,885,861,678 in 1860 to \$3,924,958,660,442 in 1870."—David R. Dewey's "Financial History of the United States, pp. 272-3. (Figures for 1870 corrected for Census 1870, Vol. III, p. 378.)

report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XIX, page 596, sums up these factors as follows: "Until after the close of the Civil War business in the United States was so much localized on account of the lack of facilities for transportation and the relative smallness of the capital invested, that no large combinations were made. The rapid development of business in the year following the war, together with the artificial stimulus given to certain lines of industry, either by internal revenue legislation, as in the case of the manufacture of spirits, or by the special demand created by the war itself and by the nation following it led to several combinations of a wider reach. The spirits business especially had attracted very large sums of capital and the producing capacity had become far beyond that required to meet the country's normal demand at a reasonable price. The result was cutting of prices in order to dispose of the surplus stock, so that the business often became unprofitable. To avoid this the manufacturers met from time to time and entered into an agreement to limit the annual output to a certain percentage of the producing capacity of the various establishments."

SITUATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

It will be at once evident that the close of hostilities between the North and the South, the abolition of chattel slavery and the culmination of the industrial conditions arising from the war constituted at once the close and the beginning of an epoch in industrial history. "The Civil War marks the beginning for the United States at least, of an industrial revolution second only in importance to the industrial revolution in England which preceded it just one hundred years. The earlier revolution has been characterized in its first phase as the triumph of the machine over hand tools in production, the growth of the factory system; the second phase as the triumph of the machine in transportation, the growth of the railway system. The later industrial revolution has been characterized as the triumph of the machine in business organization and management—the corporation; but this fails to take note of other industrial changes of the same epoch which do not fall within that category."⁽¹¹⁾

The Civil War meant the extension of a uniform social and industrial organization throughout the United States. At this time, however, this was only a possibility. The first step toward its accomplishment was necessarily the binding together of every portion of the country through better means of communication. "The Civil War closed the first great period of United States history. Its result secured the continuance of political union and the equal status of all its inhabitants. The extension of the rail-

(11) Jacob E. Conner, "Industrial Causes Affecting American Commercial Policy Since the Civil War" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, p. 44.

way system within the next two decades brought closer the day of economic union which alone makes a country a State by adding to the legal freedom of trade the practical possibility."(") Hence it is that this period has come to be known in American history as the one of most rapid extension of railway systems. Never, in any equal period of years since then, has construction gone on with as great rapidity. "Within eight years after Lee's surrender the railway mileage of the United States was literally doubled. Only a fraction of this increase belonged to the Trans-continental lines which linked the two oceans in 1869. Quite aside from the 1,800 miles of Pacific railways, upwards of 30,000 miles of track were laid in the United States between 1865 and 1873. Four noteworthy economic developments accompanied this extension of the transportation system. A fertile interior domain, hitherto untouched, was opened up to industry. With the rush of population to these Western districts, not only did the disbanded army resume production without industrial overcrowding such as followed to Napoleonic wars, but provision was made for three or four hundred thousand immigrants annually. European capital in enormous volume was drawn upon to provide the means for this development. Finally the United States rose from the position of a second or third-class commercial state to the first rank among agricultural producers and exporters."(")

Since the National Government was for the first time completely in the control of the capitalist class, the power of the South being completely broken, there was nothing to prevent the National Government being used to further the interests of a new industrial master.(")

This showed itself first in the land grant system for the encouragement of railway construction. Some efforts had been made in this direction prior to the Civil War, the first law granting land to a railroad being that in the interest of the Illinois Central, which was passed in 1850, but which did not go into operation until 1851.

The following table shows the total number of acres given over to railroads during the period from 1850 to 1872: (")

(12) Von Halle, "Trusts," p. 9.

(13) Alexander Dana Noyes, "Thirty Years of American Finance," pp. 2-3.

(14) "During the years from 1853 to 1860 the political condition of the country made it impossible to induce capital to undertake the building of a railroad across 2,000 miles of desert. The agitation of the slavery question occupied the attention of Congress to the exclusion of everything else, and out of the sectional jealousies engendered by that controversy arose differences as to the route to be adopted. The South wanted a southern route, the North a northern one, and there seemed to be no way of reaching a compromise. The South was then in control of the Government and could prevent the location of the line at the North, while northern and eastern capital could not be enlisted for a southern route endorsed by Jefferson Davis, who was the Secretary of War. The political tide turned, however, in 1860 and politics which had so retarded the work now helped to push the road forward."—Warman, "The Story of the Railroad," p. 23.

(15) Donaldson, "Public Domain," pp. 262 et seq.

	Acres pat'd or cert'd.	Complete grant.
1850.....	3,751,711.73	3,751,711.78
1852.....	1,764,710.85	1,764,711
1853.....	1,856,461.27	2,682,171.50
1856.....	12,505,959.13	14,559,729.79
1857.....	2,380,437.34	5,118,450
1862.....	5,096,418.58	23,504,001.61
1863.....	6,213,899.50	46,848,600
1865.....	2,465,016.58	128,000
1866.....	4,970,295.87	34,001,297.77
1869.....	49.811	.....
1870.....	.....	1,000,000
1871.....	875,785.40	17,903,218
1872.....	327,908.69	327,903.69
Total	45,647,847.40	155,504,994.59

Some idea can be gained of the extent of these land grants if we compare them with the area of some well known States. The total land grants amounted to 242,976 square miles. It will be seen from the following table that this was greater than the combined area of seven of the most important States in the Union:

Areas of various states:	
Illinois.....	56,650
Pennsylvania.....	45,213
New York.....	49,170
Ohio.....	41,060
Indiana.....	36,850
Massachusetts.....	8,315
Connecticut.....	4,990
	241,650

The primary effect of a railroad or any system of improved transportation is to enlarge the circle within which goods may be profitably marketed. "It is well known that upon the ordinary highways the economical limit to transportation is confined within a comparatively few miles, depending of course upon the *kind* of freight and character of the roads. Upon the average of such ways the cost of transportation is not far from 15 cents per ton mile . . . Estimating at the same time the value of wheat at \$1 a bushel and corn at 75 cents, and that 33 bushels of each are equal to a ton, the value of the former would be equal to its cost of transportation for 330 miles, and the latter 165 miles. At these respective distances from market neither of the above articles would have any commercial value, with only a common earth road to market.

"But we find that we can move property upon railroads at the rate of 1.5 cent per ton mile. . . . These works, therefore, extend the economic limit of the cost of transportation of the above articles to 3,300 and 1,650 miles respectively. At the limit of the economical movement of these articles upon the *common* highway by the use of railroads wheat would be worth \$44.50 and corn \$22.27 per ton, which sums respectively would represent the actual increase in value created by the interposition of such a work." (")

(16) Ringwalt. "Transportation System in the United States," p. 129.

Industry can only grow to the size necessary to supply the product which can be profitably marketed. But the limits of the market are fixed by the transportation facilities. The railroad by multiplying the radius of the circle increased the market many fold. The disproportionate importance of the extension of the limit of profitable transportation a few miles at the periphery of the circle is understood if we remember the geometrical proposition that the area of circles varies as the square of their diameters. That is to say, if an industry which had previously been able to ship its goods only 50 miles from the factory suddenly had transportation facilities improved so that it could deliver its goods 200 miles distant and still make a profit, the result would be that the market would be to the previous one, not as 200 is to 50, but as 160,000 is to 10,000, that is to say the factory may now increase its profitable productive capacity sixteenfold.

This change was accompanied by another of equal importance. This was the period when the great productive power of the modern machine was beginning to make itself felt. The Civil War had demonstrated that a very small portion of the country could produce more than even the tremendous forces of war could waste. Now for a few years these same marvelous productive forces were to be turned to the production of profits.

So great was this productive power that it was able to pay dividends not alone upon the capital which had accumulated in America, but it was able to take enormous sums from European capitalists, saved from the surplus value of the workers across the sea, and return dividends to its owners. Says David A. Wells in an article on "The Elements of National Wealth" which appeared in Vol. V of the *International Review*, page 167:

"The amount of subscriptions made in London for a series of years prior to 1874, to American loans—other than Federal—appears, from the examination of a large amount of data, to have averaged about \$90,000,000 per annum, loans taken on the Continent conjointly with London being included. The amount of investments in American securities taken by or through Holland, mainly in the five years prior to 1875, has been estimated by the best authorities in Amsterdam as about \$125,000,000, of which 64 per cent in 1876 had defaulted in their interest.

"The opinion of the writer, after a very careful examination of the subject, is that from 1866 to 1875 the amount of European capital drawn to the United States for loan or investment, exclusive of all Federal transactions, has averaged about \$100,000,000 per annum."

The general features of the period embracing the Civil War may be summed up somewhat as follows: It was a time during which the factory system was introduced into a great mass of industries. This was especially true in textiles and in the manufac-

ture of agricultural implements. The time of the Civil War especially stimulated ingenuity in agricultural implements. A large portion of the work on the Northern farms had to be done by women and children. They could not do it with the crude tools hitherto in use; the consequence was a largely increased demand for improved machinery which led to invention or perfection of many of the most prominent agricultural implements of today.

The great industry was only possible in the lines of transportation and communication and iron and steel. Railroads were in the first stage of consolidation in which short lines were being grouped together into systems. These systems were still largely competitive. The great demand for iron and steel through the war and subsequently for railroad construction had caused rapid growth in that industry. It is worthy of note that Andrew Carnegie entered the steel industry in 1863. It is thus evident that this was a time of the beginning of the process of crystallization. Concentration was beginning with those basic industries which within a few years were to be known as natural monopolies but which at this time were still in the competitive stage.

(To be continued.)

MAY WOOD SIMONS.

A. M. SIMONS.

[It is not expected that these articles will appear every month. Too much work is required upon each one, even with the matter already in hand, to make this possible. However, it is hoped that the next installment will be ready for the October number and that the series will be completed during the coming winter.]

The Other Side.

EVER since the industrial organizations of the West took their stand, unprecedented and revolutionary in the history of American labor, upon a declaration of Socialist principles, paradoxical as it may seem, they have had to endure a running fire of protest and criticism from both press and prominent spokesmen of the Socialist party. This is especially noticeable from leading Socialists in the domain of the American Federation of Labor, and even the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has approached the subject with a cautious pen.

The recent article from A. W. Ricker in the *Appeal to Reason*, after he had been to Colorado to make a special investigation of strike conditions, in which he reported against the advisability of unions declaring for independent political action on a Socialist basis, gave definite expression to what has seemed to be an undefined tendency. And now that the Ways and Means Committee, appointed at the convention of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, right in the heart of the western Socialist unions, as it were, have declared with but two dissenting votes to support the democratic ticket in Colorado next fall; the issue seems to justify the assertions that the Socialist declarations of the A. L. U. and the W. F. M. at their conventions were not the convictions of a class-conscious body of workingmen, determined to make their exploitation final by massing their votes against the system which exploits them, but only a wave of aggressive enthusiasm without anchor, knowledge, or purpose.

It may be stated that the Ways and Means Committee of the State Federation was clothed with absolute power to direct the political action of the unions which it represented. The outrages committed against the strikers under the sanction of the republican anarchist, Peabody, in the executive chair had imbued organized labor with a blind and revengeful determination to "down Peabodyism." Three courses were open to the Ways and Means Committee, the democratic party, an independent labor party, or the Socialist party. The working men saw from similar experiences in other states that an independent party would poll but a weak vote. The Socialist party is like a red flag to the capitalists large and small, the farmer class who will have the military bills to pay, and organized labor. So the committee allies itself with the democratic party with but two dissenting votes. Those votes were of informed and steadfast members of the Socialist party.

In view of the above mentioned circumstances I have thought that a statement should be offered presenting the other side of

the question, and the underlying principles in the evolution of the proletariat, if such there be any, as manifested by this departure of the western trade organizations.

The organizations declaring for Socialism as their basic principle are the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and their affiliated organizations.

Had their membership reflected the declarations of their conventions the augmented Socialist vote must have struck dismay into the hearts of the business and employing class. Such a result, however, did not follow the action of the conventions except at isolated points as Anaconda, Montana, and Telluride, Silverton, and Gunnison, Colorado, where republicans and democrats combined against the Socialists at the city elections.

The leading officials of these unions are declared Socialists, and in Denver most of them are members of the local. They never attend, however, the business meetings, rarely the public meetings, and indeed show very little interest in the actual conduct of the movement. Where then is the value and the purpose of the endorsement?

There are those who say that the unionists would have carried their avowed Socialist policy to the ballot box had it not been for misguided members of the Socialist party, a class with which we are all familiar, many of them graduates from the ill-fated Socialist labor party, who have called the union leaders "fakirs," berated and maligned them in the midst of their strike difficulties, and given all the external evidences of being employed as disrupters by the capitalist class even if they were not. The well-informed Socialist, however, knows that masses of working men understanding their mission and their destiny, to define and bring to its culmination the class struggle, would not be swerved from so magnificent a consummation by such superficial and transient causes.

The endorsement at the conventions was unquestionably the work of the delegates, swayed by Debs and other Socialist speakers who were present. That they did not represent the subordinate organizations was evidenced by the fact that they refused to let the endorsement go to the vote of the referendum. In justification of this they stated that they meant to follow the endorsement with education, and soon the rank and file would understand the position as well as the delegates. This program was to a certain extent followed out by speakers and literature. The limited time and limited resources have at the best though produced a consequent limited knowledge of the Socialist position among the working class, such as there might have been in Germany after the first few years of instruction in the newly found conclusions of Marx and Engels.

They have a certain sort of class consciousness, such as arises from the organization into crafts for mutual protection, a feeling of solidarity of interest so far as the trade or allied trade goes; but this does not extend to unorganized or unclassified labor. There is also a feeling that the ownership of the industries by the workers would stop their trouble. But this is vague and has not sufficient substance to insure its being reiterated at the ballot box in the face of every difficulty.

The trouble confronting the Colorado workers is a real and tangible menace to their freedom and their welfare. An unemployed class cannot subsist in these wild mountains where the towns are half a day's journey apart by rail. Consequently a strike is fraught with direful results to employers who cannot readily obtain sufficient experienced strike breakers. And the only way to lower wages and subdue the workers was by such unlawful means, such violation of all constitutional rights, such a hiring out of all the powers of state government to the mine owners, such brutality, mob law, and open crime as has characterized the administration of James Peabody. Every individual in the state is lined up on one side or the other, and the Citizens' Alliances have been the chief executors of the greatest outrages.

The purpose is to crush and dissipate the unions, and the persecution has been intensified against them because of the bitter hatred of their socialist tendencies. At points where socialism was the strongest the outrages have been the greatest. This was the case with Telluride. At the last general election there the socialists polled twenty-six per cent of the vote and the capitalists were thrown into a panic of terror thereby. Our national committeeman, A. H. Floaten, whose home was broken into, who was seized by an armed mob composed of the superintendents of the mines, lawyers, church deacons, saloonkeepers, gamblers, with no pretense of either civil or military authority, was dragged through ice water in his stocking feet, his head beaten and bruised by the pistols of the thugs, and who was put on a train and deported from his home and warned never to return, is a merchant, at the head of the largest department store in that part of the country, and could not belong to the miners' union. He had always been a highly respected citizen. His only offense was that he was a prominent socialist. The union men noted as active socialists have been the particular victims of the union of the "business" people. Only about fifty socialist voters have been left in the Telluride district. The same thing has happened at Idaho Springs, where the first deportation was made. At Anaconda, Mont., where there were such heavy socialist majorities, the men have been dismissed till we can expect but a light vote. The sum and substance of the matter is, if the unions are crushed in this battle the Socialist Party will be crippled, threatened, and

endangered in every way. Our meetings will be broken up and harassed, street meetings completely forbidden, agitators and speakers imprisoned and deported, and Pinkertons shadow every active adherent of the cause. In fact we virtually confront those conditions right now. As we came out of our hall in Denver the other evening we found our meeting watched by a police spy, and our recent bolt and disruption in the Cripple Creek district gives every evidence of being the work of emissaries of the mine owners.

There has been one force behind the declarations of the conventions for socialism that cannot be considered a light or transient one, and that is the personal influence of Edward Boyce. He it was who never stopped his urging till the socialist declaration had been made. He it is who stands like a giant pine urging his fellows to action for their total class emancipation. He has more influence than any man in the Western Federation because of his loyalty, his modesty and his stalwart stand for his convictions, and this influence is a living lesson in socialism to his fellows.

But the point of prime importance furnished by the socialist declaration is the opportunity for agitation and education within the unions in regard to their own class interests along economic and political lines. The union no longer scares at the "bogy man" of "no politics in the union." The socialist speakers are welcome in any union, and are received with acclamations. And if all are not converted at once even a republican or democratic workingman cannot hear the socialist solution of his difficulties over and over again without getting some inkling of the only way out. Besides the "Western Clarion," organ of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the "American Labor Union Journal," and the "Miners' Magazine," organ of the W. F. M., are all socialist publications, and teach first class economic doctrine. One cannot overestimate the influence of these sheets going into the homes as a means of propaganda.

Whenever and however the coöperative industry may become established, by capitalist collapse, by toilers goaded through madness to precipitate revolution, by reasonable and peaceful manipulation of the franchise, all are agreed that the workers themselves must be consciously the means of the reconstruction of society in their own interest. To do that the better they understand that interest, the more clearly they comprehend their historic program, and the only and inevitable solution of the capitalistic chaos that grinds them between its millstones, the sooner will they move in a coherent mass towards a direct and rational goal.

Union labor represents the more intelligent and efficient part of labor. So long as these do not sustain the socialist program, so long as they do not even know what it is we are a long way

from any scientific arrangement of our productive forces. But when we have access to that part of labor that has sufficient courage and intelligence to organize in its own behalf we have the best possible basis for instruction in regard to political advantage. And it appears the height of folly because men have taken one step forward in their own interest to condemn them for the steps they have not yet taken.

Another advantage arising from a labor convention declaring for socialism is that all over the country, among the subordinates of that convention and other bodies of the working class, an interest is aroused in the subject, and they will study and inform themselves, whereas, before they looked upon it with fear and distrust. And wherever the press goes and the word is carried that certain unions have endorsed socialism, large masses of people are awakened to independent investigation. The bourgeois hear and tremble and go into Parry hysterics, and these class lines are more clearly defined, and the approaching catastrophe nears its culmination.

I think it is a grave mistake for the Socialist Party or any members of it to malign and discourage movements of the working class because they do not move *en masse* as socialists wish they would. The workingmen are a long way from understanding their true position. If they did they would put an end to it instantly, socialism would be here, and exploitation ended. The mistakes they are making to-day are not the only ones they will make before they come into the coöperative commonwealth. And if we meet them with caustic abuse instead of friendly advice we are not apt to inspire friendliness towards our recommendations. We cannot place ourselves on a pinnacle because we think we understand the science of economics, and call ourselves philosophers, and arrogate to ourselves the path of the proletariat. The proletariat are walking in their path, a tortuous one to be sure, but there they abide. And they move along the line of their immediate economic interests, and they will make the revolution from the force of that interest and its inherent necessity.

Another danger to the proletarian nature of the Socialist Party, to my mind, is a too close distinction between the economic and political phases of the movement. To assert as a fundamental premise that the unions have to deal solely with the economic phase of the proletarian movement and the Socialist Party with the political phase seems to me to be an unwarranted wandering into the region of abstract theorizing. The American Socialist Party withdrew from its progenitor, the Socialist Labor Party, exactly on the ground that there should be politics in the union, and favoring independent political action by the unions. The western unions pre-eminently stand for this policy as opposed to the "no politics in the union" of the American Federation

of Labor. It is impossible for the laboring classes to achieve freedom except through political action. To understand where their political interests lie they must be guided by the outcome of their economic struggles, and this discussion and conscious development of their position must necessarily take place in their unions, where they are organized for aggressive resistance to the capitalist system which exploits them. And for the political phase to sever itself from all sympathy and fellowship with this struggling economic phase seems to me the most absurd of all contradictions, and calculated to breed distrust and repudiation among the working class.

Whatever forces may be at work undermining the tottering fabrics of our present civilization, the student of economic history, and there is no other kind, knows that the will and intelligence of the human must be concentrated with tremendous dynamic power upon the readjustment of the material resources of man before he may even dare to breathe the thought of the possible absolute freedom of his living. David Starr Jordan at one time said to his classes: "We have reached the point where mankind consciously affects the evolutionary process." The more he knows the more intelligently he can affect that process.

The unions are the kindergartens of the proletarian movement that has never been born, that is to be. And the more of them that see their path and the faster they declare that it is where the socialist philosophy points the way the sooner will they cement that knowledge by intelligent political action.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

About Tactics.

AS I see it, the conception of a contradictory proposition between Socialism and Opportunism is both false and mischievous. The conception of revolutionary socialism is distinct and clear; that of opportunism is ambiguous; and it is from this ambiguity that the nature of the contradiction arises.

There is no difficulty in making the distinction between principle and policy, between the end aimed at and the way to reach the end. This is the distinction between socialism and bona fide opportunism. Of course, there is a field here for hypocrisy and dishonesty. But this is only saying that there are traitors and imbeciles in all camps.

The difference between the mere reformer and the socialist would seem to be apparent to the meanest intellect. The reformer is usually the friend of capitalism and would prune away the decaying branches to relieve the tree and prolong its life and fruitfulness. The socialist opportunist, on the other hand, would cut off the limbs to kill the tree; because these are within his reach, while the root is not. The immediate result of opportunism, if successful, is a temporary and local betterment of some condition of the proletariat. The result of the capitalistic reformer is the same. Judged by immediate results only, there is no difference between the two. Neither the one nor the other has touched the source of the evil. This equality of immediate results or immediate aims is what makes not a few good socialists place the same estimate on both, and regard both alike as working on the same low plane of mere reform. The ambiguity consists in the fact that specific reform may be conceived either as an end in itself or as a means towards effecting the realization of the social ideal.

There are no better socialists than the Belgian comrades, and they are laying out all their strength and energy in the immediate demand for universal and equal suffrage; not, indeed, to rest contented when they shall have achieved it, but to use it as an arm for future conquests. In spite of the suffrage which we possess in this country, we have been robbed of the most sacred constitutional rights. Judicial usurpation creates crime and deprives the citizen of his liberty without a trial. In very many towns and cities the right of socialists to assemble and speak on unfrequented streets and vacant lots is prohibited by the police, while every salvation army spy and tool is allowed the use of the most crowded

thoroughfares. Nor is the right of suffrage safe. The disfranchisement of the negroes in the South on the pretext of a fear of black domination, is but the entering wedge for the wholesale disfranchisement of the proletariat. Northern politicians not only acquiesce, but tacitly approve the course of their southern confederates.

Shall we say that these violations of constitutional rights, being only outgrowths and consequences of the capitalistic system, are not worthy of our strenuous and united resistance and that we should reserve our efforts for the conflict with the system itself, which is the source of these wrongs? This would be sheer madness. Were such a maxim put in practice capital would not long delay to bind us hand and foot and render us incapable of doing it any harm. The saying that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church" must be taken with a large allowance of salt. History shows that in far the greater number of cases the "church" has been quenched in the blood of the martyrs.

This brings up the question of co-operation with other organizations. To my mind the principle of action seems clear and simple, though in some instances, as in the case of all principles, there may be a doubt of its application. If there were a death dealing pool of water in a neighborhood and a call were made on the neighbors to drain it, I think the socialist would shoulder his pick and shovel and go with the rest without stopping to ask who were Catholics or Protestants, Democrats or Republicans. This instance precisely illustrates what we should do in co-operation at the ballot box.

Socialism is a scientific system. It is founded on the observation of all the psychological and historical facts of sociology, and its doctrines are the laws deduced therefrom. It has no place for the imagination; it trusts nothing to hope; it attaches no importance to fortunate accidents.

One of these facts is that we are living under the capitalistic system. We may change the environment, and that is what we aim to do; but we cannot escape from the environment while it exists. *Nolens volens* we must conform our action to it. Thus we oppose the wage system; yet we pay and receive wages. So, too, our publishing co-operative plants and supply stores are based on the capitalistic system. This is a natural necessity and there is no inconsistency in our conduct. Nor is there any inconsistency in a socialist, under given conditions, voting for a man who entertains views diametrically opposite to his own. On this point I wish to be very plain and explicit.

It is taken for granted, to begin with, that our socialist

voter is honest and desires to cast his ballot for the best interest of the cause. Take the case of a Southern cotton manufacturing city, where little children are mutilated in body, mind and soul, to minister to greed. The indignation of a part of the community is aroused at this devils' work. Some man of character, Republican, Democrat or independent, comes out as a candidate for the State Legislature, exposes these crimes, denounces the perpetrators, and makes a pledge to use his utmost endeavors, if elected, to have the children protected by law. Let us suppose that there is a socialist section in this city, but that the number of their votes will not exceed five per cent of the total vote registered, and that they have no intention of putting out a candidate of their own. Let us suppose, further, that it is a close race between the manufacturers and the hypocrites on one side and people of common humane feeling on the other, and that every vote counts.

Now, what should our socialist section do in this case? Should they argue that, child labor being merely a result of the capitalistic system, it would not be advisable to devote any effort to remove the resultant evil, and that they should reserve their force until they could lay the axe to the root of the tree? Should they hold aloof and take no part in the contest on the alleged ground that by so doing they were maintaining the integrity and solidarity of the party? I think that such conduct would provoke the just criticism from the better part of the community that the socialists were anti-social and lacking in common humanity, and that it would strengthen prejudice against them among ignorant proletarians; while, if they had taken an active part in the election, they would have made friends and strengthened themselves in those quarters where the crushing power of socialism now lies dormant.

In this local and temporary coalition there is nothing in the nature of "dicker;" reward or the hope of reward makes no figure; there is not even a squint at compromise; not an iota of principle is surrendered; class-consciousness is not impaired; and the organization of the section not only remains intact, but is strengthened by an increase of good will on the part of the better (and by "better" I mean the more humane) part of the community. In this case the principles of socialism would not be involved at all. The socialists would not vote as socialists, but as fellow sufferers with others, and would vote for a man to prevent child murder, just as they would contribute to pay for wolf scalps or to hire men to kill rattlesnakes.

The greatest obstruction to the spread of socialism is the ignorance and indifference of the proletarians. This co-opera-

tion, on proper occasions, would attract the attention and secure the favorable opinion of many of them who never read socialist literature and who have been made to believe by their political and religious teachers that the socialists want to take away the property of hard-working and saving people and distribute it among the lazy and the profligate.

When, where, how, and under what circumstances such co-operation should take place, its limitations and continuance must of necessity be determined by the local section, the district, state or national convention, as the occasion may require. Mistakes may be made, but they do no harm, provided the prompting motive be an honest one.

So far from encouraging looseness of organization, I would insist on the most rigid party discipline. Let there continue to be the widest freedom of discussion and criticism of both doctrine and tactics in the region of scientific thought. In regard to action, however, the case is totally different. Here the unanimity should be absolute. There should be but one will, and that will determined by the referendum. The Society of Jesus acts as one man, regardless of their individual opinions. Hence their amazing influence and power. We can do as much, reversing the order of the Jesuits and making the will of the majority the rule of action instead of the will of the provincial or general.

The hearty acquiescence in the will of a majority of the enrolled comrades in all matters pertaining to action, should be the test of loyalty. Hence the necessity of scrutiny and care in admitting members to the sections. The danger shall not arise from paucity of numbers, but from overloading.

Just here some one may ask: "Where are the votes to come from?" A large number—perhaps the bulk—of them should come from those who are not class conscious socialists and who are not enrolled in our organization. But the sole management and direction, the entire "machinery," as it is called, will be exclusively in the hands of the enrolled members of the sections. These only will send delegates to conventions, determine programs and nominate candidates. When the candidates are put in the field the public generally and the proletarians in particular will be cordially invited to support them.

This method will combine two separate and independent forces, but both working in the same direction and towards the same end. The first of them is the life-giving fountain and motive of pure scientific socialism; the second force is the vast ocean of prevailing discontent with existing economic and political conditions; the deeply rooted and ever growing hostility—I may say hatred—towards laws, law-makers, and

judges; which sees in present government only an instrument and an agency for the exploitation of the poor for the benefit of the rich. This enormous element of power is yet blind; it gropes in the dark; it has no organization; no medium of expression; it cannot trace the evil to its source; in its despair it grasps at every straw and in its ignorance it is constantly made the unwitting tool and victim of capitalism.

Socialism will make its greatest gain from this class, not by first making them class-conscious and then securing their votes; but first getting their votes and teaching the principles afterwards. The propaganda of pure socialism goes on, and will continue to go on, without ceasing, by day and by night, in the shop, in the field, in the social circle, in the union, in the section, from the platform, and from the press. This work is strictly educational. The work of a political campaign differs from this in not being educational, but as appealing to an education already existent. Hence the matter and the method must be different. It is proper and profitable to expound the Marxian doctrine, to explain surplus value, the origin and growth of capital, and the materialistic conception of history, before an audience called together to hear such a discussion. But what promiscuous audience, such as gather to hear campaign speeches, would have the disposition or the patience to listen to such a cold-blooded scientific array of facts and principles? It would melt away like a light snow under a hot sun. But there are grievances which they both understand and feel; and upon these the socialist speaker should enlarge and press his immediate demands.

The Communist Manifesto, by necessary implication, recognizes both a maximum and a minimum program; the former for the inner circle and the latter for the neophytes or general public. This idea is hoary with age and has been approved by universal experience on all lines of thought and action. Plato and Aristotle had an esoteric and an exoteric doctrine; when Christianity was something totally different from what now goes by that name, the Greek fathers had one school for the catechumens and another school for the "enlightened;" the Hindus and the Druids made the same distinction; the mediæval guilds had their masters and apprentices, and speculative masonry has, theoretically, the same gradations.

There is no repugnancy between the two programs; but on the contrary, the closest intimacy and interdependence. The more the popular questions are discussed in detail by intelligent socialists, the more the public mind is enlightened to

perceive that all these evils converge to a common centre, which is their common source.

If I have read aright the history of the conquests of socialism on the continent of Europe, success has been won by the employment of the method herein advocated. It is certain that this method is in accord with the almost unanimous resolutions of the late Dresden conference, which, while declaring an abiding devotion to the doctrine of revolutionary socialism, formulated at the same time a program for immediate realization.

In view of the political campaign which will soon be on us, this question is one of present and vital import. I have merely touched on a few of the salient features for the purpose of calling attention to it, and do not pretend to have elaborated the details.

IGNIKE.

[It is almost needless to say that we disagree almost entirely with positions stated above. The maintenance of a class-conscious political organization is the one hope of socialist success. To endanger that organization by temporary support of the candidates of a party whose every principle is hostile to all that socialists want would do the cause of socialism an injury infinitely greater than any possible, but very doubtful good, which any individual might be able to do for the workers. Again, the Socialist Party must not be controlled by an inner circle of "elects," but must seek constantly to include within its membership all socialist voters and then to educate them to truly socialist action.—
EDITOR.]

The Philosophy of Misery.

MANY socialists accept and expound as truth that peculiar doctrine which has been rightly called "the philosophy of misery."

The advocates of this most unnatural philosophy—which seems to have been born of a misconception of the theory of evolution—lay much stress upon the assertion that a transformation for the better will only take place among the wage-earners when they are obliged to contend with acute economic conditions, and that, conversely, comparative prosperity makes them content, refusing to struggle for further improvement.

A belief in all this forces the socialist into a most peculiar and illogical position, for the platform of the Socialist party teems with measures for the immediate relief of the working class, and so—if the Socialist party should succeed in bringing partial relief to the workers—it would only result in postponing the advent of the co-operative commonwealth. To such strange ends would this most absurd doctrine lead us that, to be logical, our hands must join with those of the capitalist in fighting all palliatives and opposing all partial improvement of the conditions of the working class. More, even we should vote the capitalist ticket and assist the capitalist class to yet more power for the sake of grinding down the workers to a point of blind desperation.

History, on the contrary, records few instances where a slave race has freed itself, and gives ample evidence that extremes of hunger or oppression means abject submission to the dominating class. India, China, and even the Irish famine times, bear witness to the fallacy of the "philosophy of misery." Moreover, in the large European and American cities the poorest paid, the poorest clad and poorest nourished among the workers are always the most cringing, submissive and abject—slaves to those who provide them with a crust.

Napoleon's army at Moscow was annihilated for want of food; Coxey's army faded away when charitable "handouts" grew less and less and finally failed to supply their needs. In the South the horrible condition of the factory children calls forth neither protest nor revolt from their parents. Everywhere we see misery in plenty, but from misery *alone* revolt was never known to spring.

Just in proportion as the capitalist class can defeat the workers in their economic struggle for existence, just so much will they become subservient and submissive. While on the other hand every advantage gained by the working class infuses it with hope and strength. The working class moves in obedience to a law of Nature. The desire for life and in the ensuing struggle for ex-

istence the class follows its immediate material interests, for it is only by attaining these material things that the class is enabled to exist. The material things necessary to the life of the workers is largely a matter of adaptation—the luxury of to-day becoming the necessity of to-morrow—and any advantage gained will be followed by an increased desire for more as the one-time luxury becomes a necessity. The working class never willingly relinquishes any advantage once attained, and out of this fact grows the misconception common to so many socialists, who regard the struggle of organized labor to retain this advantage as an evidence that the class will only strive to better its conditions when confronted with acute economic conditions. That the emancipation of the workers will be brought about by economic conditions is true, but a virile, vigorous, well-fed working class is as much an economic condition as one of cowardly, cringing submission.

If the capitalist class in this country, with the aid of the imperial power given the president by the new military bill, can succeed in defeating organized labor upon the economic field disfranchisement is sure to follow, as has already been partially accomplished in some of the Southern States. Once the economic organization of labor is destroyed, the working class will not turn to political action, but will yield humble submission and be thankful for a crust—as have the slaves of all times.

While the Socialist party goes on record as being “friendly” towards the cause of Unionism, yet much difference of opinion exists among its members as to what constitutes a friendly attitude. In the early history of the movement the question did not force itself to the front, but when it did there came on a most bitter, internal warfare, which split the party into two parts. One fraction of the party (under the banner of the S. L. P.) carried on an open warfare against the trades unions, and finally dwindled out of sight, while the larger fraction reorganized and is now the Socialist party. But the “irrepressible conflict” is again to the fore, resulting in two notable instances of “fusion” between Socialist locals and the Union Labor Party, which revived much bitter feeling among party members. Many comrades, of long affiliation with the socialist movement, now advocated a most advanced and radical position, namely, that wherever a Union Labor party representing organized labor should fight the capitalist parties for the purpose of placing the wage-working class in power the Socialist party should refrain from placing a ticket in the field and should support the Union Labor party ticket.

The international socialist movement, as represented by its international conventions, gives as its sole reason for existence “the interest of the wage-working class.” The materialistic conception of history, as expounded by Marx is, in brief, that a class moves in obedience to its material interests. With the advent of modern machinery, making possible modern capitalism, came unity

of interests among employees. The workers in each particular craft learned by experience that their interests, as far as their employment was concerned, were identical, necessitating the formation of trades unions, labor councils and national organizations. These things being so, let us consider the relations of the Socialist party to the trades unions, both in the "economic" and "political" field. It must be plain to all that if we can have relations to labor both on the economic and political field the Socialist party cannot be solely a political party. What is it then? It is a revolutionary organization of the working class, and as such is free to choose the best methods for the accomplishment of its purpose. The ballot is a weapon—and it is the choice of the party—but there are other weapons that we must use and keep well oiled, for the ballot might be taken from us. The strike, the boycott, backed by organized labor, must never be forgotten as weapons absolutely necessary in the emancipation of the working class. Imagine the Socialist party upon some future occasion casting the majority of the ballots at a national election. Would it be likely to receive a fair count, with the capitalists in complete control of the election returns? Would the capitalist class be inclined to quietly hand over to us the thumb screw by which it squeezes from labor the last drop of its labor power? No; capitalists are not simple-minded. We would cut a sorry figure indeed—in the event that the capitalists should refuse to play according to the rules of the game—if we depended solely upon the ballot as our last refuge.

Our present weapons, then, consist of the ballot, the strike and the boycott. Much has been accomplished by the strike, but above all else the boycott is at present most feared by the capitalist class. The boycott, if persisted in by a majority of the workers, would soon put the individual capitalist out of business, as has been done in many instances. Our duty then is to assist the strike and boycott by every means in our power, that we may strengthen the unions and infuse spirit into the ranks of labor.

As to political fusion, it must be plain that wherever the unions organize upon a class basis to secure power for themselves their success means the success of organized labor and must be supported by the Socialist party. If the obtaining of economic power by the unions (and who would deny that they have some economic power, or why do the capitalists fight them?) has been of advantage to the working class, so must political power be of like benefit in the same hands; and we must not fail to support and uphold those hands. Who will assert that the working class in power will not legislate for its own interests? Will the working class save itself? Do you believe it? If so, will it be by that portion of the class who, following their immediate interests, fight the capitalists for the sake of more power and more comfort *now* or the unorganized part, which tamely submit? Again we ask, upon whom should we depend, upon the unions, who are actually

now fighting the capitalist class, or upon the unorganized workers who have failed to muster courage to rebel in any form? Mark well, students of the class struggle, "without the trades unions the Socialist party in America is a rope of sand."

CLIFF. McMARTIN.

[It seems to me that the position taken by the writer of the above article involves a confusion of thought as to the respective functions of trades unions and a Socialist Party. There is no proof offered here or in any of the articles which we have seen defending this point of view that the "trade union party" is a "working class party." The "trade union in politics" may still stand for capitalist principles while "public opinion" is formed and controlled by capitalist instruments.]

Christ the Comrade.

HIS heaven was in the heart and not o'erhead;
 His home wherever in the House of Life
 The Father willed. He mourned our mortal strife—
 Man's brute-like battle to be clothed and fed,
 His soul, alas, to God and duty dead.
 He solved the riddle of world and want and woe—
 Hatred exalted and sweet Love laid low.
 Privation's wine-press, that wage toilers tread
 In bondage, was familiar to his feet,
 Whether in rural haunt or crowded street;
 Yet such his treasures of exhaustless love,
 He brought to earth the bright abodes above;
 Kindling a warmth in bosoms cold as stone;
 Giving God's balm for agony and groan.

—LUCIEN V. RULE.

Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer.

Chicago, Ill., April 18, 190—.

My Dear Kate:

You will see from the above address that I am back in dear, dirty old Chicago again—glued to my Remington—as of yore. I returned home just a month ago yesterday, much stronger and a great deal poorer than I went away. So poor, in fact, that the day after my arrival, I donned my most business-like frock, and bought all the morning papers to see what was doing in the stenographic line. There were the usual half-dozen ads. for “Neat and attractive—experience unnecessary; ten dollar a week” girls, that experience has taught us to shun, and an enormous demand for the girl who could serve in every capacity from correspondent to sweep, for \$6 a week; but there was only one position that looked like my sort of a place, and as I knew it was one of the kind you have to get up early in the morning to secure, I took the first car out there; met the man who employs the stenographers; was chosen from fifty applicants, and in less than five minutes was taking dictation from my new “boss”, who was reading it off at the rate of about fifty knots an hour.

But the news that will most surprise you, and delights me, is, that I am in the employ of the Pork Packer who wrote these famous “Letters to His Son”! As I was engaged to be stenographer-in-chief to the General Manager of the Branch House Department, and have consequently been able to get a pretty good inside line on the way things are run here, I want to put you onto a few points from our side of the questions he wrote about. But none of the things I write, ought to be sufficiently selfish or vulgar to surprise you, after reading his pages that reeked so strongly of the sty.

You know I have maintained for a long time that men are largely products of their environment, and so I am trying to remember that it would be difficult for a Pork Packer to deal in hogs for forty years without acquiring some of the characteristics for which they are noted.

I leave at 6:30 in the morning, and generally reach home at the same hour in the evening, in time for dinner. Twelve hours at the office and en route don't leave me much strength, nor desire to study the “higher” things, in the little time I have left for myself. In fact, I am usually so tired that I prefer my bed to a favorite symphony at a Thomas concert.

We have thirty minutes at noon for lunch, when all the cattle

on the plant and in the office feed. Those in the pens get the best, because the best pays, and we get the cheapest—flap-jacks at 5 cts. apiece, and cold storage No. 3 eggs at 10 cts. each, through the benevolence of the Packing Company, although No. 1s are retailing at 25 cts. per dozen. And they tell us the Graham restaurant is run purely for the convenience of the employees!

Every morning when I come to work, I see a crowd of ragged Austrian, German, Italian, negro, Polish and American workmen in groups before the gates, who, I am told, are always waiting about the plant in the hope of getting a job when an accident occurs, or there is a call for extra men, and as I learn there are often as many as thirty men hurt here in a single day, I suppose the poor fellows do not always have to wait in vain.

The buildings are large, and would be airy, were there any air in this part of the city. They cover many acres, and throng with thousands of working men, and women, and little children every day. We are, in fact, a city in ourselves.

The first day I came down here, I noticed a golden pig that dances airily from a gilded weather vane on the top of the main office, and I am beginning to think it is more significant perhaps, than the historical calf, as an emblem of the spirit of the powers that rule over, and the methods pursued in Packingtown.

I wish you could hear Mr. King (Manager of the Branch House Department) dictate to me. He comes like a whirlwind; begins when he is about ten feet away, and talks like one possessed. He snorts and stews and gives it to the Branch House Managers good and plenty. He never writes unless something has gone wrong, and so his life is one long never-ending complaint; but he glories in it. I wonder every day of my life why the men don't resign. None of their reports are ever so good but that Mr. King growls because they are not better. They always seem to find it necessary to pay higher wages than he wants them to pay, and to sell their goods for a little less than he thinks they ought to get for them; for you know:

"The robin is jovous with one little nest;
The squirrel with *enough* is contented to rest
And would deem any more but a jest on a jest—
But WE—We are only a TRUST!"

But to continue with my dictation. There are telegrams galore, and cables to the uttermost parts of the earth, and every few minutes Mr. King goes so fast that his tongue gets twisted, and he runs into a snag. Then he backs up, side tracks, and tears on again regardless of any and every thing, and finally starts away, dictating as he goes. Then I take a long breath and wonder what parts of the mess to transpose.

He treats everybody (except the Grahams) as his natural

enemy, though they tell me he says I am one of the only two good stenographers he has had in his thirty-two years experience with the company. If he knew I had heard of it, however, he would fire me tomorrow. I really do try to please him. First, because I need the position; second, because I would rather work for a man who goes like the wind and keeps things moving, than for one whose dictation puts me to sleep; and third, because, better would a mill-stone be tied about my neck, and I be thrown into the lake, than to displease Mr. King. When anything goes wrong, he screams at the top of his voice, and everybody in that end of the office lingers around to be at the killing, and see the fun. In toto he treats us all like dogs. He has driven half the boys to drink, and the girls into nervous prostration. I wondered when the man who engages the stenographers asked if I had "strong nerves" what his object could be; but it did not take me more than ten minutes to find out, after I had met Mr. King. I suppose my turn must come next, and I want you to ask my friends to put me in a private sanitarium.

They tell me Mr. King never talks anything but packing-house, even at social entertainments. His shop is his whole house. He talks it on the cars, at lunch, and doubtless, also, he talks it in his sleep. He reminds me of those serfs who died so willingly for their lords in the feudal times, because, while he has worked faithfully for the company so many years, is poor, and old, yet he is prouder than John Graham, himself, because as I have heard him boast, "The sun never sets on the Graham hams and bacon." He is out of the city a large part of the time, when I am to substitute in other departments. This, I hope, will give me a breathing spell, as well as to acquaint me with other sides of the business.

I was here several days before I saw Mr. John Graham (the Pork Packer) himself. The papers said he had been up to Battle Creek two months, for his stomach's sake. When I opened my desk at 7:25 the morning of his return, he was already going over Branch House Reports, ferreting out shrinkages, unnecessary expenses, and questioning any rise in salaries. In less than five minutes he had "fired" one of our Branch House Managers, by wire, for not disposing of some spoiled sweet pickled meats before the health officers got after him, and had dispatched another man to take his place—also by wire. He is indeed a wonderful man in his way. From the time each hog goes into the pen, until it is disposed of to the consumer or dealer, he is able to account for every hair of its hide, and every ounce of flesh and bone (for nothing is wasted here, you know).

He is a rather short, stout, bald, red-faced man, with keen gray eyes that take in discrepancies and shortages at a glance. He

knows just how many pounds of 1 cent tallow will add a given number of pounds to 15 ct. "springs"; how to turn tough old canners at \$1.50 per hundred into that canned "Delicatessen Lunch Tongue," at 25 cts., of which you used to be so fond; how to use any old carcass to make "Spring Beauty Toilet Soap"; in short, how to make one dollar in labor produce five dollars in market value. And I would say that John Graham's relation to the production of those four dollars of profit, was just about the same as the relation our "Golden Churn" Butterine bears to the churn!

Things have changed a good deal, of course, since he wrote those letters to his son Pierpont. They have progressed, as in the past, to the advantage of the Packing Company. Pierpont's college education seems to have paid Old John very well, for they say around here, that in the five years Pierpont has been in the business, the profits of the company have been greater than his father made during all the thirty-five years previous.

Pierpont is now in London looking after that "Foreign Trade," and they tell me that the Graham Hams and Bacon are sold cheaper to those Britons than they are to us.

Tariff is a mighty profitable thing to the Packing Company when it comes to selling goods, for it keeps up the price the workman has to pay for them, although foreign workmen can come over to compete with him on the wages he is to receive for making them.

Anyone who reads the Eastern newspapers, would naturally suppose that John Graham was a Republican, and he IS a Republican in the East. And when he claims our goods at Southern points are only held on consignment, in order to avoid the Wholesale Tax, he is a staunch Democrat, and lends his support to the friendly, prospective candidate; but first, last and always—he is a Pork Packer.

Well, I will have to wait until my next letter to tell you a dozen other things I had wanted to say today, because the Fertilizer Department has just telephoned for me to come down to take a few letters. So no more until Saturday. Address me at — Michigan Avenue, and write soon to

Your loving

MARY.

LETTER NO. II.

Chicago, Ill., April 23, 190—.

My Dear Katherine:

Et tu, Brute! And will you join the stupid, clamoring multitude in maligning us? In pronouncing our late advance in prices exorbitant, and echoing a tune all the newspapers (not controlled by Papa Graham's friends) are singing that—

"Beef has gone so high
It has touched the sky!"

To begin with, why should our party lower the tariff on beef? It is not for this we have expended our money in legislation. And are they not sworn to "Protect us *Infant* Industries"? Would you have them recant the policies of fifteen years, and become the laughing stock of their opponents? Silly weather-cocks, as it were, making and unmaking their laws with every change in the affairs of men! What was good enough for our fathers, is surely good enough for us, and if the times have changed, it is no reason why the laws should!

Further, if you don't like our prices, remember that you are living in the "Land of the Free," and go without—you are always at liberty—to go without! Therefore, lend not your support to our nefarious machinations! Scorn, and spurn us! A vegetable diet is just as healthy anyway, and you can take a trip to California with the money!

And further, My Dear; lend me your cars. Have you not heard of the charming Sylvia Graham, daughter of our late honored partner, whose decease wrought such grief in the hearts of his countrymen, a few years ago, and who rightfully divides with her uncle—John Graham—the love of her grateful employes, and the dividends of the corporation? The beautiful Sylvia has been educated in Paris, and is about to be married to a French nobleman, provided the necessary dot is forthcoming. From the beginning of medieval history, it was the People who were taxed for the entertainments and luxuries of Wealth and Beauty, and shall it be said in America that for want of a few paltry millions a *count* was lost!

Don't grumble, My Dear, but offer your tribute gracefully, as the rest of us are doing.

I must add too, that you need not fear to grow feeble should you decide to save your money and dine beefless, as, by daily watching of the workmen who do the manual labor about the plant during their noon hour, I have perceived, that, without any exception, they seem to be vegetarians, as only bread, and sometimes pie, come forth from their dinner pails—doubtless, because they have discovered these to be more wholesome, and nourishing than meat, rather than through any dictates of economy.

I have been very busy all morning, writing our Branch House Managers to go through their letter books and destroy any evidences of our "understanding about prices with former competitors." Mr. Graham and Mr. King had a long consultation with Mr. Robinson, the company's chief attorney, which resulted in the following wire, which I dispatched to one of our Branch House Managers at a Southern point:

"Regarding summons reference Beef Trust investigation, have decided will all ignore same. Do not appear."

"All," of course, means the five companies in the combination; so you see, there *ARE* some real American Anarchists—if a rich man ever can be an anarchist. Father Graham was very keen about competition in those letters he wrote to Piérpont, but he was not so keen but that he buried the hatchet when he found he could make larger profits by a little understanding with his old enemies. You remember he said what he wanted was "*RESULTS.*"

I wonder if you understand how omnipotent we really are! We represent the only market on which the farmer and stockman can dispose of his product, and on the other hand, we are the only people from whom the Public can buy. Of course, there is nothing monopolistic about this state of affairs. This is a "free" country. If the farmer is not satisfied with our offers, he can ship his poultry and eggs back home. The stockman can do likewise with his cattle, if he asks more than we care to pay. And the dear Public has always the privilege of—doing without.

There is a crazy little man, of the name of Hayden, at Higginville, Ill., who is running a small butcher shop in competition with our Retail Market there. He doesn't know, of course, that the company he buys his meats of has opened a Parlor Market to compete with him, because it is not known as a Graham shop, but is run under the name of "The People's Market."

Mr. King wrote our Manager at that point to shade his prices a trifle to the consumer, and we have meanwhile raised our prices to Mr. Hayden, and Mr. King says this man ought not last two weeks.

It is only a question of time, Mr. Graham says, until we will completely do away with the middleman. There is no good reason why meat should pass through the hands of three or four men before it reaches the consumer; and he don't intend that it shall.

It looks sensible on the face of it, to me. It seems as though if a certain amount of the work necessary to present production, and distribution could be eliminated, any intelligent society would want to make use of the means to bring about such a condition. For our object ought to be, not to see how long we can be at work, but to produce enough for everybody, in the least possible time. Of course we understand that in the disorganized state of society today, this would mean still greater production, by fewer men, and greater wealth for the benefit of a few, and that the men who did the work would not be the ones to reap the harvests thereof, because every workingman would be forced to more actively compete with his brothers for the decreasing number of jobs.

Now I am not turning communist, as you inferred in your last letter. Equal distribution of wealth, unequally produced, would be only a step better than unequally distributed wealth, unequally

produced, as it is today. I would not call a society founded on Communism—even though you say Christ was a Communist—a just society, because I would only count it just when every man reaped according as he had sown; when his share in the distribution was equal to the wealth he had produced and every man starting with as nearly equal opportunities as possible. I might also add that a communist does not believe in private property, and I would very seriously object to the community using my brush, or my comb or even my poor little clothes. However, I agree with them in thinking that no man ought to own anything on which the lives of his fellowmen depend. But remember, My Dear, my theories are only in embryo.

Mr. King discharged two of our men today. One of them had been in the employ of the company for twenty-five years, and Mr. Graham said he was "too old". The other was a young cashier, who is "nervous." The moral of the story is, that you must not grow old, nor ill, if you want to hold your job. There is one thing upon which the World of Business is not founded, and that is Sentiment. It is absolutely swallowed up in the clatter of dollars and cents. And I am beginning to believe that the successful business men who are Christians are about as scarce as hens teeth. They may be Baptists, and Methodists, or Catholics, or Scientists, or Seventh Day Adventists, but it is dreadfully hard for them to be Christians. A man may want to be a Christian, but there are his children to be educated, and he decides that he would rather see his competitor's little ones working in a factory than his own, and goes in for a "lawful" or unlawful advantage.

And speaking of factories, reminds me of the manufacturer who launched me on the stenographic sea, and who grew rich hiring children and young girls to run his sewing machines, in manufacturing the dear, old flag, the "Star Spangled Banner," which has come, alas! to mean just that—millions of men, and women and little children, toiling to make money-kings of a few! I might add also that one of the brothers in this company was on the Lincoln Park Board, and belonged to the Anti-Trust Association—also the Wire Rope Association (which was "formed for the purpose of upholding prices")—which he cut behind their backs and evaded the \$500 penalty for breaking the "contract." He granted public favors, for value received, and said "I done," and "you was," and "fired" me because I told the boys in the office that the "Identity of Interest Between Employer and Employed" fable was all *ROT!* I argue the question no more, for he proved my assertion.

On the other hand, there was the lumber dealer for whom I worked, who treated every man as though he were his brother; who gave his customers what they purchased, and his employes

what they earned, and who—failed! You see many of these men are forced to push their competitors down, in order to avoid sinking themselves; so I am not blaming the individual, but the system.

Teddy has moved down on the South Side, and rooms only three blocks from our place. He takes all his dinners with me, and comes over three or four evenings out of the week. He has been working on some articles for one of the city labor journals, this month, however, and is growing thinner every day. I mean to drag him away from all things serious occasionally, or he will break down.

Have just taken some more dictation, so no more for to-day. Write often and tell all about your studies.

From your loving

MARY.

Today the City gave "us" (for private switching purposes) land valued at \$80,000. Verily, verily! as David Harum says, 'Them that has, GITS!'

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

EDITORIAL

The Socialist Opportunity.

Surely the socialists have nothing to complain of in these days unless it be of their own defects. For years we have been asking for a clear field and a fair fight in the political and economic struggle. Today we have it. Compact organizations of capitalists in employers associations and citizens' alliances present a solid front in the waging of a determined war on organized labor. The dear public receives scant consideration from either side.

On the political field the issue is drawn with no less clearness. When socialist writers pointed out four years ago that the small capitalists were making their last desperate stand beneath the leadership of Bryan, few scarcely realized how true they spoke. Today the class of little exploiters has ceased to have any economic importance. And the political situation, quick to reflect economic conditions, shows no party representing small capitalist interests. Both great political parties have kicked out those who represent middle class radicalism and reform. LaFollette of Wisconsin, who was seeking to bring some middle class reforms into the republican party, was turned down only a trifle less harder than that valiant champion of the common people William Jennings Bryan and his yellow dog William Randolph Hearst.

Never did any set of men more correctly express the characteristics of the economic class which they represent politically than do the radical democracy. Never did any one man incarnate the spirit of a class more perfectly than William Jennings Bryan incarnates that of the little would-be exploiters of America. Whoever studies this champion of a dying class at this time sees reflected all the tradesman's cowardice and clinging to departed standards, to outgrown ideas and ideals, to hopeless obstruction that always characterizes a despairing class, that especially characterizes the last struggles of a little, competitive, labor-skinning class such as ruled America, and, indeed the entire capitalist world a score of years ago. Whoever reads Bryan's editorial in *The Commoner* for July 22d will feel mingled feelings of disgust, contempt and pity struggling for expression. With unconscious sarcasm he entitles it "Democracy Must Move Forward," and we find that he wishes it to "move forward" to what? To government ownership of the railroads? No; not quite; but to *state* ownership of the railroads. Recognizing in a dim way that the general govern-

ment is forever slipping out of the control of the class which he represents he clings fondly to the hope that the state governments, themselves anachronism in the day of an *international* industrial organization, may somehow be utilized to help the little parasites retain their position upon the backs of labor. He sees that something has happened to make the little exploiter impossible, yet he repeats with oracular meaninglessness "the right of the citizen to build up an independent business and enjoy the fruits of his toil must be guaranteed to him." His hopeless ignorance of economic organization, blinds him to the fact that "the building up of an independent business" upon wage labor renders it impossible for him upon whose shoulders that "independent business" is erected "to enjoy the fruits of his toil."

But, if the sight of the whining, whipped little exploiting class excites contempt, it is hard to withhold something of admiration for the attitude of the great capitalists at the present time. At the height of their power, swaying more influence than ever any body of men has swayed since this world began, they, nevertheless, see their power threatened; they somehow blindly feel that the great elementary force of the revolutionary proletariat is about to demand every energy that plutocracy can summon to its defense. So this class gathers its hideous but gigantic form together and in fierce contempt kicks from beneath its feet the whining defenders of the little labor-skinners that it may better battle with the growing power of labor. It is as if this class had somehow gained a personal consciousness and realized the necessity of concentrating power in the hour of battle and was therefore surrendering the directing force into the hands of one little group of men. The Rockefeller and Morgan interests are today the commanding generals of the army of greed who are formulating and directing the forces of the coming conflict. They have appointed a Morton as secretary of the navy for Roosevelt; dictated the nomination of a Parker to the democratic party, written platforms which carry scant comfort to would-be allies and hangers-on, and most important of all, they have complete control of the sinews of war of both parties.

Meanwhile on the economic field the order has gone out to give no quarter. The war is to the knife and the knife to the hilt. Organized capital has declared for the destruction of organized labor, and the battlefield of Colorado shows that there are no restricting humanitarian rules in the industrial battle which they propose to wage. Yet the one weak spot in their armor, the one fatal defect in the fortification, the one hopeless weakness in their entire position lies in the fact that the soldiers who must do their fighting on the economic field as scabs, on the military field as soldiers, or on the political field with ballots, are those whose every interest, either for themselves, their family or their fellow workers make them the enemy of the system for which they are forced to fight. The workers can only be conquered by the working class; labor can only be enslaved by laborers, proletarian political servitude is made possible only by proletarian ballots. Capitalism only lives through a lie, and to tell the truth would doom it to death. When the facts shall reach the

workers, shall penetrate at last into their consciousness, the whole structure must fall.

The Socialist Party has but to make of its written and spoken message a great lens through which the events of contemporary society may cast their light upon the workers' brain. Most workers are now ready to know this truth. It is the business of the socialist to tell it to them, to make of them educated, intelligent, rebellious and constructively class-conscious socialists. This is a task that will strain the nerve and muscle of every man who knows the truth between now and the final counting of ballots in next November.

Investigation and Education for Socialists.

There is almost universal agreement among the most active, earnest and efficient workers in the Socialist Party that the most pressing need of the Socialist movement at the present time is education. Everywhere there is urgent necessity for men who have studied the great and growing literature of sociology, and who shall know how to work up into effective form the crude material which is all about us. The great libraries are filled with material, and more is being turned out daily from a thousand sources, that should be utilized by the workers in their struggle for freedom.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has from the beginning sought to supply this want. But no publication can effectively do this. The field to be covered is too great. The audience of readers reached is too diverse in its tastes, previous reading and mental attitudes to permit of any approach to that thorough, systematic, continuous work that is needed. This is wholly aside from the very evident fact that the editorial staff is hopelessly inadequate in every way to the task of gathering and presenting the material needed. The Socialists of other countries have met this problem by the establishment of regular educational institutions, and, as our readers are already aware, arrangements have been made to establish such an institution in Chicago during the coming winter. The responses to this suggestion have been very satisfactory, and there is every reason to believe that next November will witness the assembling of an active, earnest body of workers who will do some thoroughly systematic work which will be of great value, not only to themselves but to the Socialist work in general.

There is one phase of the work which will be undertaken there which because of its general interest deserves further notice. As far as possible all work will be carried on as a co-operative investigation by faculty and students. Certain subjects will be selected and government documents, periodicals, treatises, technical works and all other sources of information will be searched in as thorough a manner as systematic division of labor and organization of effort applied to as perfect facilities for investigation as are to be found anywhere in this country will make possible. Frequent

meetings for mutual discussion, criticism and planning of work will bring the strength of all to bear on each point. The complete result of the work will then be brought together, and if thought of sufficient value by the class the results will be published. In all cases full credit will be given to all participating in the work. No "professor" will be permitted to "grow great" on the work of others, as has so often been the case in our great capitalist universities.

In all this work special emphasis will be given to the analysis of governmental publications, state and national, and since many of these are accessible to anyone who asks for them, it will mean that the students who are trained in this work can continue after returning to their homes and can there organize other centers of investigation. Through these means the work done will result in placing much valuable material in the hands of the thousands of readers of Socialist publications, and in general to extend the influence of the work far beyond the circle of students in actual attendance.

The training of such investigators, prepared to apply scientific methods of work to the facts around them, is really of much more value to the Socialist movement than the "turning out" of half-educated soap-box orators and shallow writers. At the same time those who wish to enter the field as speakers, organizers and writers will find that they will be in constant touch with the sources of information which are inexhaustible. Hence there will be no danger of their "running dry" or becoming mere parrot-like repeaters of what has already been said and written a multitude of times.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

At this juncture the intelligent organized workingmen of the country are making inquiries regarding the labor records of the Presidential candidates in the field. It is generally admitted that "radicalism" in the old parties received the solar-plexus blow at the Chicago convention of the Republicans and the St. Louis gathering of Democrats. There will not be that feverish excitement this year that marked the silver agitation in 1896 and the issue of imperialism four years ago. Both old parties have nominated "safe and sane" candidates and both are and have been making open bids for the support of the great capitalists, and even the middle class capitalists are ignored in the scramble to please Wall street and the trust oligarchy.

Up to about a year ago Mr. Roosevelt, for some unaccountable reason, was regarded as somewhat friendly toward organized labor, but this impression undoubtedly gained circulation through the operation of a well-managed press bureau and because of the ignorance and carelessness of the workers. It is true the President was given an exceptional opportunity to pose during the anthracite strike, and when Baron Baer scolded him through the newspapers for meddling in that famous struggle it was natural that the unthinking labor men, hating the coal magnate as they do, should whoop 'er up for "Teddy." Later on, when John Mitchell was honored by being called in to lunch at the White House, the labor crowd cheered lustily, and ever since then Mitchell speaks of "me friend," President Roosevelt.

Nevertheless, Mr. Roosevelt's labor record is being investigated, and the deeper the probing goes the more interesting are the revelations. Roosevelt became generally known as police commissioner in New York city, and while he served in that capacity he applied for a patent for a new police club to be used in labor troubles. This weapon was not unlike the war clubs carried by the cannibals and savages of early history, relics of which are exhibited in museums, excepting that it was also supplied with sharp iron spikes. It is declared that the government refused to issue a patent on the club, officials claiming that it was too brutal an instrument. After Roosevelt drove the Spaniards out of Cuba and was elected Governor of New York by a grateful populace the great Croton Dam strike took place. The workers had requested that the contractors observe the eight-hour law of the state. The capitalists refused to obey the law; the public officials refused to prosecute them for violating it, and thereupon the men decided to take matters in their own hands and struck to compel the bosses to enforce the law. Did the Governor of New York applaud the workers in their endeavor to assist in applying a state law? Does the devil love holy water? No. Instead of co-operating with the men to compel observance of the law, Governor Roosevelt gave willing ear to the lawless contractors and sent the militia, many of the members of which belong to the "first families" in New York, to Croton Dam to help destroy the law that he had solemnly sworn to enforce. Roosevelt also displayed his remarkable love for the working class while governor by vetoing a number of labor bills, all of which made him popular with the capitalists—and also some laboring men.

As President Mr. Roosevelt has become conspicuous as "the father of the open shop," which title was given him by the followers of Mr. David M.

Parry because of his stand in the famous Miller case in the Government Printing Office. The charge is made that Roosevelt, fearing for his political future when Morgan, Baer and the other coal magnates resented his interference in the strike, intimated to Carroll D. Wright and other members of the anthracite commission that recognition of the miners' union, which was the great issue in that contest, must not be thought of. So the commission made its celebrated report in favor of the "open shop." Wright and his fellows were no doubt aware that while the coal magnates might pretend to be angry with the award of an increase of 10 cents a ton to the miners they were merely bluffing, because where the workers received 10 cents, as subsequent events have proven, the operators cleared an additional profit of 60 cents a ton, and moreover the advance in wages was largely confiscated by raising rents and increasing prices of necessities. What the coal magnates were contending for was to prevent recognition of the union, the principle of the "open shop," under which they could and did blacklist the leading men in the union and where they would be able to play non-union against union workmen and break the organization. They won.

The "open-shop" principle having been established in the anthracite district through government assistance, it was an easy matter for Roosevelt to take the next step and open the door in the government printery to those who would destroy unions, which has not been attempted since the civil war. Foreman Miller, who had deliberately broken the rules of the bookbinders' union and who was given every opportunity to explain his acts, which he contemptuously refused to do, was discharged by the public printer, who was the responsible head of the department; but Roosevelt played the part of dictator, declared in so many words that the union people were all wrong and the non-union man right, and endangered the discipline of the whole department by reappointing Miller.

Not satisfied with giving public expression of sympathy with and support to the "open-shop" crusade of the Parrysite trade union wreckers in the anthracite strike and the Miller case, President Roosevelt has given organized labor another deliberate slap in the face by conferring a high honor upon one of the leading opponents of the unions. Mr. Paul Morton, vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway, which is now making a bitter fight to introduce the "open shop" and is the only railway on the unfair list of the A. F. of L., has been appointed secretary of the navy. Morton is the son of ex-Secretary of Agriculture Morton, of Grover Cleveland's regime, who became more or less famous by publicly declaring that "a dollar and a half a day is enough for any laboring man." Morton was the general passenger and ticket agent of the C. B. & Q. during the great strike of the engineers on that road in 1888, in which the men were defeated and at the time of his appointment was also and still is connected with the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., a Rockefeller institution and a concern that took the lead in the war to destroy the unions in the Rocky Mountain region. That Rockefeller dictated the appointment in order to hold the inside track for products of the United States Steel Corporation may be true as charged, but there are also union machinists, boilermakers and shipbuilders who are of the opinion that Morton was boosted into the place to begin an "open-shop" fight against their organizations after election. It is now no longer a mystery why the strenuous occupant of the White House refused to take cognizance of the Colorado outrages, although he did considerable gallery playing when Perdicarus, a rich padrone and plutocrat, who was in the Far East to engage cheap labor, was kidnaped and held for ransom.

Probably another reason why Roosevelt turned down tens of thousands of petitions to uphold the Constitution in Colorado and exercise his authority as commander-in-chief of American arms to end the war in that state is found in the fact that General Bell was one of "Terrible Teddy's" rough riders in Cuba, stumped New York State when the latter ran for governor, and they "swung around the circle" together in Colorado in the campaign

of 1900. The connection between Roosevelt and the "open-shop" fanatics and the Rockefeller-Peabody-Bell tyrants has become so plain that even the most partisan Republican workingmen make no attempt to advance excuses or explanations.

But not only did Roosevelt act in an antagonistic, lawless and contemptuous manner in a crisis in which the shorter workday was at stake while he was governor of New York State, and not only is he a champion of the vicious "open-shop" principle, which means open war upon organized labor, but in his book, "American Ideals," vol. 11, page 18, he also takes a smash at another demand of the trade unions, viz.: the abolition of the jug-handled injunction system when labor and capital are engaged in industrial combats, when capital can always secure assistance from the courts, and labor never. Says Mr. Roosevelt: "Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction' are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors, who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes, and ate the mammoth and wooly rhinoceros."

While Mr. Roosevelt ignored the eighthour law of New York State and actually tried to destroy it with the militia, his Democratic opponent, Judge Alton B. Parker, a member of the Court of Appeals, the highest judicial body in the Empire State, also took a hand in the game. After considerable effort and expenditure of good trade union money in the endeavor to have the law enforced it was carried to the Court of Appeals. Judge Edgar M. Cullen, Democrat, wrote the decision declaring that the law of 1899 making it a punishable offense for contractors on public work to require their employes to work more than eight hours a day was unconstitutional. Judge Parker joined in the decision, as did six Republican judges. The law was killed on April 28, 1903. Another law, that requiring contractors on public work to pay the prevailing rates of wages, for which the organized workers of New York lobbied and labored for a number of years, was also declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals and with Judge Parker's sanction. These are the only instances on record in which the Democratic nominee had the opportunity of giving public and official expression of his position on labor questions, and unquestionably a great many working people are thankful that he was not put to the test more often. That he is a haughty aristocrat is well known, and that he is a candidate of a large fraction of the Eastern plutocrats is acknowledged. August Belmont, the American representative of Rothschilds, financed Parker's campaign before the nomination, and eye-witnesses charge that Belmont purchased hungry Bourbon delegates from the South almost openly and in droves during the St. Louis convention. Judge Parker controls stock in many of the large trust and combines, among them the Standard Oil Company, and his nomination has created as great satisfaction in Wall Street as would have the naming of Grover Cleveland himself.

It is worth noting that all the great capitalistic dailies, trust magnates and financial manipulators declare that both Roosevelt and Parker are "Safe and Sane," and, just as the workingmen with capitalistic minds and hungry stomachs will have trouble in "choosing the lesser evil," so the plutocrats will find it difficult to select the sweetest of their two charmers. It's heads and the capitalists win; it's tails and labor loses. No matter which is elected, Roosevelt or Parker, the Standard Oil Co. and its brood of trusts will own a president.

With two such Dromios of Capitalism to oppose, Eugene V. Debs, the standard-bearer of the Socialist party, may consider himself fortunate indeed. He will poll a vote that will be heard around the world and bring hope and renewed inspiration to the oppressed of all lands. Contrast the proud record of this stalwart champion of labor with that of either, or both, of the candidates of the Capitalists.

Debs, at the age of 15, began work in the Vandalia railway shops in 1870.

Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood Magazine in 1877, and three years afterwards he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power with which to grapple.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to affect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect July 1. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosscup, of Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock jail began. The term expired on November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago the like of which that city had never seen.

Debs and his associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly when the defence began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is this, Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the national executive board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic party was started as a result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for president as candidate of the Social Democratic party, which was afterwards merged into what is now the Socialist party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for socialism and labor questions generally, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.

Which shall it be, Roosevelt, the "open shop" candidate; Parker, the Wall Street candidate—both Rockefeller's men—or Debs, the workers' candidate?

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Russia.

All of the European papers are filled with stories of the tremendous unrest which the revolutionary forces are now causing in all parts of Russia. The *Schlesische Zeitung* of Breslau publishes a long survey of the socialist party of Russian Poland from which we take the following facts: The party was founded in 1893, although there had been various forerunners of its existence in the form of sporadic organizations. The party has always held as one of its demands the freeing of Poland from Russian dominion and as such has drawn to itself many supporters of a purely patriotic character. Nevertheless there is a tendency for the proletarian portion to drop this patriotic side and become more distinctly in accord with international socialism. The party has an extensive organization outside Poland, which was founded in 1892, and which was united to the continental party organization in 1899. The seat of this "Union of Polish Socialists in Foreign Countries" is in London. Its main purpose is the publication and circulation of revolutionary writings. Such writings increased from 29,467 copies in 1895 to 177,860 in 1903. These figures are relatively much more significant than appears at first sight since all these publications are kept passing from hand to hand, thus reaching a large number of persons. This movement is now taking on new life and making preparations for a violent revolution against Russia.

The Berlin *Vorwaerts* tells of a street demonstration which was held in Warsaw recently in which thousands of laborers marched through the streets carrying revolutionary banners. Without any warning the police opened fire upon them, but to the surprise of the officials the laborers, so far from flying, turned upon the police with stones and such rude weapons as they could secure, and drove them back. The police then called to their aid 50 Cossacks, who were stationed in the city. These also were met with resistance and cries of "Down with Czarism. Hurrah for political freedom; hurrah for social democracy." The Cossacks were driven back and telegrams sent for military reinforcements. On their arrival several hours after that, although the streets were practically clear, they fired two volleys, wounding a woman and child who were sitting in a window. The total casualties so far as reported were eight dead upon the side of the laborers and an equal number of dead and thirty wounded among the police and military.

From *Le Socialiste* we learn that the Finnish socialist movement is also undergoing a rapid revival and increasing in strength.

According to figures turned in by the government officials, 10 per cent. of the laborers belong to the Finnish Social Democratic Party. Some idea of the brutality which is exercised against them by the Russian government is seen by the fact that the number of political criminals in the prison at Kief was 285 in 1901, 453 in 1902, and 1,022 in 1903. The government has been obliged in many places to rent outside buildings in order to transform them into prisons.

From the *London Justice* we learn that: "In the month of April no less than 1,000 kilogrammes of illegal literature were given out in Russia by the Russian Social-Democrats, *e. g.*, 102,350 copies of the May manifesto, 30,400 copies anti-war manifesto, and 4,900 other pamphlets. The Jewish Federation issued 50,000 anti-war manifestos and 132,000 anti-war manifestos in Russian and Yiddish. Demonstrations were held everywhere."

Here is a force much more dangerous to the continuance of Russian despotism, much more fraught with significance for the future than any that may be brought against it in the far East.

Sweden.

The annual report of the Social Democratic party of Sweden for 1903 has just appeared, and shows that the party is steadily growing. The work of agitation has extended from the southern coast to Kiruna in the extreme north. It is especially in the farming communities that the agitation has been directly conducted by the party organization, since within the cities the labor organizations are for the large part capable of themselves carrying on the agitation. During the year covered by the report two salaried agitators were engaged. At the beginning of the year the membership of the party amounted to 49,190 in 746 organizations, at the conclusion of the year there were 54,552 member and 761 organizations.

BOOK REVIEWS

The flood of pamphlets has now grown so great that any attempt to review each one would require far more space than we are able to give. The past month has been especially prolific in this line as might be expected in view of the approaching campaign. Without a shadow of doubt the two pamphlets most deserving of attention that have appeared recently are those by the National candidates of the socialist party, and this is not because they were written by the candidates but because they are written upon subjects of burning interest in a masterly manner. "Unionism and Socialism" by Eugene V. Debs, published by the Standard Publishing Company of Terre Haute, Ind., (44 pp., 10 cents) is, in our opinion, by far the best thing that has yet been said upon this much written-about subject. Based on sound international socialist logic, but drawing its facts and illustrations exclusively from the American labor movement, with which no man is more familiar than Comrade Debs, it seems hard to believe that any trade unionist who should read this convincing logic and eloquent appeal could fail to accept its conclusions.

Ben Hanford's "The Labor War in Colorado," published by the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, (45 pp., 5 cents) tells the story of the outrages in Colorado in a manner that should burn them into the mind of every reader. Those who have heard Comrade Hanford speak, or read his writings, know that few men have command of a more simply eloquent English than he. He has known just how to write upon this subject. No tricks of rhetoric, no piling up of invectives, no careful elaborate phrasing could be one-half as eloquent as the plain, simple facts told in the language of the working man. There are facts here that burn like hot iron, there are single paragraphs that contain facts enough to start a revolution, and we believe that if the workers of this country can be brought to a familiarity with these facts as they are told in this pamphlet that the revolution will be on.

The National office has published a series of pamphlets and leaflets of great value for the campaign. One of these is Comrade Hanford's "What Workingmen's Votes Can Do," which has been re-written for this edition.

A. W. Ricker's "The Political Economy of Jesus," published by the *Appeal to Reason* (40 pp., 10 cents) is in a field on which little has been done in America hitherto. We cannot say that Comrade Ricker has been wholly successful. He has evidently taken too much stock in the work of Osborne Ward and has read much of modern society back into the times of Christ. Notwithstanding these defects, the work is one which placed in the hands of those who are religiously inclined will prove a good introduction to socialism.

E. N. Richardson's "stenographic" reports of the arguments "At Finnegan's Cigar Store" makes a series of sharp, cutting little conversations that will be read by those who are too lazy intellectually to tackle something heavier. They will also help to emphasize many points in the socialist philosophy which might be covered up or overlooked in more pretentious writings.

Ernest Untermann's "Sparks of the Proletarian Revolution," published by the *Appeal to Reason*, (48 pp., 10 cents) is a series of essays on various subjects, most of which have previously appeared in socialist papers, es-

pecially in the *Appeal to Reason*. Taken as a whole, they cover much of the philosophy of socialism in a well written manner. It is an excellent propaganda pamphlet.

Allan L. Benson's "Confessions of Capitalism," published by the *Social Democratic Herald*, (25 pp., 10 cents) is a statistical argument for socialism. It is written in easy journalistic style, and makes its points quite clearly and is a good thing to hand to those whose minds work in figures.

"The Day of Judgment," George D. Herron, published by Charles H. Kerr and Company, (30 pp., 10 cents) is a re-writing of an article which appeared in the May number of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, and as such is familiar to our readers. It is one of the strongest arguments against our present society and the forces that are working for its disintegration and for re-integration and especially of the part which is to be played in this process by the conscious socialist mind, that has ever been written.

Charles E. Cline's "The Social Catechism" is the latest number of the Pocket Library, published by Charles H. Kerr and Company, 5 cents, and is a statement of the socialist position in the form of questions and answers. With many people this is by far the best method of argument. The answers in most cases are taken from well known socialist writers and such liberal references are given as to make the work practically a handy bibliography of socialism.

"The Struggle for Existence," by Walter Thomas Mills, published by the author. Cloth, 640 pp., \$2.50.

This is by far the most pretentious work yet put forth by an American socialist. It is practically encyclopedic in scope. The six parts into which it is divided are entitled: Clearing the Ground, Evolution of Capitalism, Evolution of Socialism, Questions of Controversy, Current Problems, Organization and Propaganda. The first part is a survey largely of biological and geological facts bearing on evolution. The second deals with "Slavery, Serfdom, the Wage System, the Era of Invention, the Trust and the World Market, and the Collapse of Capitalism." The third and fourth parts deal largely with the socialist philosophy, looked at from various points of view and applied to diverse questions. The book is written in a remarkably clear, simple style, capable of being understood by any one who is able to read journalistic literature. It is very convincing in its method of statement and should go far toward making any man a socialist who reads it.

Notwithstanding this, there is much to criticize. Many questions on which the most thorough students are still disagreed are settled offhand in his work without the slightest consideration of opposing views. This is especially true in the part dealing with historical evolution.

Again, there are many sweeping statements which are only partially, if at all, true. For instance, we are told on page 111 that "no important improvement was made during the whole period of civilization until very recent years" in the tools of production. This is evidently a complete swallowing of the "Dark Ages" theory which capitalist historians have so carefully cultivated, forgetting that it was from this age that the greatest improvement in many means of production dated.

Perhaps the most vital defect in the work is that it seems to accept something very analogous to the *Socialisme Integral* of Benoit Malon which has constituted the only socialist philosophy in antagonism to that of the comparative, historical, class struggle position. According to this theory society as a whole is engaged in a struggle for perfection. Everything that is not of present value never has been of value. Slavery, serfdom, tyranny and class rule are inherent evils with no historical function.

In one case, page 153, it is stated that "this bitter economic war" between victor and captive, master and slave, etc., has been between two powers, "the one in an ascending sequence of increasing power, the other a descending sequence of increasing servitude." History, and especially socialist history, shows that the exact reverse of this rule is true. The work-

ing class has been continually increasing in power, the ruling class decreasing, and the wage slave, notwithstanding the fervid statements of occasional socialist orators, is really the freest and most powerful of all the generations of producers. Were it otherwise, the future of socialism would be black indeed.

On the other hand, he makes collectivism, democracy and equality "inherent in the natural and necessary relations of human existence." Leaving aside the criticism of phraseology which makes use of the bourgeois catchwords, the fact is, events in history have simply been facts which played their part in social evolution, and slavery and tyranny played their part and often fully as useful a one as did democracy and equality, and no persons have been more insistent in pointing out this truth than the socialists.

We also find the repetition of an error which seems somehow to have grown fast to the American socialist movement to the effect that the American Revolution was originated and carried on by working men. Page 483.

The real point of the class struggle philosophy is completely missed, which is that the proletariat today incarnates all the forces of social progress, and has as its inevitable function the carrying of society on into the next higher social stage. It is the consciousness of this function and not the mere recognition of divergent class interest that constitutes "class consciousness," contrary to the statement on page 274.

There is altogether too much of the utopian position in telling about what will happen "under socialism." Some of these guesses are probably right, and others wrong, but since we do not claim to have any gift of prophecy in this direction we shall not attempt to say which are true and which false.

There is also a frequent tendency to attempt to please all parties on disputed questions. This is seen in the discussion of the theory of value, where the effort is made to show that all theories lead to a common end. The text, however, shows but very little knowledge of the theories discussed, and no such simple harmony as he attempts is possible. The same thing is true of the discussion, "Who Pays the Taxes?" P. 520.

One of the weakest things about the book is found in a feature which has been quite loudly praised in many places, and that is the series of footnotes and references to other literature. These have every appearance of having been hunted up and put in by another person than the one who wrote the text. Sometimes the text will show a total misunderstanding of the author who is quoted in the notes. Neither are the references well chosen. Over and over again the most important authorities on subjects are entirely neglected. For instance there is a discussion of criminology with no mention of Ferri's work; several discussions of the family with no mention of Westermarck or Bebel, a discussion of education and socialism and no mention of Dewey, a very superficial discussion of increasing and diminishing returns and no mention of Commons. There is a discussion on pp. 299-302 on schools of economics which contains a large number of errors and no reference whatever to any of the works treating of this special phase of the subject. We find the well known Austrians Von Wieser and Boehm-Bawerk appearing under the names of Wirser and Bawerk as a section of the historical school of economists, something which would cause them to rise in fierce indignation since there are few more antagonistic positions than those of the Austrian psychological and German historical schools. It would be easy to go on picking out errors of this sort, but enough has been said to show the general character of these defects.

Nevertheless these errors are none of them of vital importance, and do not seriously affect the value of the book, which we have no hesitancy in saying is a most important contribution to American socialist literature. Its popular style, wide sweep of subjects and manner of treatment is bound to give it considerable influence in the work of socialist education.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT SOUTH. Edgar Gardner Murphy. Macmillan. Cloth, 335 pages. \$1.50.

As a presentation of southern problems by a southerner—one who tries to take a national view—this book is a distinct contribution to some very pressing problems in American social life. The author points out the pre-eminently rural character of the south, showing that any one of several southern states has a larger urban population than the entire south. This, with the race problem and the poverty engendered by the Civil War, makes the question of education an extremely difficult one. He has been actively engaged in the effort to secure better child labor legislation and gives many interesting facts on this subject. He shows how the mill owners, largely northern men, while professing intense sympathy with the child laborers, supported a lobby to defeat all legislation for the protection of the little workers. Throughout the work the point of view is continuously maintained that everything must be done for the negro and the working class. They are looked upon as wards of the ruling class of the south and of the nation. "Incredible as it may seem, the demand for the use of the children has come in many instances from the mills rather than from the parents," is one of the naive observations which he makes. One interesting fact among the great many to which he calls attention is that, great as is the illiteracy of the south, it is decreasing; while on the other hand that of the north, while at present small, is growing greater.

The passage in which he contrasts the labor on the farm with that in the factory is so strong and so general in its application as to be worth quoting entire. "Have they not always worked upon the farm, and upon the farm have not their fathers and forefathers worked before them? Wrought upon at first more by ignorance and apparent need than by avarice, though avarice follows fast, the father and mother do not easily perceive the difference for the child between factory labor and farm labor. It is true that the work of the factory—especially for the younger children—is often lighter than the work brought to the child upon the farm. But the benumbing power of factory labor lies not so much in its hardness as in its monotony. Picking up toothpicks from a pile, one by one, and depositing them in another, may be light work, but when continued for twelve hours a day it is a work to break the will and nerve of a strong man. The work of the factory means usually the doing of the same small task over and over again—moment in and moment out, hour after hour, day after day. Its reactive effect upon the mind is dullness, apathy, a mechanical and stolid spirit, without vivacity or hope. The labor of the farm is often hard, but it is full of the play and challenge of variety. It is labor in the open air. It is labor, not under the deadening and deafening clatter of machinery, but under the wide spaces of the sky, where sound comes up to you from free and living things, from things that may mean companionship, and where the silence—brooding—passes and repasses as a power of peace and healing. Upon the farm the child labors, as it labors in the home, under the eye of a guardianship which is usually that of the parent, which is full of a personal solicitude even if it be not full of intelligent affection. In the factory the child works as an industrial unit, a little member of an industrial aggregate, under an oversight which must, of necessity, be administrative rather than personal. Letting your own child work for you is a wholly different thing from letting another man work your child."

There is a very valuable appendix giving statistics of illiteracy, voting population and other industrial and social facts bearing upon the subjects treated in the book.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Bound Volumes of the Review.

The fourth volume of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, including the twelve numbers from July, 1903, to June, 1904, inclusive, will be ready for delivery by the time this issue is in the hands of its readers. This makes four volumes now available in uniform cloth binding; price two dollars a volume postpaid, with the usual discount to stockholders. We can also supply Volumes II, III and IV in separate numbers at the rate of one dollar a volume postpaid, to stockholders fifty cents a volume postpaid. The third number of Volume I, September, 1900, is out of print, and we will gladly give any of our literature to the amount of twenty-five cents to any one who will return a copy. Some of the other numbers of the first volume are very scarce, but we can for the present supply the other eleven numbers at one dollar, or to stockholders at fifty cents. It will soon be impossible to supply the first volume at all, and we reserve the right to advance the price at any time. Nothing can take the place of a complete set of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* for the use of any student who desires a record of the thought and activity of the international socialist movement.

The Social Science Series.

We have just received from England a new supply of those valuable books, so that we are ready to fill orders for any of the numbers listed on pages 22 and 23 of "What to Read on Socialism," a copy of which will be mailed to anyone requesting it. We have also a few copies of a number of this series entitled "The New Reformation and Its Relation to Moral and Social Problems," by Ramsden Balmforth. The book retails for one dollar, and while our present supply lasts our stockholders may purchase copies at the same discount we make on books included in our catalogue.

An Equitable Exchange System.

This is an interesting, suggestive and valuable work by Alfred R. Justice, of Philadelphia. It discusses the theories advanced to justify interest on money, and shows that interest is a necessary outgrowth of the competitive system, and can only disappear with the disappearance of that system. The author also discusses wages, profit, rent, overproduction and Malthusianism, and has a chapter outlining certain constructive suggestions toward the reorganization of production on a co-operative basis. The style is easy and simple, and the book will prove an excellent one to

put into the hands of former populists and reformers who realize that their organization has disappeared, but who hesitate to join the Socialist party because they do not yet understand that equality of opportunity under the competitive system has become impossible. The book is handsomely printed in large type and neatly bound in cloth. The author has contributed several hundred copies to be sold for the benefit of the co-operative publishing house. We have fixed the retail price at 40 cents, postage included, subject to the usual discount to stockholders, so that a copy will be mailed to any stockholder for 24 cents.

Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History.

- Do not forget that the most important Socialist book of the past year is Labriola's "Essays On the Materialistic Conception of History," which we publish in a translation by Charles H. Kerr. Historical Materialism is the basic principle of Socialism, but it is easy to misunderstand it, and to accept a few trite phrases in place of ideas. Labriola's book will enable any careful student to gain a grasp of fundamental principles that will enable him to do his own thinking, and tell for himself whether platforms and resolutions are or are not in harmony with international Socialism. The author, who was a professor in the University of Rome, and one of the very foremost Socialist writers of Europe, died just after the appearance of this translation, and one of his last acts was to write a letter expressing his joy that though his disease made it impossible for him to speak at Rome, we enabled him to speak at Chicago. (Cloth, \$1.00 postpaid.)

An Opinion from Comrade Debs.

"The new book of Isador Ladoff on 'American Pauperism' adds one of the strongest volumes to the literature of the Socialist movement in America. It is invaluable for reference as it is packed with facts supported by figures from reliable sources and so admirably arranged that it can be drawn on at will without fear of disappointment. It required the most painstaking labor and the most thorough research to produce this volume and no Socialist or student of Socialism or of social problems should be without it. It is an arsenal packed with munitions for the social revolution. Every speaker should have it in his grip and every writer at his elbow, and all Socialists should combine to give it continental circulation. EUGENE V. DEBS."

(The book is published in the Standard Socialist Series, cloth binding, at 50 cents, postpaid.)

Clearing the Co-operative Publishing House from Debt.

That is what we are doing. The last few issues of the REVIEW contain acknowledgments of pledges and contributions made for this purpose. But the lists are to a certain extent misleading, because promises appear in the same column with actual payments.

Now the offer already referred to in this department of the REVIEW made by the heaviest creditor of the company, is to contribute from the balance due him a sum equal to all other contributions paid in during the

year 1904. To make clear to the stockholders just what progress is being made under this offer toward paying off the debt, we will repeat here the actual contributions in cash, not pledges, made since the beginning of the year 1904, and including everything received up to the time of going to press with the August number of the REVIEW.

List of Contributions.

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Total to July 31, 1904.....\$1,429.14

Here is the start that has been made. The amount still due to the creditor making the offer is over \$8,000. He is willing to contribute the entire amount to the company, provided it is duplicated by the aggregate of the other contributions during 1904. If this can be accomplished it will more than double the efficiency of the company in the work it has to do. It will clear off all the outside debt, and leave enough working capital to push the circulation of our literature on a far larger scale than ever before. Moreover, it will put the control of the company safely in the hands of the stockholders holding single shares, without any possible interference on the part of the creditors, since there will be no creditors. Even \$2,500 would enable us to pay off practically every claim to those who are not stockholders, and insure the control of the company by its friends. The company is already in better condition than at any previous time, but we must face the possibility of a financial panic and be prepared for it. A comparatively slight sacrifice on the part of each stockholder will put any danger out of the question.

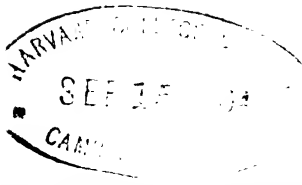
A Word to Non-Stockholders.

This appeal has been thus far to those who have already shown their interest in the work of the company by subscribing for its stock. But how about the Socialists who have as yet done nothing to help the work?

The first stockholders put their money in on faith and took their chances, because they wanted to see Socialist books published, and believed that the managers of the company would do it if given the money. At the start, the stockholder's privilege of buying Socialist books at cost amounted to nothing, because there were so few books on the list. Now the privilege is so important that many locals and individuals have bought stock for the simple reason that by so doing they could get more literature for their money than otherwise. We have lately received a subscription for stock and a large order for books from the London County Council of the Social Democratic Federation of England. This in itself is pretty good evidence as to the international standing of our company and the character of our literature. Every new stockholder gets at once the advantage of the investments made by all the former stockholders, in the shape of a large variety of Socialist books at cost prices to select from. On the other hand, every new stock subscription makes all the old

shares more valuable, because it makes possible the publication of additional literature at cost prices.

We have a plan of organization which commands the confidence of the Socialist movement everywhere. We have the nucleus for what will become a great Socialist publishing house, and we have already the largest and best stock of Socialist literature in the English language. The great need of the American Socialist movement is more and better literature. That need we can supply as fast as the necessary capital can be subscribed. If you can spare ten dollars, send it and get a full-paid certificate. If not, subscribe for a share at the rate of a dollar a month for ten months, and you have all privileges of a stockholder except voting, while the share is being paid for. There are now 950 stockholders; there should be 2,000 by the end of the year. If there is anything about the proposition you do not understand, write and you will get a prompt answer. Address Charles H. Kerr & Company (Co-operative), 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Ill.



THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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SEPTEMBER, 1904

NO. 3

The Socialist Party and the Working Class.

OPENING address delivered by Eugene V. Debs, candidate for President of the Socialist Party, Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 1, 1901.

Mr. Chairman, Citizens and Comrades:

There has never been a free people, a civilized nation, a real republic on this earth. Human society always consisted of masters and slaves, and the slaves have always been and are today, the foundation stones of the social fabric.

Wage-labor is but a name; wage-slavery is a fact.

The twenty-five millions of wage-workers in the United States are twenty-five millions of twentieth century slaves.

This is the plain meaning of what is known as

THE LABOR MARKET.

And the labor market follows the capitalist flag.

The most barbarous fact in all christendom is the labor market. The mere term sufficiently expresses the animalism of commercial civilization.

They who buy and they who sell in the labor market are alike dehumanized by the inhuman traffic in the brains and blood and bones of human beings.

The labor market is the foundation of so-called civilized society. Without these shambles, without this commerce in human life, this sacrifice of manhood and womanhood, this barter of babes, this sale of souls, the capitalist civilizations of all lands and all climes would crumble to ruin and perish from the earth.

Twenty-five millions of wage-slaves are bought and sold daily at prevailing prices in the American Labor Market.

This is the

PARAMOUNT ISSUE

in the present national campaign.

Let me say at the very threshold of this discussion that the workers have but the one issue in this campaign, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery.

The capitalists may have the tariff, finance, imperialism and other dust-covered and moth-eaten issues entirely to themselves.

The rattle of these relics no longer deceives workingmen whose heads are on their own shoulders.

They know by experience and observation that the gold standard, free silver, fiat money, protective tariff, free trade, imperialism and anti-imperialism all mean capitalist rule and wage-slavery.

Their eyes are open and they can see; their brains are in operation and they can think.

The very moment a workingman begins to do his own thinking he understands the paramount issue, parts company with the capitalist politician and falls in line with his own class on the political battlefield.

The political solidarity of the working class means the death of despotism, the birth of freedom, the sunrise of civilization.

Having said this much by way of introduction I will now enter upon the actualities of my theme.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We are entering tonight upon a momentous campaign. The struggle for political supremacy is not between political parties merely, as appears upon the surface, but at bottom it is a life and death struggle between two hostile economic classes, the one the capitalist and the other the working class.

The capitalist class is represented by the Republican, Democratic, Populist and Prohibition parties, all of which stand for private ownership of the means of production and the triumph of any one of which will mean continued wage-slavery to the working class.

As the Populist and Prohibition sections of the capitalist party represent minority elements which propose to reform the capitalist system without disturbing wage-slavery, a vain and impossible task, they will be omitted from this discussion with all the credit due the rank and file for their good intentions.

The Republican and Democratic parties, or, to be more exact, the Republican-Democratic party, represents the capitalist class in the class struggle. They are the political wings of the capitalist system and such differences as arise between them relate to spoils and not to principles.

With either of these parties in power one thing is always certain and that is that the capitalist class are in the saddle and the working class under the saddle.

Under the administration of both these parties the means of production are private property, production is carried forward

for capitalist profit purely, markets are glutted and industry paralyzed, workingmen become tramps and criminals while injunctions, soldiers and riot guns are brought into action to preserve "law and order" in the chaotic carnival of capitalistic anarchy.

Deny it as may the cunning capitalists who are clear-sighted enough to perceive it, or ignore it as may the torpid workers who are too blind and unthinking to see it, the struggle in which we are engaged today is a class struggle, and as the toiling millions come to see and understand it and rally to the political standard of their class, they will drive all capitalist parties of whatever name into the same party, and the class struggle will then be so clearly revealed that the hosts of labor will find their true place in the conflict and strike the united and decisive blow that will destroy slavery and achieve their full and final emancipation.

In this struggle the workingmen and women and children are represented by the Socialist party and it is my privilege to address you in the name of that revolutionary and uncompromising party of the working class.

ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS.

What shall be the attitude of the workers of the United States in the present campaign? What part shall they take in it? What party and what principles shall they support by their ballots? And why?

These are questions the importance of which are not sufficiently recognized by workingmen or they would not be the prey of parasites and the servile tools of scheming politicians who use them only at election time to renew their master's lease of power and perpetuate their own ignorance, poverty and shame.

In answering these questions I propose to be as frank and candid as plain-meaning words will allow, for I have but one object in this discussion and that object is not office, but the truth, and I shall state it as I see it if I have to stand alone.

But I shall not stand alone, for the party that has my allegiance and may have my life, the Socialist party, the party of the working class, the party of emancipation is made up of men and women who know their rights and scorn to compromise with their oppressors; who want no votes that can be bought and no support under any false pretenses whatsoever.

The Socialist party stands squarely upon its proletarian principles and relies wholly upon the forces of industrial progress and the education of the working class.

The Socialist party buys no votes and promises no offices. Not a farthing is spent for whisky or cigars. Every penny in the campaign fund is the voluntary offering of workers and their sympathizers and every penny is used for education.

What other parties can say the same?

Ignorance alone stands in the way of socialist success. The capitalist parties understand this and use their resources to prevent the workers from seeing the light.

Intellectual darkness is essential to industrial slavery.

Capitalist parties stand for Slavery and Night.

The Socialist party is the herald of Freedom and Light.

Capitalist parties cunningly contrive to divide the workers upon dead issues.

The Socialist party is uniting them upon the living issue:

Death to Wage Slavery!

When industrial slavery is as dead as the issues of the Siamese capitalist parties the Socialist party will have fulfilled its mission and enriched history.

And now to our questions:

First, every workingman and woman owe it to themselves, their class and their country to take an active and intelligent interest in political affairs.

THE BALLOT.

The ballot of united labor expresses the people's will and the people's will is the supreme law of a free nation.

The ballot means that labor is no longer dumb, that at last it has a voice, that it may be heard and if united must be heeded.

Centuries of struggle and sacrifice were required to wrest this symbol of freedom from the mailed clutch of tyranny and place it in the hand of labor as the shield and lance of attack and defense.

The abuse and not the use of it is responsible for its evil.

The divided vote of labor is the abuse of the ballot and the penalty is slavery and death.

The united vote of those who toil and have not will vanquish those who have and toil not and solve forever the problem of democracy.

THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE OF CLASSES.

Since the race was young there have been class struggles. In every state of society, ancient and modern, labor has been exploited, degraded and in subjection.

Civilization has done little for labor except to modify the forms of its exploitation.

Labor has always been the mudsill of the social fabric—is so now and will be until the class struggle ends in class extinction and free society.

Society has always been and is now built upon exploitation—the exploitation of a class—the working class, whether slaves, serfs, or wage-laborers, and the exploited working class have always been, instinctively or consciously, in revolt against their oppressors.

Through all the centuries the enslaved toilers have moved slowly but surely toward their final freedom.

The call of the Socialist party is to the exploited class, the workers in all useful trades and professions, all honest occupations, from the most menial service to the highest skill, to rally beneath their own standard and put an end to the last of the barbarous class struggles by conquering the capitalist government, taking possession of the means of production and making them common property of all, abolishing wage-slavery and establishing the co-operative commonwealth.

The first step in this direction is to sever all relations with

CAPITALIST PARTIES.

They are precisely alike and I challenge their most discriminating partisans to tell them apart in relation to labor.

The Republican and Democratic parties are alike capitalist parties—differing only in being committed to different sets of capitalist interests—they have the same principles under varying colors, are equally corrupt and are one in their subservience to capital and their hostility to labor.

The ignorant workingman who supports either of these parties forgets his own fetters and is the unconscious author of his own misery. He can and must be made to see and think and act with his fellows in supporting the party of his class and this work of education is the crowning virtue of the socialist movement.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Let us briefly consider the Republican party from the worker's standpoint. It is capitalist to the core. It has not and can not have the slightest interest in labor except to exploit it.

Why should a workingman support the Republican party?

Why should a millionaire support the Socialist party?

For precisely the same reason that all the millionaires are opposed to the Socialist party, all the workers should be opposed to the Republican party. It is a capitalist party, is loyal to capitalist interests and entitled to the support of capitalist voters on election day.

All it has for workingmen is its "glorious past" and a "glad hand" when it wants their votes.

The Republican party is now and has been for several years, in complete control of government.

What has it done for labor? What has it not done for capital?

Not one of the crying abuses of capital has been curbed under Republican rule.

Not one of the petitions of labor has been granted.

The eight-hour and anti-injunction bills, upon which organized labor is a unit, were again ruthlessly slain by the last congress in obedience to the capitalist masters.

David M. Parry has greater influence at Washington than all the millions of organized workers.

Read the national platform of the Republican party and see if there is in all its bombast a crumb of comfort for labor. The convention that adopted it was a capitalist convention and the only thought it had of labor was how to abstract its vote without waking it up.

In the only reference it made to labor it had to speak easy so as to avoid offense to the capitalists who own it and furnish the boodle to keep it in power.

The labor platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties are interchangeable and non-redeemable. They both favor "justice to capital and justice to labor." This hoary old platitude is worse than meaningless. It is false and misleading and so intended. Justice to labor means that labor shall have what it produces. This leaves nothing for capital.

Justice to labor means the end of capital.

The old parties intend nothing of the kind. It is false pretense and false promise. It has served well in the past. Will it continue to catch the votes of unthinking and deluded workers?

What workingmen had part in the Republican national convention or were honored by it?

The grand coliseum swarmed with trust magnates, corporation barons, money lords, stock gamblers, professional politicians, lawyers, lobbyists and other plutocratic tools and mercenaries, but there was no room for the horny-handed and horny-headed sons of toil. They built it, but were not in it.

Compare that convention with the convention of the Socialist party, composed almost wholly of working men and women and controlled wholly in the interest of their class.

But a party is still better known by its chosen representatives than by its platform declarations.

Who are the nominees of the Republican party for the highest offices in the gift of the nation and what is their relation to the working class?

First of all, Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, deny the class struggle and this almost infallibly fixes their status as friends of capital and enemies of labor. They insist that they can serve both; but the fact is obvious that only one can be served and that one at the expense of the other. Mr. Roosevelt's whole political career proves it.

The capitalists made no mistake in nominating Mr. Roosevelt. They know him well and he has served them well. They know that his instincts, associations, tastes and desires are with them, that he is in fact one of them and that he has nothing in common with the working class.

The only evidence of the contrary is his membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen which seems to have come to him coincident with his ambition to succeed himself in the presidential chair. He is a full fledged member of the union, has the grip, signs and pass words, but it is not reported that he is attending meetings, doing picket duty, supporting strikes and boycotts and performing such other duties as his union obligation imposes.

When Ex-President Grover Cleveland violated the constitution and outraged justice by seizing the state of Illinois by the throat and handcuffing her civil administration at the behest of the crime-sustained trusts and corporations, Theodore Roosevelt was among his most ardent admirers and enthusiastic supporters. He wrote in hearty commendation of the atrocious act, pronounced it most exalted patriotism and said he would have done the same thing himself had he been president.

And so he would and so he will!

How impressive to see the Rough Rider embrace the Smooth Statesman! Oyster Bay and Buzzard's Bay! "Two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

There is also the highest authority for the statement charging Mr. Roosevelt with declaring about the same time he was lauding Cleveland that if he was in command he would have such as Altgeld, Debs and other traitors lined up against a dead wall and shot into corpses. The brutal remark was not for publication but found its way into print and Mr. Roosevelt, after he became a candidate, attempted to make denial, but the distinguished editor who heard him say it pinned him fast, and the slight doubt that remained was dispelled by the words themselves which sound like Roosevelt and bear the impress of his war-like visage.

Following the Pullman strike in 1894 there was an indignant and emphatic popular protest against "government by injunction," which has not yet by any means subsided.

Organized labor was, and is, a unit against this insidious form of judicial usurpation as a means of abrogating constitutional restraints of despotic power.

Mr. Roosevelt with his usual zeal to serve the ruling class and keep their protesting slaves in subjection, vaulted into the arena and launched his vitriolic tirade upon the mob that dared oppose the divine decree of a corporation judge.

"Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction,'" said he, "are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skinclad ancestors, who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes and ate the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros. They are dangerous whenever there is the least danger of their making the principles of this ages-buried past living factors in our pres-

ent life. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and good civic morality."

In direct terms and plain words Mr. Roosevelt denounces all those who oppose "Government by Injunction" as cannibals, barbarians and anarchists, and this violent and sweeping stigma embraces the whole organized movement of labor, every man, woman and child that wears the badge of union labor in the United States.

It is not strange in the light of these facts that the national congress, under President Roosevelt's administration, suppresses anti-injunction and eight-hour bills and all other measures favored by labor and resisted by capital.

No stronger or more convincing proof is required of Mr. Roosevelt's allegiance to capital and opposition to labor, nor of the class struggle and class rule which he so vehemently denies; and the workingman who in the face of these words and acts, can still support Mr. Roosevelt must feel himself flattered in being publicly proclaimed a barbarian, and sheer gratitude, doubtless, impels him to crown his benefactor with the highest honors of the land.

If the working class are barbarians, according to Mr. Roosevelt, this may account for his esteeming himself as having the very qualities necessary to make himself Chief of the Tribe.

But it must be noted that Mr. Roosevelt denounced organized labor as savages long before he was a candidate for president. After he became a candidate he joined the tribe and is today, himself, according to his own dictum, a barbarian and the enemy of civic morality.

The labor union to which President Roosevelt belongs and which he is solemnly obligated to support, is unanimously opposed to "Government by Injunction." President Roosevelt knew it when he joined it and he also knew that those who oppose injunction rule have the instincts of cannibals and are a menace to morality, but his proud nature succumbed to political ambition, and his ethical ideas vanished as he struck the trail that led to the tribe and, after a most dramatic scene and impressive ceremony, was decorated with the honorary badge of international barbarism.

How Theodore Roosevelt, the trade-unionist, can support the presidential candidate who denounced him as an immoral and dangerous barbarian he may decide at his leisure, and so may all other men in the United States who are branded with the same vulgar stigma, and their ballots will determine if they have the manhood to resent insult and rebuke its author, or if they have been fitly characterized and deserve the humiliation and contempt.

The appointment of Judge Taft to a cabinet position is corroborative evidence, if any be required, of President Roosevelt's fervent faith in Government by Injunction. Judge Taft first

came into national notoriety when, some years ago, sitting with Judge Ricks, who was later tried for malfeasance, he issued the celebrated injunction during the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan railroad strike that paralyzed the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and won for him the gratitude and esteem of every corporation in the land. He was hauled to Toledo, the headquarters of the railroad, in a special car, pulled by a special engine, on special time, and after hastily consulting the railroad magnates and receiving instructions, he let go the judicial lightning that shivered the unions to splinters and ended the strike in total defeat. Judge Taft is a special favorite with the trust barons and his elevation to the cabinet was ratified with joy at the court of St. Plute.

Still again did President Roosevelt drive home his arch-enmity to labor and his implacable hostility to the trade-union movement when he made Paul Morton, the notorious union hater and union wrecker, his secretary of the navy. That appointment was an open insult to every trade unionist in the country and they who lack the self-respect to resent it at the polls may wear the badge, but they are lacking wholly in the spirit and principles of union labor.

Go ask the brotherhood men who were driven from the C. B. & Q. and the striking union machinists on the Santa Fe to give you the pedigree of Mr. Morton and you will learn that his hate for union men is coupled only by his love for the scabs who take their places.

Such a man and such another as Sherman Bell the military ferret of the Colorado mine owners are the ideal patriots and personal chums of Mr. Roosevelt and by honoring these he dishonors himself and should be repudiated by the ballot of every working man in the nation.

Mr. Fairbanks, the Republican candidate for Vice President, is a corporation attorney of the first class and a plutocrat in good and regular standing. He is in every respect a fit and proper representative of his party and every millionaire in the land may safely support him.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In referring to the Democratic party in this discussion we may save time by simply saying that since it was born again at the St. Louis convention it is near enough like its Republican ally to pass for a twin brother.

The former party of the "common people" is no longer under the boycott of plutocracy since it has adopted the Wall street label and renounced its middle class heresies.

The radical and progressive element of the former Democracy have been evicted and must seek other quarters. They were an unmitigated nuisance in the conservative counsels of the old

party. They were for the "common people" and the trusts have no use for such a party.

Where but to the Socialist party can these progressive people turn? They are now without a party and the only genuine Democratic party in the field is the Socialist party and every true Democrat should thank Wall street for driving him out of a party that is democratic in name only and into one that is democratic in fact.

The St. Louis convention was a trust jubilee. The Wall street reorganizers made short work of the free silver element. From first to last it was a capitalistic convocation. Labor was totally ignored. As an incident, two thousand choice chairs were reserved for the Business Men's League of St. Louis, an organization hostile to organized labor, but not a chair was tendered to those whose labor had built the convention hall, had clothed, transported, fed and wined the delegates and whose votes are counted on as if they were so many dumb driven cattle, to pull the ticket through in November.

As another incident, when Lieutenant Richmond Hobson dramatically declared that President Cleveland had been the only president who had ever been patriotic enough to use the federal troops to crush union labor, the trust agents, lobbyists, tools and claquers screamed with delight and the convention shook with applause.

The platform is precisely the same as the Republican platform in relation to labor. It says nothing and means the same. A plank was proposed condemning the outrages in Colorado under Republican administration, but upon order from the Parryites it was promptly thrown aside.

The editor of "American Industries," organ of the Manufacturers' Association, commented at length in the issue of July 15th, on the triumph of capital and the defeat of labor at both Republican and Democratic national conventions. Among other things he said: "The two labor lobbies, partly similar in make-up, were, to put it bluntly, thrown out bodily in both places." And that is the simple fact and is known of all men who read the papers. The capitalist organs exult because labor, to use their own brutal expression, was kicked bodily out of both the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

What more than this is needed to open the eyes of workingmen to the fact that neither of these parties is their party and that they are as strangely out of place in them as Rockefeller and Vanderbilt would be in the Socialist party?

And how many more times are they to be "kicked out bodily" before they stay out and join the party of their class in which labor is not only honored but is supreme, a party that is clean, that has conscience and convictions, a party that will one day

sweep the old parties from the field like chaff and issue the Proclamation of Labor's Emancipation?

Judge Alton B. Parker corresponds precisely to the Democratic platform. It was made to order for him. His famous telegram in the expiring hour removed the last wrinkle and left it a perfect fit.

Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston millionaire, charges that Senator Patrick McCarren who brought out Judge Parker for the nomination is on the pay roll of the Standard Oil company as political master mechanic at twenty thousand dollars a year, and that Parker is the chosen tool of Standard Oil. Mr. Lawson offers Senator McCarren one hundred thousand dollars if he will disprove the charge.

William Jennings Bryan denounced Judge Parker as a tool of Wall street before he was nominated and declared that no self-respecting Democrat could vote for him, and after his nomination he charged that it had been dictated by the trusts and secured by "crooked and indefensible methods." Mr. Bryan also said that labor had been betrayed in the convention and need look for nothing from the Democratic party. He made many other damaging charges against his party and its candidates, but when the supreme test came he was not equal to it, and instead of denouncing the betrayers of the "common people" and repudiating their made-to-order Wall street program, he compromised with the pirates that scuttled his ship and promised with his lips the support his heart refused and his conscience condemned.

The Democratic nominee for President was one of the Supreme judges of the State of New York who declared the eight-hour law unconstitutional and this is an index of his political character.

In his address accepting the nomination he makes but a single allusion to labor and in this he takes occasion to say that labor is charged with having recently used dynamite in destroying property and that the perpetrators should be subjected to "the most rigorous punishment known to the law." This cruel intimation amounts to conviction in advance of trial and indicates clearly the trend of his capitalistically trained judicial mind. He made no such reference to capital, nor to those ermined rascals who use judicial dynamite in blowing up the constitution while labor is looted and starved by capitalistic freebooters who trample all law in the mire and leer and mock at their despoiled and helpless victims.

It is hardly necessary to make more than passing reference to Henry G. Davis, Democratic candidate for Vice President. He is a coal baron, railroad owned and, of course, an enemy to union labor. He has amassed a great fortune exploiting his wage-slaves and has always strenuously resisted every attempt to organize them for the betterment of their condition. Mr. Davis

is a staunch believer in the virtue of the injunction as applied to union labor. As a young man he was in charge of a slave plantation and his conviction is that wage-slaves should be kept free from the contaminating influence of the labor agitator and render cheerful obedience to their master.

Mr. Davis is as well qualified to serve his party as is Senator Fairbanks to serve the Republican party and wage-workers should have no trouble in making their choice between this precious pair of plutocrats, and certainly no intelligent working-man will hesitate an instant to discard them both and cast his vote for Ben Hanford, their working class competitor, who is as loyally devoted to labor as Fairbanks and Davis are to capital.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

In what has been said of other parties I have tried to show why they should not be supported by the common people, least of all by workingmen, and I think I have shown clearly enough that such workers as do support them are guilty, consciously or unconsciously, of treason to their class. They are voting into power the enemies of labor and are morally responsible for the crimes thus perpetrated upon their fellow-workers and sooner or later they will have to suffer the consequences of their miserable acts.

The Socialist party is not, and does not pretend to be, a capitalist party. It does not ask, nor does it expect the votes of the capitalist class. Such capitalists as do support it do so seeing the approaching doom of the capitalist system and with a full understanding that the Socialist party is not a capitalist party, nor a middle class party, but a revolutionary working class party, whose historic mission is to conquer capitalism on the political battle-field, take control of government and through the public powers take possession of the means of wealth production, abolish wage-slavery and emancipate all workers and all humanity.

The people are as capable of achieving their industrial freedom as they were to secure their political liberty and both are necessary to a free nation.

The capitalist system is no longer adapted to the needs of modern society. It is outgrown and fetters the forces of progress. Industrial and commercial competition are largely of the past. The handwriting blazes on the wall. Centralization and combination are the modern forces in industrial and commercial life. Competition is breaking down, and co-operation is supplanting it.

The hand tools of early times are used no more. Mammoth machines have taken their places. A few thousand capitalists own them and many millions of workingmen use them.

All the wealth the vast army of labor produces above its subsistence is taken by the machine owning capitalists, who also

own the land and the mills, the factories, railroads and mines, the forests and fields and all other means of production and transportation.

Hence wealth and poverty, millionaires and beggars, castles and caves, luxury and squalor, painted parasites on the boulevard and painted poverty among the red lights.

Hence strikes, boycotts, riots, murder, suicide, insanity, prostitution on a fearful and increasing scale.

The capitalist parties can do nothing. They are a part, an iniquitous part of the foul and decaying system.

There is no remedy for the ravages of death.

Capitalism is dying and its extremities are already decomposing. The blotches upon the surface show that the blood no longer circulates. The time is near when the cadaver will have to be removed and the atmosphere purified.

In contrast with the Republican and Democratic conventions, where politicians were the puppets of plutocracy, the convention of the Socialist party consisted of working men and women fresh from their labors, strong, clean, wholesome, self-reliant, ready to do and dare for the cause of labor, the cause of humanity.

Proud indeed am I to have been chosen by such a body of men and women to bear aloft the proletarian standard in this campaign, and heartily do I endorse the clear and cogent platform of the party which appeals with increasing force and eloquence to the whole working class of the country.

To my associate upon the national ticket I give my hand with all my heart. Ben Hanford typifies the working class and fitly represents the historic mission and revolutionary character of the Socialist party.

CLOSING WORDS.

These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near and socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it.

The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority and then will come the co-operative commonwealth.

Every workingman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom.

Every progressive democrat must find his way in our direction and if he will but free himself from prejudice and study the principles of socialism he will soon be a sturdy supporter of our party.

Every sympathizer with labor, every friend of justice, every lover of humanity should support the Socialist party as the only party that is organized to abolish industrial slavery, the prolific source of the giant evils that afflict the people.

Who with a heart in his breast can look upon Colorado with-

out keenly feeling the cruelties and crimes of capitalism! Repression will not help her. Brutality will only brutalize her. Private ownership and wage-slavery are the curse of Colorado. Only socialism will save Colorado and the nation.

The overthrow of capitalism is the object of the Socialist party. It will not fuse with any other party and it would rather die than compromise.

The Socialist party comprehends the magnitude of its task and has the patience of preliminary defeat and the faith of ultimate victory.

The working class must be emancipated by the working class.

Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class.

Child labor must be abolished by the working class.

Society must be reconstructed by the working class.

The working class must be employed by the working class.

The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by the working class.

War, bloody war, must be ended by the working class.

These are the principles and objects of the Socialist party and we fearlessly proclaim them to our fellowmen.

We know our cause is just and that it must prevail.

With faith and hope and courage we hold our heads erect and with dauntless spirit marshal the working class for the march from Capitalism to Socialism, from Slavery to Freedom, from Barbarism to Civilization.

The Rise of Labor in America.

LABOR has ever moved onward and upward. There may have been times when the advance was so slow as to be imperceptible with our standards of measurement. Many times contemporary observers proclaimed a retrogression. But these seeming retreats were but rearrangements of the forces. When sufficient time had elapsed to permit of a view of the new formation it was always seen to occupy a higher point than the previous one.

The chapter which treats of the American division of the army of toil offers no exception to this story of general progress. The condition of the great masses of the producers of wealth to-day leaves much of which to complain. Yet considered as a whole, from the time when the British flag waved over a few colonists on the Atlantic coast to when in the grasp of American capitalists the young stars and stripes were bourne as the emblem of plutocratic tyranny to the western shores of the Pacific, the progress has been so great as to be almost inconceivable. The Socialist should be the first to recognize this fact. It is he who is ever telling of the coming triumph of labor, who never wearies of predicting the better things that lie before. It would augur poor for the realization of his prophecies if the past showed that the face of labor was turned the other way. A retreating army is poor material with which to conquer a co-operative commonwealth. It is largely because the army of toil has ever been marching forward that we are assured of coming victory.

When the economic development of the American colonies reached the point where the ruling classes of the colonies required political independence from England as a necessity for further evolution, there were four classes of manual laborers in this country,—slaves, convict servants, redemptioners and wage-workers. The latter were least important of all in the industrial economy. Even the condition of the slave was much worse then than that when almost a century later the master was freed from caring for him, save when his labor returned a profit. There was practically no check on the brutality of the owner. The slave had no more rights than the cattle or horses with whom he was listed as a part of his master's possessions. Convict servants were ranked one step above the slaves, although it is hard to see in what their superiority consisted save in the limited term of their servitude. They were convicted felons, political or otherwise who had been sent to America to relieve the British taxpayer of the expense of their imprisonment. It is difficult to obtain any accurate figures as to their numbers but it is probable that nearly a hundred

thousand all together were dumped upon America's shores during the colonial period.

Next in the upward scale of servitude came the redemptioner or indentured servant. These were men, women and children who desired to escape from the hideous conditions which the factory system was introducing into England, but who did not have the money to pay their passage to America. In order to procure this passage money they sold themselves into temporary slavery to the master of the ship or some immigration agent in America.

"On reaching port the owner or master, whose servants they then became, sold them for their passage to the highest bidder, or for what he could get. When a ship laden with one to three hundred such persons arrived, we will say at Philadelphia, the immigrants, arranged in a long line, were marched at once to a magistrate and forced to take an oath of allegiance to the king or, later, to the United States, and then marched back to the ship to be sold. If a purchaser was not forthcoming and they remained on shipboard until the month had passed, they were frequently sold to speculators who drove them, chained together, sometimes through the country, from farm to farm in search of a purchaser.

"The contract signed, the newcomer became in the eyes of the law a slave, and in both the civil and criminal code was classed with negro slaves and Indians. None could marry without consent of the master or mistress under penalty of an addition of one year's service to the time set forth in the indenture. They were worked hard, were dressed in the cast-off clothes of their owners, and might be flogged as often as the master or mistress thought necessary. If they ran away, at least two days might be added to their time of service for each day they were absent. Father, mother and children could be sold to different buyers."

It will be evident to anyone that the competition of these classes would not permit the wage-worker to rise much above the condition of these black and white chattel slaves. Hence we are not surprised to learn that:

"He worked from sunrise to sunset, earned less wages in winter than in summer, was paid at irregular intervals, and if not paid at all had no lien on the product of his labor. If he was so unfortunate as to fall into debt, though it were for but a sixpence or a penny, he might at the will of his creditor be torn from his family and cast into jail, there to remain until the debt and the prison charges were paid or he died of hunger and disease."

The Revolution brought no improvement to any of these classes. Indeed its close found them in an even more pitiable condition than its beginning. The debtor's prisons were filled to repletion, and this fact alone prevented more imprisonments. Under these conditions there began a mighty migration of the workers toward the West, a march away from civilization back to savage freedom that lasted for more than a century, and stopped only when East met West on the shores of the Pacific. This in itself speaks eloquently of the conditions of the American laborer,—that he welcomed the privations of the pioneer and fled back through ages of

(1) "The Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America," J. B. McMaster, pp. 34-35.

(2) Ibid.

social progress, to reach the primeval savagery of the frontier. But after all he was moving the wrong way. The freedom which he sought could only be secured by passing *through* capitalism, not by fleeing *from* it. In securing freedom from social restraint he became a slave to physical environment. To be sure the latter was less galling to the spirit since ages of evolution had taught him to look upon nature with something of love and to rejoice in each victory gained. Even here also, the savagery of gunpowder, rifle and ax is a countless centuries-long stride beyond the savagery of knotted club and chipped stone. Yet the life of the pioneer was hard—bitter hard. The poorly chinked log cabin, open often on one side, with chimney made of crossed sticks daubed with mud, while a long ways ahead of the open fire in a cave of our earliest ancestors, was still far from a perfect shelter against the blasts of a northern winter. Buckskin and homespun were certainly superior to shoddy hand-me-downs, but few modern workers would care to exchange their present bill of fare for the steady diet of Indian corn and wild game that made up the pioneer's dietary.

COMING OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM.

With the War of 1812 there came the beginning of a great industrial change that was to be fraught with tremendous importance to the working class of America. This war, with the embargo that preceded it, and taken in connection with the contemporary Napoleonic wars in Europe, shut the United States off from the commercial life of the rest of the world and this isolation acted like a hot-house upon the industrial germs that were just beginning to sprout in American soil. New manufacturing sprang up on every side. Industry began to leave the household and enter the factory. The tool was laid aside for the machine. The craftsman became the wage-worker. It was to take another half century and another war—this time an internal conflict between competing system of exploitation—to fully establish the factory system in America. But by 1820 its first phases were evident and its first effects began to be seen among the workers.

The new machines made possible the utilization of the labor-power embodied in the persons of women and children, and soon all the horrors of the factory system, which Engels in his "Conditions of the Working Class" and Marx in "Capital," with hundreds of other writers have described for us, were being repeated in America. We hear of women and children being beaten, of almshouses robbed to furnish human flesh for the factory cannibal, of mere babes dragged from their playgrounds to be sacrificed to the Moloch of capitalism; until the Southern owners of negro chattel slaves cried shame at the Northern owners of wage-slaves.

But the factory demands the gathering of workers in great industrial armies and physical contiguity and common economic interests are the first steps to social solidarity and human brotherhood. So it was that these horrible sufferings of American labor proved to be but the birth pangs of the great labor movement. The first germs of organization that can really be looked upon as related to the modern trade union are found during the first ten years of the nineteenth century. The organizations which are sometimes said to have existed prior to that date seem to have been rather guilds than unions and indeed many of the guild characteristics lived on well up to the time of the Civil War. But by 1830 there was in progress in the states of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey at least, something well worth the name of a "labor movement."

Three phases of this movement are particularly worthy of attention. In the first place it included a clearly developed trade union movement, embracing such trades as the type-setters, hatters, tailors, ship-wrights and calkers, carpenters and rope-makers.¹ These sought through the usual methods of strike and boycott to secure better prices for the labor power of their members. The second phase is one which is never found absent from the labor movements of the nineteenth century. There was a continual cry for some form of co-operative activity. This phase found expression in the organization of numerous co-operative enterprises, and finally, with the coming of Robert Owen to America and the introduction of other forces which we shall discuss later, burst forth in a large number of communistic colonies, that for a half century were to become the *ignis fatuus* to lead a host of workers into a morass of failure and despair. This side of the matter has been so thoroughly covered by Nordoff, Hinds, Ely and Hilquit that it need not trouble us farther.

The third feature which attracts our attention is also one which in a more or less distinct form is never absent from any true labor movement. This was the political phase. In New York city and Philadelphia the political activity of the laborers became of considerable importance; so much so, indeed, that they succeeded in electing one Ebenezer Ford to the New York state assembly. This party also had candidates in various cities and took part in several minor elections. The principal features of their platform were demands for a mechanic's lien law, abolition of imprisonment for debt, taxation of church property, opposition to inheritance of wealth, Sunday mails, freedom of public lands, equal rights for women, homestead law, and abolition of the existing militia system. A large number of these demands were granted,

(1) See on this stage of the labor movement McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," Vol V. pp. 82-108, and "The Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America," pp. 54-61 and 89-110; Ely's "Labor Movement in America," pp. 34-60; McNeill's "The Labor Movement," pp. 66-123; Simonds' "Story of Labor in All Ages," pp. 436-444.

doubtless in no small degree because of the work of these first labor agitators, although our histories are significantly silent on this point.

Another phase still is worthy of attention and that is that the first signs of a labor press appeared during this period. "The Workingmen's Advocate" was published for several years in New York city. "The Spirit of the Age" appeared in Rochester, and Philadelphia and Charleston, S. C., were among the other cities in which papers championing the cause of labor were published. A perusal of these first straggling members of what has now become a mighty army fills one with considerable admiration for the movement of which they were a part. They compare very favorably with the average "pure and simple" publication of the present time, and lest that be taken as a left handed compliment, I hasten to say that in all but trade matters they were even superior to these latter day organs of trade unionism.

But this was a movement "born out of due time" and it fell a victim to a multitude of foes both from within and without. The "humanistic" movement with its transcendental moonshine was just sweeping over New England and it hastened to attach its miasmic sentimentalism to the infant labor movement. In this it was helped rather than hindered by the influence of Owen, whose vagaries were of just the kind to fit in with those of the Emersonian school of New England, notwithstanding their apparent and superficial antagonism. In view of these and the further facts about to be cited it should be seen that to call this movement a part of an "Owenite period" in American history involves a total misunderstanding of American life and social history.

On the political side the movement was sidetracked into a mass of vagaries, whose very names of "Loco-Foco," "Anti-Masonic" and "Know Nothing" are eloquent of the confusion and muddledom from which they sprang. Industrially the movement was also short-lived. The opening of the Erie canal, the building of railroads, and especially the marvelously rapid settlement of the great Middle West so disarranged industrial conditions and transposed class lines as to destroy those characters of social stability in industrial cleavage which are essential to a strong permanent labor movement.

But an examination of the condition of the workers at the beginning of the century and at the opening of the Civil War, together with a study of the measures for which these pioneers in labor's cause stood will go far to show that a great forward stride had been made and that this was in no small degree due to the blows struck by those who sought to free themselves. Manhood suffrage was almost unknown at the beginning of this period, almost universal at the close. Imprisonment for debt

was universal at the beginning, abolished at the close. The foundations of our public school system, our homestead law, and most of the legislation for the protection of the working class date from this period.

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE MODERN MOVEMENT.

This period has been so often described that it can be passed over with a rather short discussion. This is more especially true since it will be quite fully covered in the articles on "Industrial Concentration in America," which are now running through the REVIEW.

The close of the Civil War saw almost no trace of the labor movement that had flourished thirty years before. Indeed it had almost completely disappeared from even the memories of the workers of '65, and the whole task was begun anew. But the war had left a new industrial organization behind it, with much larger business units than had ever existed before. Men brought together by thousands in the shops, mines and factories, and on the railroads, soon began to organize in unions. Most of the strong "international" unions of today had their origin in the ten years following the war. Then came the Knights of Labor with its rocket-like upward shoot and corresponding drop; the fierce eight-hour struggle of the "80's;" the first bloody grapple with a government completely capitalized, in Pittsburg in '77; the tinkering with Populism; the rise of the labor fakir, accompanying the capture of the labor movement by the Republicans, with the cry of "protection and high wages;" the appearance of the A. F. of L., its growth and present strength and weakness; the grand rallying of the railroad workers in the A. R. U., and their magnificent, desperate, deadly battle at Pullman; and finally and most important of all the steady growth of an intelligent class conscious rebelliousness and its expression in the Socialist party. These are but a few of the events that have been crowded into the past thirty years and whoever examines them closely will see certain definite lines of evolution appearing, and those lines lead onward and upward. Through the awful turmoil of Pittsburg and Pullman, and Homestead, and Coeur d'Alene, and Hazleton, and Colorado we trace a thin red line of growing class intelligence.

Concentrated ownership and operation teach the lesson of compulsory co-operative labor, and drill the workers into industrial armies. Corporate management points out the fact of depersonalization of industry and shows the uselessness of a mere possessor separated from management and organization. Consolidated trustified capital proves the permanency of the wage-labor caste while capitalism remains, by cutting off all hope of escape across the class line between master and man. The trade union movement teaches the possibility of working class action, not only

apart from but hostile to the master class. Strikes, lock-outs and boycotts intensify the class antagonism until it develops into a conscious intelligent class struggle. The bold use of government by the capitalists to protect their interests, to further commerce, and crush resisting workers, points the way to political action by the laborers in defense of their interests. The ever present barrier of private ownership blocking all efforts of the workers to reach the source of wealth and the means of wealth production teach them at last to demand the abolition of that barrier and the transference of the title deeds to life to the collective control of all who live and help to make life possible.

Thus it is that the laborers of America grow conscious of the interests, powers and mission of their class. In the beginning the labor movement is like some great natural force, capable of infinite good or harm as chance may decide or a higher power direct. Its tremendous blind energies like those of fire or wind or water are used by others, to work their purpose, often to the destruction, always to the enslavement of the workers. They fight battles, build industries, support society but always in blind ignorance of reason or results. But finally the spirit of class rebellion arises. At first it too is blind, and the struggles of the labor giant as he tosses his monstrous limbs about work only evil, or if good results it is because his strength has been used by others not because he used it. But gradually his efforts gain more intelligence. The strike and boycott and trade union supplant the mad use of club and torch and powder. Then new methods still come with growing intelligence. The whole great mass of workers learns to think and act as an army, not a mob. It utilizes all the teachings of modern science to stock its armory and give skill to its hands. It ransacks history and pores deep into the mysteries of present society to learn of its mission and the methods to accomplish it.

When this stage has been reached, when labor becomes CLASS CONSCIOUS, there is no resisting its advance. Its tremendous elemental strength is still with it, but to the resistless power of its numberless host it has added a conscious directing power. It is as if steam had found a brain amid the watery vapors, as if the cyclone had developed a nervous system or the law of gravitation had taught itself to think. Before such an incarnation of irresistible elemental force, intelligently, consciously directed, such puny barriers as traditional, man-made legal fetters will be but as bonds of straw upon an earthquake, as chaff before the hurricane.

A. M. SIMONS.

Assassination of Von Plehve.

APPEAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

TO YOU, citizens of the civilized world, who enjoy primal liberties and individual and social rights, we, Russian revolutionary socialists, address this appeal which is at the same time an explanation.

Russia has no revolutionary bourgeoisie like that which elsewhere, leaning upon the working masses, whose class interests it was soon to betray, has broken the yoke of absolutism and conquered the rights of the Man and the Citizen.

It is we then, strugglers grouped round the flag of International revolutionary socialism and marching in advance of the awakening masses of laborers, whom the political destinies of our country have transformed into spokesmen of the political and social demands of all modern Russia.

Yes, citizens, the bloody act of justice which has just been accomplished by the Organization for Combat (Boievaia Orgonisationsia) of our party and of which the Central Committee does not hesitate to take upon itself the full and complete responsibility in the face of history and the conscience of the civilized nations, this act is neither an isolated fact nor the action of an individual.

It is deliberately and after ripe reflection that the party has seen itself obliged to put an end to the nefarious policy of the actual autocrat of all the Russias, the minister of the interior, Viatcheslaf von Plehwe, as it has already crushed or attempted to crush the instruments of the same policy: his last predecessor, Sipiaguine; the executioner of peasants, Prince Obolensky; the murderer of working men, Bogdanovitch, and other local tyrants or insulters of political prisoners or exiles.

In this our party is only taking up the tradition of the energetic struggle carried on by *The Will of the People* (Narodnaia Volia) in which a quarter of a century ago Marx and Engels saw the vanguard of the world-wide social revolution.

The execution of the public man in whom were incarnated all the abominations and all the horrors of czarism has called forth from the public opinion of the civilized world, in spite of all its habitual and conventional reticence, a cry of relief coming from a conscience at last emancipated.

It would therefore be useless to point morals on the political and ethical significance of this act.

Viatcheslaf von Plehwe has been executed:

1. Because it is he who, twenty years ago, caused our bro-

thers of *The Will of the People* to be entombed in the stone walls of the fortress of Peter and Paul and of Schusselbourg and directed such persecutions against them, contrary to the laws even of the Muscovite Empire, that many of them died there, victims of their privations and of the insanity excited by these infernal conditions, while the few survivors continued still to drag out a horrible life.

2. Because it is he who, once more omnipotent tyrant of Russia, had renewed in an aggravated form the policy of unspeakable reprisals against the intellectuals, the laborers, the peasants, against every one who lives, thinks and suffers in Russia. It is he who, during the two years of his irresponsible ministry to the melancholy Sultan of the North, has destroyed on the scaffold or has buried alive in the tomb of our bastiles, Balmachef, Leckert, Guerchoudi, Froumkine and many other valiant champions of right and liberty; it is he who pierced with the bullets of his soldiers a hundred workingmen's breasts at Oufa, who flooded with the blood of proletarians the pavements of our industrial centres of the South; it is he who raised to the level of a regular institution in our political prisons the worst outrages and mutilation of those detained there, even to the violation of women, and the cutting off by sabres of the arms of prisoners against the knees of their executioners; it is he who at the time of the agrarian movement of 1902 caused the flogging of throngs of peasants, the violation of their wives and daughters by drunken Cossacks, and who fixed collective responsibility for offenses upon entire villages, a thing unheard of since the times of Oriental despotism and barbarous tribes.

3. Because it is he who, wishing to oppose the ever rising flood of the revolution, forced himself to stir up enmities between different nationalities of the Empire, to oppose them to each other and all of them to "Holy Russia," orthodox and loyal; it is he who pushed to extremities the Russification of Finland, crushing the Constitution of the loyal and peaceful country; it is he who bitterly pursued the Poles, the Armenians, the Jews, organizing against these last, at Kichinef and at Gomel, a veritable Saint Bartholomew, where the poor Russian helots, crazed by brandy and instructed by the police, hurled themselves upon old men, women and children, as wretched as themselves, inflicting tortures surpassing the imagination of a Saadi.

4. Because it is he who attempted to envelop in a single network of international police the civilized countries of Europe, attempting to entail upon them the outworn regime of czarism, venturing to spread everywhere in Italy, France and Germany traps for the Russian revolutionists who had escaped the talons of the Muscovite eagle.

5. Because, finally, it is he who always pursuing his policy of

diversion, bent all his influence upon the czar to provoke the war with Japan, and thus plunged the unhappy country into one of the most sinister adventures that history has ever known, coldly sacrificing to the appetites of his friends the filibusters, Bezobrasof, Alexeief & Co., the lives of a hundred thousand young men, and billions of rubles extracted from the famishing existence and the superhuman labor of the entire nation.

And it is for these crimes against the nation and the country, against civilization and humanity that Viatcheslaf von Plehwe was condemned to death and executed by the Organization of Combat.

And now we address this appeal to the citizens of the entire world, and we say to them: Upon you falls the task of propagating in free countries true conceptions of the meaning of the duel now in progress between the autocracy and modern Russia. This duel will end only with the disappearance of one of the adversaries, which will be czarism, vanquished by the Revolution, by the Russian nation at last free.

Do not lend ear to the interested calumnies of the partisans of czarism, who wish to transform us into barbarians, enemies of civilization, it is to break the barbarous mold of despotism, it is to liberate a great nation from the czarist yoke, to give it access to modern civilization, to unite the country with representative institutions, that we revolutionary socialists are struggling at this moment, not only for our flag, but for the liberals and democratic demands of all modern Russia.

The necessary vigor of our means of combat should not conceal the truth from any one; we are foremost in verbally reproving, as has been done by our heroic predecessors of *The Will of the People*, the tactics of terrorism in free countries, but in Russia where despotism excludes all open political conflict and knows only arbitrary power, where there is no recourse against the irresponsibility of absolute power in all degrees of the omnipotent bureaucracy, we shall be obliged to oppose to the violence of tyranny the force of revolutionary justice.

Let it not be forgotten, moreover, that apart from the special activity of The Organization of Combat, all the efforts of our party are, and always will be, devoted to the propaganda of socialism among the laborers and peasants and to the revolutionary organization of the masses in full communion of ideas with them conformably to our revolutionary socialist programme.

We hope then that, in this historic struggle for liberty you, citizens of the civilized world, will be at heart with the champions of right and justice. (Signed)

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Of the Russian Revolutionary Socialist Party.

(See Foreign Department for comment on above article.—Ed.)

The Socialist Vote of the World.

THE national secretary of the Socialist party recently issued a statement of the total Socialist vote of the world by countries and years, taken from the June number of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*. These figures have been reproduced in almost every Socialist paper in the United States, showing that they "filled a long felt want." Although they were compiled with the greatest possible care, including a consultation of the files of hundreds of Socialist papers and official party documents, and considerable correspondence with the European comrades, several errors were still unavoidable. It so happens that Dr. Robert Michels, of Germany, was engaged upon a similar compilation at the same time and the results of his work appeared in the *Neue Zeit* for July 16, 1904. A comparison of his results with those obtained by me in the article published in the June *REVIEW* (which was originally prepared for the *Encyclopedia Americana*) shows several errors in both articles. Further information having also been obtained from some other sources I have now corrected the entire table in the light of all information now at hand and give herewith what is certainly the most complete compilation of the Socialist vote of the world ever brought together. There are doubtless still errors; indeed it is certain that in some cases the figures are only approximately correct, and some of these have been indicated by a question mark. Furthermore, it must always be remembered that statistics of votes, and especially Socialist votes, may mean a wholly different thing in different countries. The right of suffrage, the method of party alignment and organization, party tactics, the character of the government, all have great influence on the number of votes cast, and in almost every instance these restrictions contribute to lower the Socialist vote as recorded. So diverse are the requirements for suffrage in the various countries that these figures are of very little value for comparison between countries. However they are the most prominent standard of our progress and since all the restrictions work against the Socialists it is certain that such a table does not exaggerate our strength.

				GERMANY.			
		Vote.	Reprs.			Vote.	Repra.
1867	.....	30,000	8	1884	.....	549,990	24
1871	.....	101,000	2	1887	.....	763,128	11
1874	.....	351,952	9	1890	.....	1,427,298	35
1877	.....	493,288	12	1893	.....	1,876,738	44
1878	.....	437,158	9	1898	.....	2,113,073	57
1881	.....	311,961	12	1903	.....	3,008,000	81

FRANCE.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1887	47,000.....	19	1898	790,000.....	50
1889	120,000.....	9	1900	880,000.....	48
1893	440,000.....	49			

UNITED STATES.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1888	2,068.....	—	1897	55,550.....	—
1892	21,512.....	—	1898	82,204.....	—
1894	30,120.....	—	1900	98,424.....	—
1895	34,869.....	—	1902	225,903.....	—
1896	36,275.....	—			

GREAT BRITAIN.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1895	55,000.....	—	1900	100,000.....	—

HOLLAND.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1880	17.....	—	1897	13,500.....	3
1885	1,464.....	—	1901	39,000.....	7

SWITZERLAND.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1884	3,591.....	—	1896	40,000.....	1
1887	2,100.....	—	1899	56,000.....	4
1890	14,431.....	1	1902	100,000.....	6
1893	30,000.....	1			

AUSTRIA.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1897	750,000.....	—	1901	780,000.....	10

SWEDEN.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1890	488.....	—	1893	1,221.....	—
1892	723.....	—	1902	48,000.....	—

SPAIN.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1891	5,000.....	—	1899	23,000.....	—
1893	7,000.....	—	1901	25,400.....	—
1896	14,000.....	—	1903	29,000.....	—
1898	20,000.....	—			

ITALY.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1882	49,154.....	1	1895	79,434.....	15
1886	22,061.....	2	1897	137,852.....	16
1890	50,210.....	3	1900	215,841.....	33
1892	27,000.....	7			

BELGIUM.					
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1894	320,000.....	32	1902	467,000.....	34
1900	344,944.....	33	1904	302,771.....	*28

*In this year only one-half the deputies were elected, so this is not a true test of the Socialist strength.

DENMARK.			SERBIA.		
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1872	268.....	—	1895	50,000.....	—
1876	1,076.....	—	1903	60,000(?).....	—
1881	1,689.....	—			
1884	6,806.....	2	CANADA.		
1887	8,408.....	—		Vote.	Reprs.
1890	17,232.....	—	1903	8,025.....	—
1892	20,094.....	4			
1895	31,872.....	8	ARGENTINA.		
1901	42,972.....	14		Vote.	Reprs.
1903	55,479.....	16	1903	5,000(?).....	—
NORWAY.			IRELAND.		
	Vote.	Reprs.		Vote.	Reprs.
1900	7,440.....	—	1902	1,063.....	—
1903	24,779.....	—			
			BULGARIA.		
				Vote.	Reprs.
			1900	10,000.....	—

In order to give a better idea of the steady growth of the total vote these same statistics have been rearranged to show the total Socialist vote of the world for each year during which there has been an election in any country, in which the Socialists participated.

TOTAL VOTE OF THE WORLD BY YEARS.

1867	30,000	1891	1,799,060
1871	101,000	1892	1,798,391
1872	101,268	1893	2,585,898
1874	352,220	1894	2,914,506
1876	353,028	1895	3,033,718
1877	494,364	1896	3,056,873
1878	438,234	1897	3,896,602
1881	373,850	1898	4,515,591
1882	423,004	1899	4,534,591
1884	666,150	1900	4,874,740
1885	667,614	1901	4,912,740
1887	931,454	1902	5,253,054
1889	1,109,891	1903	6,285,374
1890	1,794,060		

This table was obtained by adding to the total vote of each year the increase (or subtracting the decrease) which had taken place in the Socialist vote of all those countries holding elections during that year. The decrease in the years 1878 and 1881 was due to the falling off of the German vote during the "Laws of Exception." The increase since then represents a steady yet rapid advance such as no other cause, philosophy, doctrine, or social movement of any kind can parallel. A. M. SIMONS.

The Socialization of Humanity.*

MARX and Engels stand forth in their true importance, whenever we come across a talented writer of our own time who has drunk deeply from the sources of modern science and who, unconscious of the socialist philosophy, attempts to find a new orientation out of the labyrinth in which the capitalist ideas have left him. It seems only a little step from radical bourgeois science to the historical materialism of the revolutionary proletariat, and yet traditional ideas envelop the mind of such a thinker in a fog, from which only the intervention of the socialist philosophy can bring relief.

This is the position of Charles Kendall Franklin who in his *Socialization of Humanity* offers what he calls a system of monistic philosophy by which the human race is supposed to educate itself into a higher form of social organization, without the dangerous expedient of class struggles. The author is well aware of the existence of classes and their antagonistic interests, but the emancipating force of capitalist society, according to him, will be a new religion, based on scientific moral and social senses, not the historical action of a class-conscious proletariat.

The book is so remarkable and offers such an excellent opportunity to set forth the different points of view of the socialist philosophy and of that school of thinkers who ignore the function of class struggles that I think it worth while to devote considerable space to its discussion.

To the socialist, schooled in the historical method of Marx, it is evident that a mind not guided by historical materialism and operating simply with the intellectual stock in trade and vocabulary of the bourgeois scientist will involve itself in many contradictions. And this book is full of them. Under these circumstances, materialistic monism is naturally deprived of its just dues, not only in the discussion of social evolution, but also in that of natural evolution.

In the perusal of this book, the scientific Socialist is constantly reminded of the superiority of the dialectic method over that of the old line logician who sees either nothing but the special, or nothing but the general, but who forgets to remember the relation of the special and general to each other and to the rest of the world. And again and again we feel the truth of Joseph Dietzgen's criticism that traditional philosophy is to blame for the tendency towards drawing unnecessarily deep and radical distinctions between nature and man, matter and mind, society and the individual.

*The Socialization of Humanity, by Charles Kendall Franklin. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 481 pp., \$2.00.

A few quotations from Franklin will illustrate how his work suffers from the shortcomings of capitalistic philosophy and logic. On page 13, e. g., we read that "life and mind are developed in spite of nature, not with its assistance," and in the very next sentence we are informed that "it is the nature of matter and energy to develop life and mind and human society, as it is for them to manifest themselves in any other way. Everything we see is natural."

On page 23, the author says that "the great difference between organic and inorganic reproduction is that inorganic reproduction is always by abiogenesis, spontaneous generation, and takes place whenever the constituents of an inorganic substance are present under the proper conditions . . . yet even in inorganic compounds we see the incipient form of that reproduction which in organic compounds is called sexual reproduction." My criticism is that there is no such fundamental difference between organic and inorganic reproduction, between sexual generation and spontaneous generation. What is commonly called spontaneous generation is in reality a generation by physical and chemical means as much as is sexual generation. The latter is simply a specialized form of generation. The author says so himself in another place, on page 70, where we learn that "as the dead bodies were the constituents of new organisms it is probable that the constituents immediately entered into the new compounds, which is not death, but spontaneous generation. . . ." In other words, death is spontaneous generation, or spontaneous generation is death, or death is but another form of life, which is practically admitting that there is no "spontaneous" generation, but simply a succession of reactions which lead to the disintegration of one organism and the constitution of another. Hence sexual generation is but a specialized form of universal generation.

Naturally, the author's conception of immortality is affected by his logic. Immortality, according to him, implies "a permanently adjusted relation between organism and environment; or an environment that never changes and a permanently adjusted organism to it." He overlooks a third possibility, viz., that there is possible an evolutionary adjustment to an ever changing environment which the human mind must learn to control so that it will always be perfectly abreast of all changes.

In speaking of mind and its origin, the author falls into the language of those who think only of the human mind as it is now and who either cannot understand that the human mind is but a specialized form of mind or, if they understand that, forget to apply this understanding in their practical reasoning. When he says that "life and mind are inseparable," he means at best only the human mind, for he contends on page 97 that "the erroneous notion that mind is back of the universe comes from an imperfect

concept of what mind really is, and a belief that any and all order is the result of mind, when it is only economic order that is so." He forgets that even death is a form of life, as he admitted in another place, and he objects to Herbert Spencer's definition of life as "continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations," maintaining that this definition "fits the phenomenon when it is highly developed, but not so well at its commencement" (page 33). However, I agree with Spencer. There is life in an inorganic chemical compound, in a crystal, in a plant, in any animal, and all of them are continually adjusting themselves to environment. And since "life and mind are inseparable," according to our author, the adjustment of all matter to its environment is mind and develops mind. The human mind as we know it is but the present day form of adjustment in a special organism. The question as to which was first, matter or mind, can simply be answered by declaring that the one cannot be without the other, that one exists as long as the other, that they are both eternal, and that their origin is co-eternal.

In defining a "sense," on page 38, it is natural that the author cannot give any other definition under these circumstances than that of "a result of the way a physical, external energy, light, heat, pressure, and so forth, registers itself in an animal organism." I am compelled, by the dialectic method, to regard "sense" as the result of external reactions in any form of matter, whether in an animal, plant, or mineral organism. The author, however, denies that inorganic matter can register any impressions. "For example," he says on page 41, "if I touch a pebble on my desk, it none the less touches me; but the difference is that there are registered in my nervous system an infinite number of previous experiences in touching similar objects which perceive the new experience and classify and register it; whereas in the case of the pebble, while it experiences a change in the condition of its substance at each experience of touching, yet it has not the power to register them, hence never acquires sensibility. This is true of all inanimate bodies." I object to the term inanimate bodies and maintain that any form of matter has its own degree of sensibility, its own ability to register impressions, its own degree of mind. The touch of a man's finger is not heavy enough to register an indenture on the surface of a pebble, because the pebble is the harder of the two. But if the finger is warm and the pebble cold, the pebble will register a change in temperature, while the finger will register a change in temperature and an impression on the skin. On the other hand, if hot water drops on the pebble long enough, the pebble will register not only a change in temperature, but also a hollow in its surface. And if the pebble is subjected to great changes of temperature, it will undergo (register) great changes in its structure. If exposed to a very

high temperature, for instance in a volcano, a stone will turn into pumice stone, after registering changes that transform its silicates into lava and its hard and heavy material into a light and brittle substance. In fact, the human mind would not exist, had not all matter from time immemorial registered impressions through all its transformations from gas, through crystals, to vegetable and animal organisms. All forms of matter, therefore, have their senses, their mind, and our mind is but a specialized form and registers its impressions by different means and in a different degree than other forms of matter.

From the author's narrow interpretation of mind also arises the inadequacy of his discussion of vibrations of the nervous system. "Scientists do not admit," he says on page 44, "that the internal vibrations registered in the nervous system of animals are identical with the external vibrations in the environment causing them; yet they must be identical, or else we would have unlike knowing like for the first time in all nature. Nor do they attempt to explain how vibrations in the environment can cause ideas that are invariably aroused by them and yet are not composed of identical vibrations." . . . And on page 46 he says:

"Only like can know like. Just as a vibrating tuning-fork causes all other tuning-forks in its field that are like it to vibrate in unison with it, so do all external energies cause their residual representations in the nervous tissues of an animal to vibrate in unison with them, such a synchronism being knowledge itself." And on page 77: "Ideas are identical with the energies producing them." It is not quite clear what the author means by *identical* and by *know*. Of course, an atom of carbon can never feel (react) exactly like an atom of oxygen, or vice versa. Therefore the one can never *fully* know the other, and in this sense I am willing to admit that only like can know like. But it is not true, that unlike things cannot know one another at all, and it is not necessary that the reactions in nervous tissue should be absolutely identical with the vibrations in the environment, in order to be known as belonging to a definite factor in that environment. The reaction caused by an atom of carbon on an atom of oxygen is always the same in the same environment, and by this reaction carbon *knows* oxygen and oxygen *knows* carbon. A tuning fork does not only vibrate with the same note of another tuning fork of the same composition, but also with all the vibrations of other tuning forks to which the substance of which they are composed is susceptible. In the one case, it vibrates harmoniously, in the other case inharmoniously. The fact that we do not hear some of these vibrations, or cannot register them with our instruments, proves only our limitations, but not the absence of any vibrations. And by the reactions caused by various vibrations, one tuning fork *knows* another and discriminates between

the various vibrations. Of course, the knowing and discriminating of the tuning fork is different from that of the human mind, but only in degree, and the same general principle applies to both of them. The means by which the human mind discriminates and becomes *conscious* of its discrimination are more specialized and complicated than those of the tuning fork, but the tuning fork is as conscious in its way as the human mind is in another.

The difference between the consciousness of a crystal and of a human brain is one of more or less control over environment, but it is not a difference between consciousness and unconsciousness. Neither is the difference between the consciousness or so-called unconsciousness of any individual human brain one of feeling and not feeling, of reacting and ceasing to react. It is only a difference in the form of the reaction. We have acquired the faculty of being conscious only in a certain way, under a certain environment, but we have not acquired the faculty of adapting our brain activity to any environment. Our faculty of adaptation has become limited through natural selection, and unless we succeed in acquiring a greater and quicker adaptability, certain changes in our environment are fatal to the consciousness to which we are accustomed. Within the limits of the highest and lowest consciousness of the same brain, there are innumerable degrees of consciousness. Outside of those limits, an interruption of our consciousness takes place, because our brain apparatus then becomes subject to impressions which interrupt its normal functions and decompose its tissues. But the reactions are there, and the brain registers them, even to the point of dissolution.

The vibrations caused by a storm in the air are not identical with those caused by this air on the surface of the sea. But the same vibrations of the air will always produce the same vibrations in the same water. The vibrations of a rod in the hand of a teacher are not identical with the vibrations caused by that rod on the back of a boy, and these are not identical with the vibrations caused in the brain of the boy, of the teacher, and in the substance of the rod. Yet under the same conditions the teacher will always know that he is wielding the rod, the boy will know that the rod is hitting him, and the rod will experience the same changes in its substance. Each will register its vibrations in its own way. According to the violence of the vibration, each will carry away distinct memories of them. The teacher will be more or less exhausted and elated by a feeling of duty well performed. The boy will have more or less perceptible marks on his back and a more or less disturbed attitude of mind, which will remain registered in the cumulative store house called memory. And the rod may carry away lasting memories in the shape of a bend or break. But all of them will remember the

event in a certain way, and it will modify their further development in a certain way.

On page 16, the author says: "Mind is the reaction of the environment upon a sensitive form of matter competent to receive it." This would be a good definition, provided we understand that ALL matter is more or less sensitive and competent to receive reactions. But if we believe with the author that through the human mind alone "all energy is for the first time in nature expended according to design, purpose," we bar ourselves from a monistic understanding of the world process. For it is not true that only the human mind can conceive of a purpose. Purpose presupposes a will. What we call purpose or will and design is only a certain form of following stimuli. Whether he have this or that purpose is not a question of free will—and the author admits it—but of evolutionary forces embodied in us. Any two atoms follow stimuli of the environment as well as our brain does, and the chemical affinities, in forcing certain combinations of chemicals and preventing others, follow their "purpose" quite as "freely," comparatively, as do two lovers rushing into one another's arms. The author himself suddenly surprises us on page 348 by coinciding with our view and contradicting his previous statement, declaring that "the primitive form of the will is chemical affinity." And yet he contends that only the human brain can have a design, a will, all for the purpose of drawing a deep distinction between two reactions which are not fundamentally, but only relatively, different.

As in the case of the mind, so in the case of purpose it is simply a question of degree. Purpose, or design, is any reaction of any individual on its environment. The first impulse for this reaction may apparently be originated in the individual itself, it may seem to be "spontaneous," but it is well to remember that spontaneousness is only another word for a result produced by the accumulation and preservation in a "latent" state of evolutionary matter which at a certain moment and in a favorable environment manifests itself in a certain way. If this is understood, then the outbreak of a volcano, or the so-called sudden appearance of a new plant species, are seen to be as much the outcome of a purposeful will in the inorganic, as the reactions on the organic mind of Napoleon I which result in his planning the campaign against Russia. We must either admit that there is no ulterior purpose behind any reaction, whether in organic human minds or in inorganic rocks, or if we persist in reading purposes into reactions, we must grant that there is a purpose behind every reaction, and that the human purpose differs from the inorganic purpose only in degree.

The fact that our purposes may run counter to the purposes, of the so-called unconscious reactions only demonstrates that one

reaction can cross the purpose of another, that one reaction can control another, and finally leads us to work toward the ideal of making all reactions subservient to the purposes of the human brain, or subordinating the purpose of every other reaction to human purposes, an ideal which the author very eloquently paints in another place and with different words, and one in which I fully agree with him. But I object to the narrow definition of mind as "all nervous phenomena seen throughout the animal kingdom" (page 15). These nervous phenomena are a special form of mind reaction but not the only mind.

The same attempt at making fundamentally radical distinctions between the expenditure of energy in human matter and other matter also appears in the author's statement on page 18 that "the energies of nature ended in neutralization and exhaustion, resulting in a fixed order," while in living beings, according to him, energy is "often expended in co-operation and none of it is lost." In the first place, the words *ended* and *fixed* order sound queer to the evolutionist, so much more when we read on page 21 that "the most universal phenomenon in nature is change. Everything is in constant flux, a continuing process," which is true and is the only "fixed order" in the universe. In the second place, no energies are lost in nature, whether it be human nature or rock nature. There may be exhaustion or neutralization of a certain form of energy in a certain environment, but not because that form of energy is lost, only because it has been transformed into some other energy and may in time reappear. Neither is it correct to speak of the "blind battling of natural energies in which all energy expends itself along the line of least resistance," as distinguished from the orderly expenditure of energy in society. The fact that energy is expended along the line of least resistance shows that it is not expended blindly. Energy expended through human activity, whether individual or social, is compelled to follow the same general lines as that in "blind" nature. Or, if we are to use the term blindly, meaning imperfectly, then we must realize that human energy is expended quite as blindly as any other, and we shall see that the author admits it himself in another place.

Although with the development of the human brain, human energy seeks to exert a dominating influence over all other energies, still human brain energy is very far from being supreme over all other energies, and is, therefore, compelled to submit in its own expenditure to the "blind" forces around it. The author's book is an illustration of how human intelligence is groping "blindly" to correlate the reactions caused by its environment. Really, we are all of us expending our energies in accord with our natural, social, and individual evolution, which is not expending them blindly, but just as far as we can see. In this

sense, two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen are no more blind in forming water, than a mole is in digging its tunnel through the upper strata of the soil, or Columbus in discovering America.

A similar criticism also applies to the author's statement on page 12 that "there is not much co-operation among men, less among animals, practically none whatever in physical, inorganic nature. Nature is the most extravagant organization imaginable, the most wasteful." All this has been dinned into our ears again and again, in the same breath with the statement that nature expends its energies along the line of least resistance. But such statements are but proofs of the incompleteness of our evolution. We, an infinitesimally small part of nature, are finding fault with nature for not doing things the way we think they should be done. And in so doing, we are simply following certain stimuli which are the result of the evolution of nature and which point to our ascendancy over certain other parts of nature. But in our further evolution we shall find that there is no waste, and what seems like waste to us now was necessary and economical for its own time and place. As for co-operation, all nature is constantly co-operating, all forms of life are but links in the universal division of labor. A study of biology would soon convince the author that there is quite a wide-spread co-operation among animals and plants, and as for universal co-operation, it is sufficient to quote Darwin's drastic illustration of clover, bumble bees, field mice, cats, and old maids.

If the author should object to this criticism on the ground that he had reference to "conscious" and premeditated co-operation, I ask him to explain the difference in consciousness shown by the co-operation of ants, of bees, of wolves hunting together, of monkeys helping one another to ford a stream, of buffaloes crowding around their cows and calves for defense, and of human beings building a bridge. And if he can show me that there is more than a difference in degree due to a longer evolution and a consequent transformation of the morphological structure and internal and external environment, I shall be deeply grateful to him. But I do not see how he can offer any better explanation of the difference in consciousness than that given by him on page 20, where he says that "in the theory of evolution, the selective operation of external (I add and internal) conditions on chemical compounds, plants, animals, and social forms, whereby variations that are advantageous in a certain environment in the struggle for existence become perpetuated in nature, the species, or the race, is natural selection." The human mind is the product of natural selection, the same as every other form of matter or form of expenditure of energy.

The author describes very well how human brain conscious-

ness is produced. "In the course of time," he says on page 49. "the pictures of nature, vibrated into the brain tissues, through the senses, following the law of repetition and the law of natural selection, become a miniature nature, a mirror of real nature, so that the highest organization of matter—man—may have within himself a knowledge of all nature which is both beneficial and hurtful to him, to be used by him as a guide in real nature." I have little to criticize in this description, except the term *law* and the reference to man's knowledge of *all* nature. The human brain cannot encompass all nature, because it is only a part of nature and the part can never know the whole. But it can know enough of the whole to become its controlling factor. And the more it knows about itself the better it will be able to control its environment, the better it will be able to choose what vibrations shall react on itself.

The machinery of the human soul consists of the sum total of all the organs and tissues of the body, and its reactions on internal and external stimuli constitute the life of the soul. It is no more wonderful that one part of the brain should be conscious of the stimuli received by another part of itself, than that it should be conscious of stimuli received from other parts of its body or from the environment outside of its body. As the author very aptly remarks: "The registered impressions in the form of the ego watch the internal energies making some new impression and the new impression is as much ourselves as is our ego, and we recognize it as such, although heretofore not being able to explain the phenomenon. . . . Self-consciousness is nothing more than registered impressions of one's vitality receiving another impression of one's vitality." But the same can be said of the consciousness of every particle of matter. If we say that a stone is not conscious of its environment and cannot reason, we cannot mean anything else than that it has not the same consciousness as the human brain and cannot correlate reactions to the same extent that we can. But it can register reactions and correlate them to an extent corresponding with its physical constitution and environment. There is nothing else to explain, unless we look for something transcendental in the human brain, something which cannot be explained in terms of materialist monism. Every logical advocate of materialist monism will deny that there is anything in the universe which this monism cannot explain more satisfactorily than any metaphysics.

I cannot here discuss all the doubtful statements made by the author, and must be content to pass on to the following, on page 107: "The human race for untold ages overran the earth as animals incapable of social organization," which stands in marked contrast to the following one on page 116: "Happily for the human race, man's primitive ancestor was not simply an intel-

lectual being, but one singularly fitted for social organization as our civilization attests." And these two statements, again, will be hard to reconcile with the following on page 110: "Man to-day is essentially a social being, and was so long before he had evolved into the highest primate, but society did not begin until *Pithecanthropus erectus* began placing external energies in service to himself; then it was that he began placing his fellow man in service also; and from this sheer individualism grew indirectly man's social forms of today."

In the first place, man was not man until he became man. Animals that overran the earth before the highest primate developed was not man, neither was this primate himself man. Whatever may be said of the social qualities of those animals and of that primate, in the environment of their period, will offer very doubtful clues for the estimate of the social qualities of primitive man. It is illogical in the extreme to speak of a human race not composed of men and supposed to have been social long before *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and yet at the same time incapable of social organization. Furthermore, *Pithecanthropus erectus* was not the first organic being that placed external energies into its service or co-operated with its fellows. Every organism is placing external energies into its service, because, being a part of the whole universe, it cannot exist without the interaction of the rest of the universe. And social organization of some form appears in inorganic and organic forms of a very low order, for instance among crystals and corals. In fact it is a survival of dualistic reasoning to attempt to fix the historical beginning of anything in the world. A true monistic philosophy knows that things develop gradually and almost imperceptibly, and that it is impossible for any human intellect to determine, for instance, the exact historical moment when any new species springs into being. The only correct and scientific statement which we can make in regard to the social organization of the primates and earliest man is that we know nothing definite about them. We know very little even of the social habits of the primates now existing. Much less can we attempt to make any such definite statements as those of our author about the social life of primeval primates. But if we confine ourselves to historical man, we find that even the most primitive types are social, in many respects more so than modern man, and we shall labor in vain to discover any trace of "sheer individualism" anywhere in the world, except in the narrow imagination of the "individualists."

But of course, it is quite in order to point out that social organization and the consequent development of what the author calls social and moral senses is older than human society. Only it then devolves on us to exactly define what we mean by moral and social senses. But we look in vain for a consistent conception

of these senses in the author's book. He links morality closely to religion, and yet he has more than one passage to prove that morality and religion have never had any such historical connection as his conception would presuppose. Neither is he consistent in his conception of morality. In one place he speaks of it as an evolutionary product, brought about by natural selection, and in another place we read: "Nature outside of human life is immoral" (page 119). Or, again, "Morality is nowhere found outside of human life. Primitive man knew nothing of it." Yet he ignores the function of class struggles in developing moral and social senses, and contents himself with declaring that "the only hope of the race is in scientific moral and social senses."

What are scientific moral and social senses, and how are they produced? According to Spencer, a moral man is one who is perfectly adapted to his environment. But since man is a product of nature, all other products of nature must be moral, provided they are perfectly adapted to their environment. In this sense, a perfectly adapted rose, or a perfectly adapted lion, are as moral as a perfectly adapted man. The author's attempt to assign to man alone moral senses is, therefore, unscientific.

The Spencerian formula, however, is ambiguous. If interpreted by reactionary professors, it means that the working class in order to be moral, must adapt itself to its position in the capitalist system and obey its masters. In the revolutionary interpretation, on the other hand, it means that the working class must become aware of the changes in the economic basis of society, recognize its historical mission, and control the political power for the organization of a social environment in which all men will be workers and in which all humanity will be perfectly adapted to its environment and therefore perfectly moral. In other words, humanity cannot become conscious of its mission in cosmic evolution as the directing and controlling factor, until the working class has become conscious of its historical mission in social evolution and fulfilled it. So that the Spencerian formula, at the present historical period, is expressed by the socialist formula: Through class-consciousness to race consciousness.

But here the peculiar environment of our author asserts itself. Instead of looking to the historical action of classes for a solution, he looks for a new religion which will accomplish the realization of his ideal regardless of class lines, by social regeneration and universal salvation. So he says on page 416: "The great dynamic to accomplish social perfection on earth is religion," and on page 394: "Whether or not the reformer proselytes, or the conservative persecutes, it matters not, the natural action, inter-action and reaction of the factors of nature, physical, organic and social, will inevitably end in a perfect social organism just as the factors of organic nature have produced the animal

organism as we see it today." He does not see that the proselyting of the reformer and the persecuting of the conservative are as inevitable reactions on certain stimuli of definite environments as any other reaction in the universe. Even his universal religion, supposing that it should be the dynamic force which would logically and dialectically follow from present social evolution, could not exert its influence without the action of human minds on others, without proselyting and persecuting. But since we live in a class environment today, and human minds must reflect the stimuli of the environment in which they live, the historical development of class struggles is inevitable and they are the dynamic force in present social evolution. Whoever shuts his eyes to this truth lacks scientific understanding. If religion is to be the dynamic force in the coming social reorganization, and if scientific moral and social senses are to guide humanity, it can at present be only the religion of the class struggle, the moral sense which hates wage slavery, the social sense which links the members of one class together against the members of another class for the defense of their own class interests. Nothing else can logically develop out of the present social environment. The universal social and moral senses, the universal religion, of which the author speaks, will not be the dynamic force of the social revolution, but the product of the environment which the victorious proletariat will be compelled from historical necessities to create after the termination of class struggles.

While in the foregoing statements, the author overestimates the importance of the economic and material environment, he underestimates it in the following statement on page 3: "The quality of life of a given person, ourselves for instance, depends upon his theory of things far more than the accidents of every day life. The economic basis of society is determined by man's theory of things." But man's theory of things is as much an "accident of every day life" as the economic basis of society. And in another place the author informs us that the present system did not grow by the conscious design of the capitalist class, that social organizations grow as do all evolutionary products of the world, "along the line of least resistance," and that "in the history of the race those tribes which expend their energies in the most economic manner possible survived in the struggle for existence and perpetuated their kind. The same is true of nations" (page 113). And again, on page 456, we read that the capitalist system "grew up unconsciously and exists today because of the struggle for existence between nation and nation capitalism expends human energy more economically than any other form of industry yet devised by the race."

But he quickly forgets the line of least resistance and the most economic expenditure of energies on page 116: "The de-

velopment we see today in civilization is not the result of one season's love, nor one year's peace; but instead of countless centuries of conflict, indefinite essays of ebbing and flowing humanity, pushing this way, pulling that way, ceaseless migrations from the south to the north, from east to west, persistent intermingling of blood and ideas, the spending of centuries in following some *ignis fatuus* of the mind, never being in a hurry to do what is right and never doing anything sensible because it is sensible, stagnating as a dammed-up stream, then bursting as a flood in revolution, even making the vagaries of the insane fundamental philosophy—what an infinite waste of human energy!" And on page 460 we read: "The present capitalist class either dissipates the vast wealth entrusted to it by society on private follies, vices and luxury, or it uses it to keep up vast nobilities, plutocracies and idle classes, resulting in the poverty of the people through useless and wicked wars and preparations for wars, including the world's pernicious military systems of endless armies and ever increasing navies." . . . In short, we see between the lines that even the expenditure of energy along the line of least resistance and with the greatest economy possible at a certain historical period may still look like infinite waste to the minds of later periods, and therefore it would have been well for the author to state these truths in a language better adapted to evolutionary thought.

Vacillating between economic determinism and idealist rationalism, the author cannot come to any other conclusion than that "To millions of thinkers a social revolution, similar to the French Revolution, seems inevitable. It will not come. The orientation of the race will be effected by peace instead of war; by education, not by force; by ballots, not by bullets. The change to be made is not so radical after all. It is not a change in institutions so much as a change in the kind of facts that are to produce religion." There is very little in this statement that is true to monistic materialism, very little that is scientific. It is a mere speculative prediction. The change to be made cannot come without education, to that I agree. But education itself may result in force, in spite of our peaceful intentions, because the capitalist class may oppose our peaceful education by military despotism. They are doing so already. And all the facts at present point to a violent class struggle in all parts of the capitalist world. The only fact that will produce a new religion which will be life itself, is a change in the economic and political institutions by the class struggle of the modern proletariat. And the only monistic philosophy worth knowing for the race at present is the socialist philosophy.

In spite of its contradictions and inconsistencies, the book leaves an impression which is decidedly antagonistic to conserva-

tive modes of reasoning. It will not fail to elicit vigorous protests from the camps of the dualistic and metaphysical thinkers, provided they do not try to kill it by silence.

The author has gone deeply into the things which are vital to the human race, and read many authors with understanding and evident benefit to himself. But his reading did not lead him to that source of light which would have enabled him to correlate the ideas of the various authors under one common conception wide enough to include and explain them all. This source is the literature on historical materialism created by the modern socialist movement. If he had grasped the meaning of the socialist philosophy and coupled this understanding with his great earnestness, his lofty conception of human relationships, and the sincere warmth which pervades his book from cover to cover, he would have created a work of epoch-making value. As it is, he will not accomplish as much as he might have done, for the reactionary thinkers will consider his book too revolutionary, and the revolutionary movement of the modern proletariat will not be able to use his book freely on account of its shortcomings. Still, we cannot help extending the hand of welcome to the author. Among the thinkers of the revolutionary proletariat alone will he find appreciation and a thorough understanding of the means by which that ideal may be and must be realized in which he believes as well as we do.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

The International Congress.

SO far as we are able to learn from the dispatches so far sent the resolution on colonial politics submitted by Hyndman and demanding the self-government of India was adopted, as were also resolutions against the Colorado outrage. The main debate of the congress took place on the 19th and 20th on the question of tactics. The resolution which was finally adopted seems to have been identical with the one adopted at the Dresden congress of the German Social Democracy and which was submitted to the International Congress by the *Parti Socialiste de France* and which is published in this number. This resolution was supported by Bebel and various other delegates while the opposition was led by Jaures. The final vote taken by countries, as are all votes in the International Congress, showed twenty-five for and five votes against. The votes for were those of Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Spain, America, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland and Russia. The vote against was composed of some of the British Colonies, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Jauresists of France, and Norway. Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland and Argentina refused to vote.

Resolutions were also adopted on the question of the May Day celebration and instructing the socialists to take advantage of the trust movement to urge the socialization of industry.

RESOLUTION ON TACTICS.

The Congress approves of the socialist parliamentary group exercising its right to occupy the positions of vice-president and secretary, by presenting its own candidates, but it refuses to submit to obligations of difference toward the Court, or to brook any condition whatever not imposed by the constitutional statute.

The Congress condemns most energetically the revisionist attempts, in the direction of changing our tried and victorious tactics based on the class struggle, and of replacing the conquest of the public powers through the supreme struggle with the bourgeoisie by a policy of concession to the established order.

The consequence of such revisionist tactics would be to change us from a party seeking the swiftest possible transformation of bourgeois society into socialist society—from a party consequently revolutionary in the best sense of the word—into a party contenting itself with the reform of bourgeois society.

Therefore the Congress, convinced, contrary to the present revisionist tendencies, that class antagonisms, far from diminishing, are intensifying, declares:

1. That the party disclaims any responsibility whatever for

the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and consequently could not approve any methods tending to maintain the ruling class in power;

2. That the social democracy could accept no share in the government within the capitalist society, as was definitely declared by the Kautsky resolution adopted by the international congress of Paris in 1900.

The Congress moreover condemns any attempt made to veil the ever growing class antagonism, for the purpose of facilitating an understanding with the bourgeois parties.

The Congress looks to the socialist parliamentary group to avail itself of its increased power—increased both by the greater number of its members and by the substantial growth of the body of electors behind it—to persevere in its propaganda toward the final goal of socialism, and, conformably to our program, to defend most resolutely the interests of the working class, the extension and consolidation of its political liberties, to demand equality of rights for all; to continue, with more energy than ever, the struggle against militarism, against the colonial and imperialistic policy, against all manner of injustice, slavery and exploitation, and, finally, to set itself energetically to improve social legislation and to make it possible for the working class to accomplish its political, its civilizing, mission.

(Socialist Party of France.)

WORKINGMEN'S INSURANCE.

The following resolutions were submitted to the Congress for action:

Whereas, the laborers, under the capitalist society, receive a wage scarcely sufficient to cover the most pressing necessities of life during the time they are working, while they are destined to poverty and misery when once they are prevented from utilizing their labor power, whether by illness, accident, impaired health, old age or lock-outs, or in the case of women, when they are prevented from working by pregnancy or maternity; and

Whereas, every man has the right to live and society has an evident interest in conserving his labor power, it is necessary to establish institutions designed to obviate the misery of the laborers and to prevent the loss of labor power caused by it.

The laborers of all countries ought, therefore, to demand insurance laws by means of which they may obtain the right to receive sufficient assistance during the time when it is impossible for them to avail themselves of their own labor power by reason of illness, accident, failing health, old age, pregnancy, maternity or lock-outs.

The laborers should demand that the institutions for their insurance be put under the control of the insured themselves, and

that the same conditions be accorded for the laborers of the country and for foreigners of all nations.

(German Social Democracy.)

GENERAL STRIKE.

Whereas, it results from the impartial examination of the economic and political events which in these last years have brought the proletariat of the several countries into conflict with different forms of capitalist exploitation;

That the different nationalities, in their respective socialist organizations, have been led to use the weapon of the general strike as being the most effective measure to attain the triumph of the working class demands, or to provide for the defense of their public liberties.

Whereas, these examples indicate how in all acute crises the instinctive sense of the working class turns naturally toward the general strike, as apparently one of the most powerful and realizable means in its reach;

The Revolutionary Socialist Labor party calls upon the international Congress at Amsterdam to stimulate in all the nations represented at the Congress the study of the rational and methodical organization of the international general strike, which, without being the sole means of revolution, constitutes a weapon of emancipation which no conscious socialist has the right to despise or to disparage.

It is enough to ask ourselves frankly this question: Is the general strike capable of becoming an effective weapon in the hands of the laborers?

We answer resolutely, Yes!

By a division of the French Socialist Party.

COLONIAL POLITICS.

The International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam declares that social democrats are obliged to take a definite attitude regarding colonial policies for the following reasons:

1. Historical development has given to several countries colonies, economically bound by close ties to their mother country, politically unaccustomed to self-government, so that it would be impossible to leave them to themselves, if only from the point of view of international relations.

2. Modern capitalism is pushing civilized countries on to continuous expansion, both to open new outlets for their products and to find fields for the easy increase of their capital. This policy of conquest, often joined with crimes and pillage, having no other aim than to quench the capitalists' insatiable thirst for gold, and forcing ever growing expenditures for the increase of militarism, must be opposed implacably. It is this which leads

nations along the road of protectionism and of chauvinism, constituting a perpetual means of international conflicts, and above all, aggravating the crushing burden on the proletariat, and retarding its emancipation.

3. The new wants which will make themselves felt after the victory of the working class and from the time of its economic emancipation, will make necessary, even under the socialist system of the future, the possession of colonies. Modern countries can no longer dispense with countries furnishing certain raw materials and tropical products indispensable to the industry and the needs of humanity, until such time as these can be produced by the exchange of the products of home industry and commerce.

The Social Democratic party, which has economic development and the class struggle as the foundations of its political action, and which, in conformity with its principle, its aim and its tendencies, severely condemns all exploitation and oppression of individuals, classes and nations, accepts the following rules to define its colonial policy:

Capitalism being an inevitable stage of economic evolution which the colonies also must traverse, it will be necessary to make room for the development of industrial capitalism, even by sacrificing, if necessary, the old forms of property (communal or feudal).

But at the same time, the Social Democracy should struggle with all its strength against the degenerating influence of this capitalist development upon the colonial proletariat, and so much the more because it may be foreseen that the latter will not be capable of struggling for itself.

With a view to improving the condition of the laborers, as well as to prevent all the profits being taken away from the colonies, thus impoverishing them, the operation by the State of suitable industries will be useful or necessary, in conjunction with the operation of others by private parties. This will serve alike to hasten the process of capitalist development and to improve the social status of the native laborer.

It will then be the duty of the Social Democracy to favor the organization of the modern proletariat in all countries where it shall arise, to increase its strength of resistance in its struggle against capitalism, and, by raising its wages, to avert for the old capitalist countries the dangers of the murderous competition of the cheap labor of these primitive peoples.

To lift up the natives with a view to democratic self-government should be the supreme aim of our colonial policy, the details of which will be elaborated in a national programme for each particular colonial group.

In view of these considerations the Amsterdam Congress holds that it is the duty of the socialist parties of all countries:

1. To oppose by all means in their power the policy of capitalist conquest.
2. To formulate in a programme the rules to be followed in their colonial policy, based on the principles enunciated in this resolution.

Holland Socialist Party.

COLONIAL RESOLUTION.

Resolved, that this Congress, made up of delegates from the laborers of the whole civilized world:

After listening to representatives of England and of India, pointing out how the British government, by pillaging and draining continually more and more the resources of the people, deliberately causes extreme poverty, and inflicts the scourge of famines and privations, on an ever greater scale, upon more than 200,000,000 inhabitants of the English possessions in India—appeals to the laborers of Great Britain that they insist upon their government's abandoning the present execrable and disgraceful system, and establishing self-government, in the best form practicable, by the Hindus themselves (under English sovereignty).

By Hyndman of England.

Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer.

LETTER NO. III.

Chicago, Ill., May —, 190—.

My Dear Katherine:

Mr. King has gone down to Savannah to straighten out a sweet-pickled-spoiled-meat-scandal, and so I am helping first in one department, and then in another, wherever a stenographer is ill, or work is heavy; and, while it brings one down to very fine trim, and excellent speed, it is nerve racking, to say the least.

At present I am temporarily installed in the Legal Department, otherwise known among the employes (because of the depravity of their methods) as the "Skin Department." There is also a Hide Department, but we never confuse the two, as their functions are quite dissimilar. In the Hide Department Men skin HOGS, and in the Legal Department, Hogs skin MEN.

I have been here only a few days, and the things I could write on the Legal Department would fill a book. I believe I have learned more on the ways and means of corporation success in this, than I have learned in all the other departments where I have worked.

The Legal Department naturally includes also the Accident Department. In the case of the slightest accident that may happen to an employe, it is the duty of this division to immediately take affidavits from all those present, who witnessed, and who did *not* witness, the accident. They all swear, in order to hold their jobs, to whatever is requested of them; that the machinery was in perfect repair, whether it was or not, and that the accident was due to the man's own personal carelessness.

I had occasion to write the "statement" of a deaf and dumb man—a "bumper," they called him—who had never laid eyes on the paper until he was called in to sign and swear to it. It is the customary way. The statements are outlined, and the men are always ready to affirm all that is stated therein.

There is always the foreman of the department, who is on the side his salary comes from, and the corporation doctor, ditto; besides the injured man himself, who is usually so badly in need of money that he would sign away his hope in Heaven for ten or twenty dollars in hard cash. Very often the son of the injured man is given a place on the plant, and his daughter a place in the sausage factory, in order to obtain a release on a clear case of liability. The doctor is friendly, and the attorneys kind, unless the claimant shows a disposition to demand justice. And he is given every conceivable method, except a written one, to

understand that as long as the Graham plant runs, he will continue in the service of his masters, no matter how disabled he may be. And many of them sign purely on their faith in the security of their future jobs. This, of course, is merely a ruse on the part of the Legal Department, and at the first excuse the disabled man is "laid off."

Last month over four hundred accidents occurred on the Graham plant, and only two of the men injured have brought suit. And I heard the attorneys say it would be a very easy matter to either bluff or force these men to drop them.

It seems that none of the other packers in the combine will give one of them, who is a poultry "picker" and is in urgent need of money, a job. The father of the other man is a retail butcher, to whom the combine has raised its prices, and made strictly c. o. d. terms, and to whom they will, if necessary, absolutely refuse to sell meat. So you see they are not worried over their inability to get these young men into line.

"The Workingmen of America," said Doctor Hughes, in the Sunday paper, "are an extravagant and improvident class." Of course! They should have *saved* their money when they retained all four of their limbs! One of them received \$9.00 a week, and only had four children! I wonder why he didn't lay up a few thousand against a "rainy day!"

Yesterday a despairing workman, who had been injured through the falling of one of the freight elevators, muttered something about a "damage" suit when the attorneys offered him \$20.00 as compensation for the loss of his foot. They smiled pityingly upon him and said, "Don't you know, my man, that your case will never come up?" Then they turned their backs upon him, and seemed lost in other matters. And this morning the same workman came in *anxious* to sign the release for the sum that he yesterday scorned.

They tell me there is in Kansas City a judge who has never rendered a decision against a corporation. Think of it—a judge over men, elected by the workingman—and throwing all his influence as well as his decisions for the benefit of the Rich! But of such are the courts.

We received a letter from our ——— Texas house yesterday, enclosing a "bad debt" for collection, along with a statement of the year's sales, aggregating \$2,800,325.89, of which this debt of \$102.35 represented the total loss on accounts upon their books. So you see that any money Father Graham *risks* in this business is a very small percentage of one per cent.

When Graham & Company invest one dollar (which covers the price paid to the stockman for cattle, rents, taxes, interest—6 per cent to the banker—labor on the plant and in the offices, the expenses of selling and collecting) they add 50 or 60 per

cent as profits, and charge the retail butcher \$1.60 for meat costing them one dollar. The dealer, of course, pays the freight—probably 10 cents—which makes his meat cost him \$1.70. He then adds 50 per cent of his investment (or 85 cents) in selling to the consumer (which must cover shrinkage, rent, assistants, losses—which usually amount to about 15 per cent—and *profits*). The consumer pays then \$2.55 for meat that actually *costs* (all profit deducted) only about 60 or 65 cents.

These observations cause one to wonder why the "Legal" rate of interest permitted to banks, should not be applied to interest (or profits made) upon all money invested in business enterprises as well. Surely 50 per cent is robbery! The customer is not getting the worth of his money, nor the employe the value of his labor!

But I know not if it be any the less stealing to take a man's vest than it is to take his whole suit. If 50 per cent profits are robbery, what are 5 per cent profits?

Of course, I know the man owns the whole suit, but since this is a stealing game, he would rather we took only his vest. He CAN get along without it, but the weather is cold and he needs the coat and trousers. But Papa Graham, and Sylvia, and Sylvia's count will never be content until they kill the Goose that Lays the Golden Egg.

One of the girls left yesterday to get married. She was thirty-two years old, and had worked for the company twelve years. She confessed to us very frankly that she had made up her mind to accept the first man who could offer her a home, and when that man happened to be all she had previously despised, she fixed her thoughts on the joys of a steady income, and decided to marry the business.

All the girls, I am sure, would like to marry. And a great many men also, but there are few of them who earn salaries large enough to support a wife, and so the girls sigh alone, and the young men go to the dogs.

Women do marry—a smaller percentage every year—and generally for a home. And there are occasionally those who put their "Trust in Providence" and start in on \$12.00 a week; but they soon learn that Providence does NOT provide, and that existence based upon the things one can live without, is not the best foundation upon which to build a happy home. And now and then there is still a happy, comfortable love match, like the love stories of fifty years ago, but the majority are the thousands of Marys waiting for the thousands of Teddies—and the increase in salary that never comes.

So you see, I am no different from the rest. But I have seen too many of the "trusting" kind come to grief to care to bring children into the world, to fight the dreadful battle of life,

at this uncertain stage of civilization. And I think the man who goes about spouting a "Multiply and replenish the earth" doctrine, as long as men are not certain that their children will have plenty to eat and wear, good health, and an education—a chance for happiness—is a fool! He would better spend his efforts in bringing about a society that would be fit to bring little children up in.

I see by the papers that Old John Graham is trying to lay the blame upon the workingman for the present high prices on beef. Coal, he also says, is 10 cents per bull higher than it was a year ago. This would, you can easily see, make a vast difference in the cost of a 1,000 pound animal. But his principal howl is about the greedy, greedy workingman, who is getting from 5 per cent to 10 per cent more in wages than he was a year ago. But he forgets to tell the papers of the innumerable methods employed to increase the output of the individual workman, until, in most cases, wages have decreased in proportion to the number of cattle they are compelled to handle now compared to the number they prepared two years ago.

Every day some new way is devised to eliminate some portion of the salary account in the various departments in the offices. They tell me that book-keepers rarely receive more than \$50.00 per month—about one-half what they were able to demand fifteen years ago. One of the inspectors came around through all the offices last week and discharged from three to five in every department, merely adding a little extra work to the burdens of the "fortunates" who were retained.

Gradually the Accounting, the Credit and Branch House Departments are being removed from Kansas City and established here in Chicago. W———— & Company have already laid off almost their entire force in certain departments in Kansas City, which can be managed just as well from the Chicago offices. And it is being whispered about that Graham & Company will soon incorporate similar proceedings.

All the incapable, the useless and outworn, are being daily discarded by Packingtown, under the new and invincible system of combination—all save, Sylvia, and John Graham, and Pierpont—and the other equally useless factors, who are reaping the benefits of the latest scientific step, which is evolving in the Industrial World to-day.

Mr. Robinson (attorney-in-chief) has just come in accompanied by a gang of workmen who were present at an accident where one of "our stickers" was killed. This makes the third man killed on the plant to-day. There will be affidavits galore, so no more for to-day. Will tell you more of the department in my next letter.

Write often to your

Loving

MARY L. MARCY.

EDITORIAL

Forward.

Last month it was still the Socialist "opportunity." There was still much question in our mind as to whether the class conscious laborers of America were capable of rising to the heights demanded by the tremendous opportunity that lay before them. There was so evident an attempt on the part of the capitalists to have a "safe and sane" campaign which should prevent any expression of the discontent, which exists on every hand, that we feared even the Socialists might not be able to shake off the prevailing lethargy. But the weeks that have passed since then have brought an ever growing story of new and renewed activity. From every corner of the country comes reports that that locality is moving toward Socialism faster than any other part of the United States; each organizer that comes in is certain that his field is more thoroughly ripe for the harvest than any other; each union man reports that his union is coming towards Socialism the fastest of all. Each one, comparing present evolution with the past, fancies he is comparing his immediate surroundings with other contemporary ones.

It is certain that this year the Socialist vote will be limited only by the number of working class voters that Socialists are able to reach. The old party politicians all admit that their heelers everywhere report an increased interest in Socialism. The workers are ready to read and listen. It is our business to supply the literature and the speakers. It is time for sacrifice of time, energy and money on the part of every man and woman who call themselves a Socialist. Do not let any subscription blank or call for funds or personal help go by without giving of your utmost.

From all over the country come reports that show that Socialists are rising to the occasion. The national office is the seat of an activity so many fold greater than that of any previous campaign as to practically admit of no comparison. The leaflets, posters, pamphlets, etc., are being poured out in much greater quantities and of much better quality than in any previous year.

Both presidential candidates are engaged in an active personal campaign. Comrade Debs opened the campaign at Indianapolis September 1 with the speech published elsewhere in this issue. From there he goes to Louisville and Cincinnati, and then to Erie, Pa., for Labor Day. On the 6th he is to address an immense meeting in New York city, after which he moves

through the South into Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas, up to Kansas City and west to the Pacific coast. He returns to Chicago on the 17th, where he and Hanford address the only meeting at which both candidates will be present. Preparations are being made to make this the largest political meeting ever held in Chicago. Comrades Wentworth, Spargo, Brown, Work, Carey, Wilkins, Bigelow, McKee, Towner and Goebel are all working under the national organization in various parts of the country.

In addition to this many of the states are carrying on campaigns only a little less extensive than that of the national. Illinois has three men in the field and expects to put several more as election draws near. Many of the other states have one or more organizers regularly employed and some have a number of speakers aside from those furnished from the national office who are working most of the time. The national office reports thirty speakers having been placed by it for Labor Day. The efforts of the Citizens' Alliance in preventing the celebration of Labor Day have been somewhat effective in small towns, but where celebrations are held there is a strong tendency to call for Socialist speakers.

The epidemic of strikes which seems to be on throughout the country is bound to afford a great opportunity for Socialist propaganda and consequent increase in the Socialist vote. In the stock yards strike, especially, there has been a most remarkable growth in Socialist sentiment. Hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature have been distributed and several street meetings are held each day, with audiences only limited by the strength of the speaker's voice. The officers of the union and thousands of the men have declared their intention of voting the Socialist ticket this year. The recent deportations in Colorado, the building strike in New York, and the struggle of the cotton operatives in Fall River are all being taken advantage of in the same way and with a similar result.

The capitalist papers are beginning to be frightened at the growth of Socialist sentiment. Three of the great dailies of Chicago devote a column or more to the rapid growth of Socialism in the United States in their issues of August 28. Old party politicians admit that their workers throughout the country agree in reporting that the only party that is increasing everywhere is the Socialist Party.

It would seem that at last the workers of America were awakened. We are not of those who are predicting "Socialism in 1908," but we do believe that the vote on next November will be so large as to focus the attention of the working class on Socialism, and that during the next four years this nation will go to school to Socialism.

The next number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will be one of those numbers that every Socialist will want to see and preserve. In the first place we expect to have a full report of the proceedings of the International Congress so far as it is not covered by the present number. This will include a summary of the views of the various Socialist papers on the work on the Congress and a discussion of its

work. But the principal thing that will make it of value will be the estimate which will be presented of the strength of the Socialist movement in the United States at the present time. Over three hundred letters like the one given below have been sent out to various comrades located in all parts of the country. The persons addressed include all state secretaries, numerous organizers, editors of party papers and the secretaries of local branches. The replies will be carefully compiled and placed in such a manner as to give a most complete survey of the entire situation. Following is the letter sent:

"Dear Comrade: In order that the Socialists may have as accurate information as possible concerning the present political situation the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is asking for the following information from a number of comrades who are in a position to be especially informed concerning the situation in their locality. The answers will be placed at the disposal of the Nationals Office the S. P. as soon as compiled and will be published in the October issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Their value depends entirely upon their completeness and accuracy. The inquiries have been carefully distributed so as to cover the entire country. Will you not see that no vacancy in the returns is caused by your neglect? In answering the questions conservatism is better than boasting, and the truth better than either. Do not write from your hopes but from your knowledge. Remembering these things, will you please give in as condensed form as possible a statement of the outlook in your locality, compared with four years ago, in the following respects:

"1. Agitation. (a) Speaking. (b) Literature.

"2. Party organization.

"3. Probable vote. (Give political division for which you estimate.)

"4. What officials is there a probability of electing?

"All replies *should* be in by September 20th, and *must* be in by the 25th."

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

At least one jurisdiction controversy has been settled. After several months of negotiating and favorable referendum votes in both organizations, the International Association of Machinists and the Allied Metal Mechanics have settled their differences and the latter body has been absorbed by the machinists. The I. A. of M. will now have a combined membership of over 100,000 men and will be one of the largest nationals in the A. F. of L. There was never any good reason for separate organization among the metal mechanics, and there are several other nationals that ought to be merged or federated with the machinists. Thanks to the activity of employers' combines, the workers in many of the trades are beginning to appreciate the senseless policy of maintaining distinct organizations for the purpose of hugging the delusion of "autonomy" and independence, and thus giving comfort to the master class by engaging in suicidal jurisdiction wrangles. The rank and file are inquiring why their unions and jobs should be endangered by the quarrels of their leaders in the foolhardy attempt to maintain a system that was no doubt effective before machinery became as highly developed and capital as thoroughly concentrated as at present. They are beginning to recognize that "industrialism"—wherein the workers of an entire industry are centralized in one powerful body—is the proper method of organization in this day of close combination of capital, and that the Socialists, who are accused of being industrialists, are not so very wrong after all. The old jurisdictional controversies between the brewers and engineers and firemen, the carpenters and woodworkers and other bodies are still pending. As usual, they will come up in the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. and be discussed and be referred to committees and arbitrators for another year. The only thing that will put horse sense into the swollen heads of some of the "leaders" is a good pounding from the organized capitalists. And that is coming rapidly enough.

Hardly a trade union exists that has not felt the iron boot during the past couple of months, and while the officials appear to be, and probably are, docile and weak, the rank and file, who, in the final analysis, are compelled to bear the whole burden of unfavorable conditions, are beginning to get a pretty clear understanding of the whole situation. It will be recalled that shortly after the Boston A. F. of L. convention, last November, President Gompers loftily declared, in a communication to a western paper, the splendid manner in which the Socialist element was flattened out in historic old Faneuil Hall did much to "withdraw the sting of antagonism" from the Parryites and other enemies of labor. The ink was hardly dry on the paper that contained this presumptuous and happy prediction when the "stinger" of the capitalists began to do business in the same old way—in fact, after the wicked Socialists had been knocked about for daring to express views that were hostile to the fossilized opinions of the so-called "pure and simple" officials and the class interests of the capitalists the plutes began to work their "stinger" overtime. The master

class did not seem to care a rap whether the conservative brethren served notice that unions are not socialistic, and that, therefore, those who owned the least land and capital and jobs were in no danger of being disturbed by those who questioned their right of being the industrial and political monarchs of the nation. Attacks upon the trade unions became more pronounced than ever, and reductions of wages and working forces, strikes and lockouts, boycotts and blacklists, military and judicial oppression and an open-shop agitation that has swept all over the country has thrown the industrial system into a chaotic condition never before experienced in this country. The miners were the first called upon to work for less money, and despite their threats to order a general suspension they were compelled to accept a cut of $5\frac{1}{2}$ percent. But this is not all; the operators in some of the competitive districts, notwithstanding all their talk about workmen violating agreements, are establishing preferentials to suit themselves, and the $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent reduction has been doubled and almost trebled in some instances. There are also attempts being made to enforce the open-shop scheme in Illinois, Alabama, Colorado and Pennsylvania, and upward of a hundred thousand men were compelled to strike against the unbearable conditions that the operators sought to impose. Then came the demand of the vessel owners that the longshoremen accept a cut and they hearkened unto the command and allowed their wages to be slashed 7 per cent, and at that work is very unsteady. The captains and mates felt the sting in a manner that destroyed their organization and the open shop now exists as far as they are concerned, their strike having been lost. The textile workers, although having accepted a cut of 10 per cent last fall just at the time when the conservative officials reassured the country that they would have nothing to do with Socialism, were notified of still another reduction of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and in sheer desperation went out on strike at Fall River, preferring to live upon charity or starve outside of the mills rather than in the shambles. The marble workers in Vermont were forced to resist some new innovations introduced by Senator Proctor, "the workingman's friend," that would do credit to the most adept labor skinner, and the strike was ordered all over the country on jobs of Proctor, who is pretty much of a monopolist. The iron and steel workers were assured that they could subsist upon lower wages, and the trust magnates slashed into their full dinner pails from 25 to 70 per cent. Besides the reduction, the men are resisting the open shop in the mills of Carnegie, the Homestead hero and candidate for president of the National Civic Federation. In New York the building trades were singled out for their annual smashing, just as though the bosses never heard about the sting of antagonism having been withdrawn, and nearly fifty thousand men were thrown upon the street. The iron ore miners up the lakes and their already low wage were given a further trimming, and the papermakers were also up against a hard fight for reduction of wages and open shop. The great strike of butchers in Chicago and other parts of the country against wage cutting needs no explanation; the struggles of the machinists on the Santa Fe railway and in Chicago and other cities, the strikes of the woodworkers, the general strike of the garment workers in a number of places, the intensified struggle in Colorado, and scores of local battles that have been and are raging in many industrial centers all tend to confirm the view that the capitalists of the nation care nothing about the assurance of certain "labor leaders" to the effect that "the sting of antagonism" between the classes has been withdrawn. The capitalists are not such simpletons that they do not understand their class interests and will not take advantage of every opportunity to fleece their workers, no matter whether they are Republicans, Democrats or Socialists. Fully a million organized workers have been made to feel the lash of capitalism since the Boston convention, and it remains to be seen whether the strike of this million will not be echoed at the ballot-box next November without regards to the fears of our conservative brethren that the capitalists might be

displeased with a warning of what they can expect as a result of their oppressive methods. A million votes for Debs and Hanford will cause the unbridled plutocracy, which forces down wages with one hand and pounds up prices with the other, to pause and think twice before heaping additional burdens upon labor's back. The capitalistic fear that the million would expand into two million would be quite natural, and for that reason every vote for the Socialist party counts not only politically but is of great influence industrially.

The open shop is becoming more and more an issue each day, not only on the industrial field, but politically as well. There is hardly a city or town in the country in which there is not a strike or lockout and this question is paramount. Enormous amounts of money are being spent on both sides and every advantage is seized by capitalists and workers to gain victory. Lately the employers have dragged the question into the courts. The Appellate Court of Illinois has rendered an opinion that the closed shop is unlawful and immoral. This was quickly followed by a similar decision in Milwaukee and later in Brooklyn, N. Y. President Roosevelt is responsible for dragging the question into politics, for which he is already being denounced by the Democratic "workingman's friends," who overlook the fact that in his speech of acceptance Judge Parker declared for the open shop clothed in the usual platitudes about every citizen having the right to work where and when he pleases, etc. The Texas state convention of the Democratic party also went on record in favor of the open shop in similar terms, and it is quite likely that the capitalist politicians in both old parties will juggle with this question as they do with everything in which labor is interested. Every citizen has the right to work where he pleases, when he pleases and for what he pleases when the boss agrees, but not before. That is a great "right," no doubt, and the politicians deserve much credit for making the wonderful discovery.

That Debs and Hanford, the standard-bearers of the Socialist party, will poll a tremendous vote this year is undoubted and admitted by even some of the most partisan leaders in the old parties. To mention every instance that supports this view would require a good many pages of this magazine, and so I can only generalize by declaring that the trade union and Socialist press reflect the situation pretty thoroughly and show that there is great activity everywhere and new converts are coming in at a surprising rate. Many independent papers are supporting the Socialist ticket and new publications are springing up almost every day. In quite a good many industrial centers the boys are taking straw votes as a means of judging the sentiment, and in every case that has come under my observation the Socialist party is making splendid progress. In the unions especially has there been a great revolution of thought during the past few months, and I know of organizations in which it was impossible to speak of Socialism or distribute a leaflet without being subjected to considerable criticism less than six months ago, and today they listen to speeches and grab for literature in a manner that proves that the men are awakening. Of course, the vicious open shop agitation that has spread throughout the length and breadth of the United States, the fierce struggles in Colorado, Chicago, New York and many other places, and the hostile court decisions and legislative enactments all played a part in arousing the labor giant. Then the two old parties and their candidates look so much alike this year that the most hide-bound partisan workingmen do not have the heart to defend them as they did formerly. There is absolutely no enthusiasm among the rank and file of Republican and Democratic voters, and, while it is doubtless true that some ginger will be manufactured by the office-seekers later on in the campaign, it is also true that the Socialists have had a pretty good start already and every day the outlook becomes still brighter. Right here it should be remarked that there is some danger that our movement is growing too rapidly and

that hard work must be done to educate the new converts to a clear understanding of the principles of Socialism. The greatest care must also be exercised in proposing and accepting members into the branches and locals, which can easily be swamped by confusionists and schemers if the bars are thrown down and everybody who is willing to pay dues is invited to join. Every effort should be made to spread Socialist literature, to encourage discussion, and to point out the fact that we are not bothering much as to whether we will sweep the country next November and establish the co-operative commonwealth by Christmas. The "soap-box" fellows ought to state it as emphatically as they can that the Socialist party is not hankering after sentimentalists who will vote with us this year and for some "good man" who leads one of the old parties next year. We want only those voters who know something about Socialism and who will stick and make sacrifices when called upon to do so. Undoubtedly the Socialist party will carry a good many of the smaller towns next November and elect men to fill important positions, and where these are not thoroughly grounded in the fundamental principles of the movement they can do a lot of damage that will react upon and hurt the cause. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, to exercise the utmost care in admitting new members, and to maintain control of the party organization. Let us take warning from the fate of the People's party, which was overwhelmed by a stampede, and, while our lines of organization are different and membership and tactics more homogeneous, still we must take no chances.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Germany.

The recent report of the free unions of Germany, by which is meant those affiliated with the Social Democratic party, shows a most remarkable increase in membership and funds. In 1893, the income amounted to about \$200,000. In 1903 this amounted to \$4,000,000. Over \$3,000,000 are in their treasuries as reserves. The membership has increased over 154,000 during the past year. These figures cause the bourgeois press considerable trouble, especially in view of the fact that these sums are largely used for the dissemination of social democratic doctrines. The *Nationalzeitung* of Berlin declares that "bourgeois circles must certainly feel ashamed when they recognize this sacrificial spirit of the laborers and compare it with the absence of these qualities in their own ranks." "It is an open secret," this paper continues, "that the treasuries of the liberal parties show only a yawning emptiness."

About the same time that this report was issued the Christian unions, which simply mean anti-social democratic, held a congress at Essen. The *Grazer Volksblatt* points with pride to the fact that these unions now have 203,000 members. But a study of their proceedings as given by the *Rheinische Westphalische Zeitung* shows two tendencies very prominent, one of which grows directly out of the other. Complaint is made that the members paid little heed to the clerical would-be leaders, while there is constant reference to the possibility of co-operation with the Social Democrats, accompanied to be sure with fierce denunciation of some members. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Vienna tells of one speaker who said that it was only from the Social Democrats that any parliamentary action could be obtained, while another seemed to have caught the idea of why Social Democrats were so hated by their employers since, he said, "in the eyes of certain people every laborer is a Social Democrat, who demands five pfennigs more for wages per day." The *Arbeiter Zeitung* continues, "the history of the Christian unions show that a lot of facts is trying to break through all ideological fog. While the employers may occasionally throw compliments at the Christian unions and deny the fact of the class struggle we learn from the *Germania* of Berlin of the formation of a great national employers' association" whose central thought consists in opposing to the organization of the laborers, an antagonistic organization as strong as possible, and especially in opposition to the Social Democratic trade unions. These same forces are reaching out in an effort to stop the Social Democratic movement at every point.

Vorwaerts recently succeeded in getting advance proofs of a pamphlet entitled "The Abuse of the Reichstag Suffrage by the Social Democracy." This pamphlet is the opening shot in a campaign to take votes away from the Social Democrats. Its writer says "we might compare the German empire to a house. The essential parts with which a house

is erected are foundations, walls and roof. The corresponding essentials in the German empire are the Bundesrath, Reichstag und Kaiser. The Reichstag elections are steps to this house. The Social Democrats use these steps not simply to get into the house to do good to the inmates but are like robbers who sneak in to murder the inhabitants and rob them of their property. The battle against the Social Democracy is a battle for the constitution, and if the Social Democracy seeks to destroy the reign of the Kaiser and to overthrow the German constitution then it is our right and duty to stop this." *Vorwaerts* gave this leaflet at once a much wider circulation than the first edition had provided for and expressed the wish that it might be circulated as far as possible. The trouble was, however, that the intention of those who issued it was to circulate it secretly and not permit it to reach the hands of laborers, consequently we find the capitalist press raving. *Die Post* of Berlin advises its readers to secure and circulate the leaflet, while the *Deutsches Tageszeitung* advertises it for sale from their office and praises its position. The *All-deutsches Tagblatt* of Vienna declares that a similar movement is needed in that city. The attack on the Socialist continues in other directions. From the *Rheinisch Westphalische Zeitung* we learn that Rosa Luxemburg has just been condemned to three months' imprisonment for lese majeste. It appears that on the 7th of last June she spoke at a meeting and referred to a speech which the Kaiser had made to a deputation of laborers in Brussels.

Meanwhile the Socialists are going on preparing for a much more extensive and constructive movement than ever before. At the coming Socialist convention municipal action will be discussed for the first time. An elaborate municipal programme has been drawn up for submission, discussion and action of the convention. We shall publish whatever they do on this point for the information of our readers. The capitalist press are very much disturbed by this new move of the Socialists. The *Dresdener Journal* declares that it indicates a new stage in the movement of Social Democracy. The *Kölnische Tageszeitung* calls upon the Liberals and the Catholics for greater activity along the lines of municipal social reform in order to forestall the Socialists.

It is generally agreed by the Socialist papers that the coming congress will concern itself almost entirely with organization questions since the questions of tactics are now considered as settled. One of the special points which will come out for consideration will be the relation of the party to the trade unions. There is a strong movement towards the entire separation of the management of the two organizations.

Russia.

Vorwaerts publishes some orders recently issued by the new admiral of the Black Sea fleet warning sailors against "evil people who have crept into the ranks and who are the worst enemies of the State." The orders contained this very comforting information: "The present legal order cannot be changed by any man. We, officers, are a wholly different people from you; we are a thousand times more skilful and cultured than you, yet we do not concern ourselves with these things. What then can you do in this regard, you sheepsheads?" This was followed up by the severe punishment of several persons who were suspected of having circulated Socialist literature. It is safe to say that this speech will be embodied in many a Russian Socialist booklet of the future and that once more the enemy has unconsciously helped us on.

The report which is published elsewhere in this issue on the assassination of von Plehve is issued by a division of the revolutionary movement in no way directly connected with the Russian Social Democracy, but gives the

reasons which have led many Socialists to support terrorism. In an early issue we shall have an article fully explaining the various divisions and forms of organization of the Russian Socialist movement.

France.

The congress of the *Parti Socialiste de France* was held at Lille from the 9th to the 11th of August. The report of the secretary showed a steady, rapid growth of the party, and it was generally considered that the internal troubles were over and that the party organization had now entered on to a permanent basis.

The question of the general strike and of international politics occupied most of the time and it was decided to ask the Amsterdam congress to adopt the resolution adopted by the German Social Democracy at their Dresden congress.

Since De Leon has caused to be circulated through his paper the statement that he was present at this congress and has left the impression that the party accepts the tactics of the S. L. P., it is worth while to note the resolution which they adopted on the trade union question which runs as follows:

"Considering that the organization and the struggle on the economic and political field are indispensable for the emancipation of the working class, that, in consequence, every working man conscious of his interests should join the organization of his trade and every trade unionist join the Socialist party;

"Considering, furthermore, that the labor organizations of France are approaching more and more towards the universal federation of labor,

"The *Parti Socialiste de France*, the only political organization of the proletariat, recalls to all its members the necessity of not alone joining the organization of their respective trades, but also taking an energetic part in their activity, and simultaneously it invites all organized laborers to join the revolutionary socialist union as soon as possible."

BOOK REVIEWS

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS. *Richard T. Ely and George Ray Wicker. Macmillan & Company. Half leather. 388 pp. \$1.00.*

This is largely a rewriting with a few changes of Ely's "Outlines of Economics." The principal additions are the chapters on "Industrial History," which add considerably to the value of the work. For those who wish an elementary knowledge of economics as taught by the most advanced of the non-Socialist schools, this is probably the most satisfactory work to use. Its bibliographies are very complete and arranged by subjects as well as being summarized at the close. The English, like that of all Dr. Ely's work, is simple and easily read. The Socialist will, however, read the chapter on Socialism with something of disgust and he will begin to wonder how long it will be before Dr. Ely will realize that Socialism is not a scheme, and that its fundamental propositions of historic materialism and the class struggle cannot be ignored in discussing socialism.

LES ETAPES DU SOCIALISME. *Paul Louis. Bibliotheque-Charpentier, Eugene Fasquelle, Editeur. Paris.*

Just such a work as this is very much needed in English, yet a translation would not accomplish the result, since what the English reader demands is a treatment of the same subject from the point of view of the American and not the Frenchman. The various steps by which the Socialist philosophy has been attained are brought out through a series of essays on the various forerunners of Socialism. Each of the pre-Marxian writers are taken up in turn and their doctrines summarized in a very satisfactory manner. This is followed by discussion of the Communist Manifesto, the International and the modern French Socialist parties.

For any one who is studying the history of Socialism this volume presents in handy form what would otherwise require many weeks, if not months, or even years, of search through scores of almost unobtainable volumes.

LE PEUPLE ROI. Essai de Sociologie universaliste. *By Th. Darel. Paper, 176 pp. 3 fr. 50.*

This is a study in social psychology, proceeding largely from the positivist evolutionary point of view. The family, the nation, and then humanity represent the steps by which the collective mind has expanded. The isolated individual has no existence. Socialism is treated sympathetically, but the author still views it as a scheme. "Ignorant of the laws of evolution, humanity may advance through revolutions. . . . Today when we have entered upon the road of conscious evolution we have no right to appeal to brute force." The work is one of a great mass that partake of the evolutionary philosophy and are strongly influenced by Socialism, yet cannot be said to be a part of Socialist literature.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Clearing the Co-operative Publishing House from Debt.

On pages 125 to 127 of last month's REVIEW a list was published of the contributions received up to July 31st for the purpose of putting the co-operative publishing house on a cash basis. The additional responses from stockholders during the month of August have been gratifying and encouraging, as will be seen from the following list:

Previously acknowledged	\$1,429.14
J. O. Duckett, California (additional)	4.00
W. E. Boynton, Ohio	2.00
R. H. Chaplin, Illinois	2.00
H. B. Asbury, Kentucky (additional)	5.00
Frank Kostack, Ohio	25.00
E. F. Everitt, California	5.00
W. S. Burnett, California	2.00
Fred. R. Barrett, Maine	1.00
T. J. Maxwell, Kansas	2.00
W., Illinois (additional)	75.00
V. Schieffer, California	2.00
J. J. Campbell, California	2.00
J. F. Sowash, Pennsylvania	5.00
George D. Sauter, Missouri (additional) .....	.70
Charles E. Badger, New York	1.00
C. C. Hitchcock, Massachusetts	10.00
W. A. Cole, Texas	1.00
John E. Lehner, Missouri	5.00
Local Pawnee County, Oklahoma	1.00
Local West Palm Beach, Florida	2.00
B., Indiana	5.00
H. W. Lawrence, Utah	5.00
R. S. Price, Texas .....	.50
Alex. Schablik, Washington	2.00
Mrs. West Paul, Oklahoma	4.50
Charles S. Wallace, Washington	5.00
P. R. Skinner, Oregon	10.00
U. L. Secrist, Georgia	2.50
Mrs. Anna K. Hubburd, Illinois	5.00
Charles Redies, Texas	1.20
Samuel Heller, New York	25.00
J. F. Elkner, Kansas	1.00
John Gibson, Kansas	1.00
Allan A. Crockett, California	1.00
Robert Bandlow, Ohio	10.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois (additional)	231.40

Total to August 31, 1904.....\$1,891.94

It will thus be seen that a very appreciable start has been made toward putting the co-operative company on a cash basis. The contributions thus far made have enabled us to pay all bills that were past due, so that the only open accounts due by the company are a few small ones for paper purchased and printing and binding done in August. There remain a few short time notes to printers, binders and paper dealers aggregating \$1,064.70, all of which fall due before election day, November 8th. There also remain one note of \$800 and one of \$300 given to a bank and secured by the endorsement of a stockholder. These notes bear 7 per cent interest and can be taken up at any time and the interest stopped. When these are paid the only indebtedness of the company will be to its stockholders.

It is of the highest importance that enough contributions be received during September and October to enable us to pay the small notes as they fall due without renewing any part of them, and, if possible, to take up the larger notes also, since it is not likely that the impending financial and industrial crisis will be deferred very long after election.

The Secretary of an Illinois Local wrote us shortly before the time for going to press with this issue of the REVIEW that the Local would pledge \$10, provided this would be enough, with other contributions, to insure the continuance of the company, and suggested that other pledges be made on the same basis.

We desire to assure the comrades everywhere that the sums pledged, together with what can certainly be counted upon from others, are already sufficient to prevent any successful attempt to put the company out of business. These pledges, however, include one made by a stockholder more fortunate in the matter of capital than the rest, who promises to make any temporary advance that may be necessary to guard against any sudden disaster. While this pledge is of the utmost value in insuring the safety of the company, it is notwithstanding much to be preferred that we should never call upon the stockholder in question for his assistance, since it is important that the control of the co-operative company should be kept in the hands of the individual stockholders composing it, now numbering nearly one thousand. The special advantage of our plan of organization is that under it no one person will ever have it in his power to change the present policy of the company, which is to publish only such literature as will best serve the cause of international socialism. To carry out this plan of organization successfully, all money needed must be subscribed by the membership and no large sums must be owing to stockholders.

The offer made by the manager of the co-operative company that he will, out of the balance still due him, duplicate every contribution made by others, will hold good until December 31, 1904, by which time the contributions should reach a sufficient sum to pay off at least the entire debt to outsiders and, if possible, greatly reduce the debt to other stockholders.

Acknowledgments of further receipts will be made in the publishers' department of the REVIEW from month to month.

Rebels of the New South.

It gives us great pleasure to announce for publication some time in October a novel, entitled "Rebels of the New South," by Comrade Walter Marion Raymond, of New Jersey. Comrade Raymond is not a novice or an amateur, but a practiced writer of established reputation. The novel will not be of interest merely to socialists. It is a powerful story full of human interest, full of action and with live people in it,—a story that would make a success with a capitalist publishing house, if the socialism could only be left out.

But the author can't leave the socialism out, because to leave it out would destroy the whole meaning of the story. And so he has brought it to our co-operative publishing house, and has voluntarily offered us

more favorable terms on it than we could possibly have expected, so that if any profit is made it will go to extend the circulation of other socialist literature.

"Rebels of the New South" is the best possible answer to the covert attacks made upon socialism by those who insinuate that the socialist standard of ethics is such as would destroy the home. The distinction between the hypocritical, conventional ethics of capitalism and the vital and genuine ethics of socialism is clearly brought out in "Rebels of the New South," not by preaching, for Walter Marion Raymond has mastered the trade of the novelist too well to allow himself to preach, but in the way he makes his characters act and develop.

Altogether it is a book that every socialist will delight in, and also a book that will have an ever-increasing number of non-socialist readers, who will, however, stand in grave danger of becoming socialists by the time they finish reading.

"Rebels of the New South" will be finely illustrated, will be well printed and handsomely bound in cloth, and will sell for a dollar a copy, postpaid. Better send the dollar now and be sure of receiving a copy of the book as soon as published.

Campaign Supplies.

Our Socialist Stickers are just the thing for Socialist Party Locals and individual socialists who have plenty of energy to put into propaganda but very little money. We mail a thousand assorted stickers for a dollar or two hundred for 25 cents (prices to stockholders lower still), and even two hundred of these will make socialism very conspicuous within a limited territory if posted judiciously and audaciously. Samples will be sent free of charge to any one requesting them.

Socialist party buttons are supplied by us in two styles, enamel and gold plate, at 25 cents each (to stockholders 20 cents each), and celluloid at 30 cents a dozen or \$2.00 a hundred (to stockholders 20 cents a dozen or \$1.50 a hundred). We sell only the button with the party emblem, not with the pictures of candidates. It may also be remarked incidentally that there are cheaper celluloid emblem buttons to be had elsewhere. Ours are large enough to make the words "Socialist Party" legible, and in ours the water between the continents in the globe design is of a tint bearing some faint resemblance to nature, not a brilliant apple green. We mention these details simply that those who send to us for buttons may not be disappointed at an apparent overcharge.

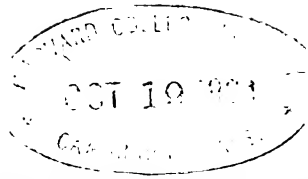
We can supply a few varieties of four-page propaganda leaflets at 8 cents a hundred or 60 cents a thousand by mail, or 30 cents a thousand by express at purchaser's expense. Samples will be mailed to any one asking for them. There is no discount to stockholders on the leaflets, since they are supplied at actual cost to everyone.

Platform Text Book.

By a special arrangement with C. Vincent, of Omaha, the compiler and publisher, we are enabled to offer a limited number of copies of the Platform Text Book, containing all the platforms of all the parties of the United States, from the adoption of the Constitution to 1904. It is a large book of 188 pages in small type, containing an immense amount of matter, and the price is 25 cents; to stockholders 20c, postpaid.

A booklet explaining how to become a stockholder will be mailed on request. Address

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (Co-Operative).
56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.



THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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NO. 4

Employers' Associations.

A NEW factor has entered into the industrial struggle of labor with capital. There has been a growth of concentrated capital for the past twenty-five years. The appearance of consciously organized capital, organized for the purpose of dealing with the labor question, is entirely different and is of recent development.

In 1895 in Atlanta, Georgia, Thomas H. Martin, the editor of *Dirie*, advocated in an editorial the consolidating and organizing of manufacturing interests and the adopting of a united policy in order to meet the aggressions of labor. This suggestion was carried out and the National Association of Manufacturers had its birth.

This body now consists not only of a national organization with 3,000 members in thirty-nine of the different states but we find that international relations are also maintained. "There may be some of our members," says its president Mr. Parry, "who have been modest enough to suppose that the National Association was merely national. In reality it is international in its work and scope now as it always has been." In the ninth annual report of this association one of its objects is stated. It is "an organization which is practically an insurance against populistic and socialistic experiments."

The Manufacturers' Association is not the only one of its class. The Metal Trades Association and various others also represent the interests of employers. While these organizations have existed for a half dozen years at least, there has recently been formed and perfected a national association of all employers for the object of dealing with the labor problem in a unified manner.

The relation in which this organization known as the Citizens' Industrial Association stands to the other associations is defined by Mr. Parry, who is also president of this new union of em-

ployers. "I want to say a few words now as to the relations between the National Association of Manufacturers and the Citizens' Industrial Association of America. This Association is one of members and supporters of the Citizens' Industrial Association standing in the same relation to it as the National Metal Trades and other national organizations. This association is composed exclusively of manufacturers, while the Citizens' Industrial is composed of associations of employers in all lines of industry."

In a circular letter sent out recently to Chicago employers, Mr. Job, secretary of the Employers' Association of Chicago, states the four cardinal principles for which the organization stands: (1) The open shop. (2) No sympathetic strike. (3) No limitation or restriction of output. (4) Enforcement of the laws. This organization is first of all openly anti-trade union in its principles. It represents a lining up of organized capital against organized labor, a combination of the manufacturing capitalist interests to meet the power of the trade unions. This purpose is stated by its president, "The primary object of every manufacturer and employer in this country is, I believe, to secure amelioration from present trade union methods." Local branches of this Employers' Association now exist in practically every town of importance in the United States. The significance of the movement is apparent. The struggle of the classes is not a theory only. It is a reality. The employers recognize it. The laborers know it. A few reformers cannot see it, but they do not count. They have no influence in this struggle. The two forces face each other in a growingly compact form. The lines are clearly defined. A determined conscious attitude marks both sides.

The Employers' Association has necessarily assumed a certain attitude economically. It has formulated a body of thought in strict conformity with its interests and marked principally by the fact that it puts its advocates back into the company of the economic ideas of three generations ago.

One of the first assumptions is that of the fixity of economic laws, "laws that are beyond the power of men to alter." This postulate as old as the classical economists originated at a time when it was thought that a certain psychological restraint was needed for the laboring class in order to make them feel that inevitable natural laws barred the way to any betterment of their condition. Some of the twentieth century economists have discovered that the world does move and have shown that all social laws are relative; that economic laws are determined by the time and place in which they originate; and that tendencies marking one stage of growth may have no application to another period of development.

The doctrine of freedom of contract that originated with the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century is duly emphasized

by this organization. We quote again from Mr. Parry, "Do the employers wish to save labor from itself because they love labor better than labor loves itself? I think not. The real reason why the employers are fighting for the maintenance of freedom in industry is because freedom in industry pays. It pays the employer but it also pays the employe and the nation as a whole. All classes profit by the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases with his time, labor and property, so long as he does not infringe the equal freedom of another. All classes must suffer by an interference with this freedom whether from government or irresponsible labor organizations."

The employers of the early nineteenth century used similar arguments against the factory legislation of their time. According to theory the labor contract may be an agreement voluntary, and freely entered into by the employer on one hand and the laborer on the other. Everyone knows, however, and Mr. Parry among them, that this freedom is nominal and not real. The peculiar characteristics of the commodity labor are such that the individual seller of labor power is always at a disadvantage. There is no freedom or equality in contracts for the sale of labor. Where is the "freedom of contract" when the workman stands alone before the employer? The laborer has no choice, it is with him a question of work or starvation; "there is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals." The only resource the laboring man has thus far found is in collective bargaining. Hence the employer seeks to revive the cry of free competition and that the individuals' freedom is infringed on if the union exists or labor legislation is passed.

The question of the rate of wages occupies no small part of the attention of the employers. The old wage fund theory is stated in a new and interesting manner. "The rate of wages in any country is dependent upon the per capita production," and since it is claimed the trade union tends to limit production by shortening hours and objecting to men being speeded up, that therefore so much less is produced and wages are correspondingly low, the capital in the words of J. S. Mill devoted to the payment of labor. Wages we hold tend always to the subsistence point and no matter how much the laborer produced he would receive in wages only enough to live and produce other laborers, the surplus going to the employer.

Why this extreme interest on the part of Mr. Parry that the worker produce more? Is it that the laborer's wages may be increased? Or is it that the surplus profit that goes to the employer may be larger? The Employers' Association fully recognizes that its law of wages is a mere makeshift and that wages are fixed by subsistence. This is clearly seen in the statement of Mr. Job quoted in the New York Sun: "We have a department

which figures out the cost of living and if it's increased only 10 per cent we don't propose to accede to a demand for a 45 per cent increase in wages made on the old plea that the cost of living has increased that much. We tell the employer to give what the increased cost warrants but no more and then if a strike is called we stand behind him with a certified check to help him out if he needs it to keep from failing." Certainly here no account is taken of any increase in production. So the employer does after all admit the iron law of wages and moreover reserves to himself the right to fix the standard of living for the working man. Such is some of the economic reasoning upon which the Employers' Association is founded.

We can now consider the attitude of this association toward the trade union organization. It is avowedly one of hostility. "The labor movement," says Mr. Sayward, in an address before the National Builders' convention, "has not concerned and does not concern itself with the interest of employers, but is almost wholly addressed to gaining advantages or supposed advantages from employers and for a certain section of those engaged in the world's work, namely, those who work for wages. . . . The character of this force is selfish." The trade union movement was and is organized not in the interest of employers but in the interest of laborers, for the latter recognize that their interests are not identical and would scarcely organize an "aid society" for the very force that is oppressing them. The trade union movement does stand for the self-interest of its own members and would hardly care to deny it, but it had its birth in the oppressive self-interest of a dominant employing class. It was and is a defense organization.

That the Employers' Association is opposed to the union as such is further shown by Mr. W. D. Sayle, of Cleveland, O., in a communication to the late Marcus Hanna: "I would respectfully impress upon your mind that the manufacturers are deadly opposed to any scheme to build up unionism in this city." It has also come to the decision that in dealing with the unions there can be no half way measure, that either they must frankly recognize them or "smash" them. Hence comes the demand on their part for the open shop.

We quote from the resolution passed by the National Association of Manufacturers at Pittsburg: "This association declares its unalterable antagonism to the closed shop." Again Mr. Parry says, "The closed shop is against public policy and is of doubtful legality." In an article in the New York Evening Post on the necessity for the open shop we find this: "Chicago employers have organized for resistance so generally and are so well supported by the public and press that they are not yielding to the 'closed shop' demand even though organized labor has grown

in one year from a membership of 120,000 to 243,000." "The present crusade for the closed shop is war upon society," writes Chas. Quarles, of Milwaukee, in the September *American Industries*. Chas. W. Eliot, of Harvard, says: "The important things for which the association should steadily contend seem to me to be (1) the open shop; (2) no union label; (3) in case of a strike permanent employment for those who take the strikers' places; (4) resistance through the courts to picketing and boycotting."

Said Mr. Geo. Bent in a speech before the Manufacturers' Association, "We must have the absolutely open shop. We must see to it that any man, woman or child who wants to work and who needs to work can and shall do so in peace and without fear. We must see to it that any one may work as long and as hard as he pleases." Mr. Bent is greatly concerned over the laborers' "right to work." The laborer is equally concerned over the "right to the product of his labor."

Every man, unionist or employer, knows what the "open shop" means. It means the destruction of the union. It means that the laborer is again put on the footing of dealing individually with the employer, that he can be discharged because he is a union man. It is then a declaration of hostility on the part of the employers and a statement of their determination to "wreck" the union.

As a corollary to the "open shop" the association dwells on the rights of the non-union man and the need of the scab. Even the Rev. Hillis comes to their defense. The scab and non-union worker are the tools it is proposed to use in accomplishing the destruction of the union; they are hence a necessary part of the plan. This apparent "crocodile" sympathy for the non-union man has then a selfish interest behind it,—he is to be used as a strike breaker. But lest the "scab" may think his employer really has a paternal interest in him let him hear what this same association says concerning the "capitalist scab," the employer who does not fall into line with the Employers' Association. Mr. W. D. Sayle, president of the Manufacturers' Association of Cleveland, O., says: "We find in every walk of life and business certain individuals and firms perfectly willing to stand back and let others settle their labor troubles. They say to their help, 'We will give you the same that you compel the other employers to give, so keep on working for us and you will not lose any time.' This is the man who is willing to follow the trail that has been blazed by his fellows without expense to him of time, blood or money. Like flies, fleas and fevers, he is with us." Here the coat is on the other man and the capitalist scab becomes a monstrosity.

The "walking delegate" of a trade union is to the Employers' Association "the greatest disturber between capital and labor," "a blackmailer and bird of ill-omen," "who thrives on dissen-

sions." But he is a valuable individual if he be the "walking delegate" or rather as Comrade Max Hayes has put it, the "riding delegate" of the Employers' Association. That they have such is seen in the recent report of F. K. Copeland, who asks that a "walking delegate" from the National Association be sent to aid in the work of organization in Chicago.

The boycott has been recognized by the union as a means of defense in its struggle with capital. Yet while the Employers' Association characterizes the boycott as "cowardly and un-American" it passes this resolution:

"Resolved, That our commissioner upon being notified that any member is subjected to a boycott, notify the entire membership of that fact;

"Resolved, That each member of this association in making purchases give such boycotted member the preference over all competitors until the boycott is declared off."

Further, it is advised that in placing local advertising the members should see to it that it is given only to those papers that will favor the association; also in city elections that they secure the defeat of such officials as it is judged will be detrimental to the interests of the association. If these are not examples of the use of the "un-American" boycott, what are they?

The charge is next brought against the labor unions that they corrupt politics. Mr. Geo. Martin, writing for the National Journalist-Printer, says: "How about labor unions in politics and public affairs? A consensus of Republican, Democratic, Populist and go-as-you-please opinion, the oft-expressed statement of candidates of high and low degree is that they are harlots, the leaders are always after boodle." It is also objected that the trade unions keep a lobby at Washington. If all of these statements were true they come with small grace from that class of society that has made legislatures the mere tools of lobbyists, that has reached the point of control where it need not even keep such a lobby but sends Senators Clarke, Addicks, Platt and Babcock, etc., who represent personally the interests of great corporations. Further it is well known that the Employers' Association proposes to use its power to manipulate legislation as a weapon against the trade unions. A strenuous effort is made to stop all labor legislation. The bills against which the fight has been mainly directed by the association are the anti-injunction bill, the eight-hour bill, the national arbitration bill and the compulsory metric system bill. The eight-hour bill has received the larger part of the attention. This bill which has been endorsed by the unions provides that no man employed on government contracts can work more than eight hours in any one day. Whether this bill is urged on humanitarian grounds or any other grounds it is a measure of defense on the part of the unions and hence is opposed by every

employer. Men representing the Employers' Association are present whenever a bill of this character is to be reported upon and use a powerful influence for its defeat.

As a further part of their plan of attack upon the trade unions they have organized an employment bureau and have a well developed system of black listing. Mr. J. C. Hobart, chairman of the Employment Bureau Committee of the Cincinnati Metal Trades association, says: "The employment bureau will give any members the name of workmen to fill vacancies; the employer will know that such men are of good character and not likely to give him trouble. The bureau can know every agitator or disturber; it can know who are good men and who are bad." The commissioner of the National Metal Trades Association reports: "This association has established a certified system for tried and true workmen who have been faithful to us during strikes,—we shall soon have a body of these men whom we know can be depended upon in case of trouble." The applicants for these certificates must have proven their loyalty to their employers by having been faithful to them during labor trouble. A holder of one of these certificates presenting it to a member of the association is to be shown especial favor.

That this system is being thoroughly and determinedly organized is evident. Emergency men are secured by each local and are subject to the call of the national organization. The whole plan is a gigantic scheme of black listing. It is thus hoped to "prevent undesirable characters from receiving employment in the shops of the members." They attempt to avoid the use of the professional strike breaker for they know he recognizes his value and will only work as he likes but by the paying of a bonus to a certain body of men in each employer's shop they can in case of strike send these from member to member to take the place of strikers. These methods are beginning to work. The Employers' Association played its part in the stock yards strike just closed and in the Colorado strike.

Throughout the literature of this organization there are numerous appeals to "patriotism," "liberty" and "the dear American people," made frequently in the following choice language used by Mr. Geo. Bent: "Get at work for freedom, for liberty, and for the right! Get at work to stop the dastardly devilry of all who have been and are still unlawfully interfering with the rights of others. Stop being boycotters, for such we are whenever we agree to hire exclusively help of a certain breed or brand. Stop advertising your goods as union-made. The union label is the badge of slavery, and you build your own destruction in the use of it. Advertise your goods rather as not union made. I do so, others may." It is well that the labor movement recognizes that it is engaged in a great economic struggle, the giant struggle of the ages and that "right" will only come when justice is obtained.

The Employers' Association whines because the labor movement urges men to stay out of the militia, "a movement which drives its members from the national guard is to be regarded with suspicion by all law-abiding and patriotic citizens," says Mr. Parry. General Samuel M. Welch, addressing a body of employers said, "I would like to say to you that you put yourselves into communication with the commanding officer of the national guard in the place where you live, that you assure him that if there is any available material in your establishment which he can utilize to make soldiers of that you are willing that he should do it." He then advised them to keep such men on the pay roll while in service and welcome them back with open arms.

Why does this opposition to the militia on the part of the unions exist? The employers cannot believe that the union man is a sense blinded imbecile, that he will advocate the maintaining of a body of soldiery that is kept for the sole purpose of "suppressing local disorders" which means shooting striking union men without cause. How many lessons do they believe the worker needs? The great Chicago strike of '94 was an eye opener. Colorado has brought the fact into the full glare of day. And lest we forget the attitude of the employers of America let me quote the resolution passed by the Manufacturers' Association at its ninth convention last May: "Resolved, By the National Association of Manufacturers in annual convention assembled, that this organization most heartily approves of the wise and honorable stand taken and steadfastly maintained by Governor Peabody of Colorado in suppressing by all the power at his command all forms of violence and of violation of law in that state;

"Resolved, That this association extends its thanks to Governor Peabody for his patriotic performance of a great public duty and for the thorough and persistent manner in which he has done it."

This same Governor Peabody in a speech at a club banquet in Chicago recently said concerning one of the leaders of the Colorado miners: "I will have that man's life yet." When the chief executive of a state makes such a statement we say unhesitatingly that this man who sits in the governor's chair is an anarchist, an enemy of social order and the impartiality of the law in that state has become a farce.

One of the best examples of the working of this association is seen in the struggle between the employers and union men that took place in the summer of 1903 at Beloit, Wis. This town of 15,000 inhabitants employed about 3,000 in the shops as iron workers and 1,000 or more in other lines. One-half of these men belonged to unions. In May of that year a strike was called of the men in the Berlin Machine works, employing 600 men. The demand was for a nine-hour day without reduction of wages.

Mr. Job, secretary of the Employers' Association of Chicago, was sent for by the employers of Beloit, who feared a spread of the strike. June 16th he organized a branch of the association under the name of "The Citizens' Alliance," non-union working men were urged to also join this. An injunction was obtained by the Berlin management from Judge Dunwiddie of Rock county. Notices were posted that the shops would be opened and the men who applied "made affidavits to the effect that they did not belong to a union and would not join a union while they were in the employ of these people." Today so effective has been the work of the association that the unions of Beloit are crushed.

So far we have dealt only with the attitude of this association in relation to the unions. But there is another side to this whole struggle. Around and back of the fight against unionism lies a greater antagonism to a force, that the employers recognize is becoming a veritable giant in the land, the socialist movement. David M. Parry, whom John Kirby of the Dayton Manufacturing company calls the "Abraham Lincoln of the twentieth century"—this gentleman's mechanism must be minus the sense of the ridiculous—leads the fight against socialism. "The critical examinations of the demands made by the modern trades unionism will show that they contain the seed of industrial destruction, for they all point toward the abyss of socialism." An Indiana paper recently said, "The manufacturers are very positive in their denunciation of socialistic tendencies which have characterized recent meetings of union men." Mr. Hobart, in the Bulletin of the Metal Trades, gives due credit to the strength of the socialist movement. "The socialist vote is growing rapidly from year to year and unless something is done to counteract the tendency that party will in a few years hold the balance of the power." Another manufacturer writes, "We are called upon . . . to combat the insidious and damnable sophistries which have addled and poisoned the judgment of some of our best as well as most of our worst fellow citizens." "When your house is on fire," says Mr. Kirby, "you do not wait until it is burned to the ground before turning in an alarm. Neither should you wait until socialism becomes rampant and uncontrollable before you begin to check its growth." This same gentleman brands the Western miners for their socialistic tendency. "Another small army is to be found in the Western Federation of Miners, which has elevated the banner of socialism in a brazen manner before the nation and which of late months has been engaged in rebellion against the authorities of the state of Colorado."

This, then, is the growing power that the Employers' Association really does fear. If it does not recognize it now it will soon, that here is a movement that will call a different strike from that of any trade union—that will not ask for shorter hours or a few

cents more wages, but will ask the whole produce and point the way for the employer to pass down and out of the industrial scene. It will not be charged to socialists that they maintain lobbies for they propose to control the government entire. They ask no arbitration—they propose a change that does not admit of arbitration. They do not recognize that the employer has any rights to arbitrate about. It is small wonder that with inevitable failure ahead the Employers' Association looks with dread on the growth of socialism.

The eye of this organization is upon the growth politically of the socialist party. Mr. Kirby sees in it dire results to his class. Before the Manufacturers' Association he said, "It was only a few weeks ago when it was demonstrated that the socialistic vote in the city of Milwaukee was almost large enough to elect the mayor. It did elect nine councilmen. In truth, socialism in this country is no mere phantom of the brain. Thousands upon thousands seem to be more or less under the influence of the baneful creed."

At no time in the history of class struggles have the economic classes faced each other with so conscious a realization of their relation. At no time has there existed such perfection of organization on both sides. The whole so-called "labor movement" is going to school to socialism and as it learns it becomes a part of that socialist movement that rests on an international foundation and that plainly sees that the contradictions in modern society are leading inevitably to the abolition of wage labor. This is the body of men that is putting itself in accord with the trend of social progress. The trade union man against whom nominally the employers are waging a struggle passes on by hundreds and thousands into the socialist movement. We do well to estimate the strength of our capitalist opponent, and to note the effect of these associations upon the industrial situation.

MAY WOOD SIMONS.

The Socialist Outlook.

THE Socialist Party is the only party that has no secrets. While other political parties elaborate most intricate systems of bookkeeping in order to conceal the sources of their income and the character of their expenditures, from even their own employes, the Socialist Party requires regular publication of the amount and source of all income, and the character of all expenditures. In the same way, while the Republican, Democratic, Prohibitionist and Populist parties all endeavor as far as possible to obtain information as to their strength in various localities, this information is kept carefully concealed from the outer world and the public is given the benefit only of such "estimates" as the political managers think will be most effective in bringing votes. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, cares nothing for votes which come merely because the ones casting them hope to be "with the crowd." Consequently we have no hesitation in publishing the details of the facts upon which our estimates are based. We do not shrink from the most careful examination of our own condition and are as careful to know the discouraging as the encouraging features.

Viewing the situation as a whole there seems to be nothing but encouragement from the socialist point of view. It is hard to realize in view of the united enthusiastic action of today that the campaign of 1900 was fought on the part of the socialists with a presidential nominee from one organization and a vice-presidential from another. Everywhere our efforts were paralyzed by the existence of two warring organizations within one party. The S. L. P. ghost was not yet completely laid, and rose to vex us on every corner. Much of our energy had to be expended in explaining that we had nothing in common with that ill-smelling organization, and much of our remaining energy was actually spent in abusing each other. This year with the exception of two or three petty squabbles there is a solid united party from one end of the country to the other. The Socialist Labor Party has practically disappeared from the public mind as well as from the political arena, and we scarcely realize its existence except when there comes a doleful voice from the tombs inquiring "why Carey built the armory," or why somebody supported the "Kautsky resolution."

But our political life springs from industrial situations and here again there is room for nothing but congratulation. I shall not here take the space to tell what has been told so often in our periodicals during the last few months, of how the complete

capitalistic character of both political parties, the outrages of our ruling class, industrial concentration and employers' associations have all worked together to preach socialist philosophy and give emphasis and illustration to socialist speakers and writers.

Four years ago the democratic party with its anti-trust, free silver, populist platform was able to attract the attention of a great many workers who might otherwise have listened to the socialist speakers. This year there is no party in the field aside from the socialist, that can claim in any sense to be other than plutocratic.

When we come to a consideration of the work done by the party organization, no comparison whatever is really possible, so great has been the increase in effectiveness. No figures can be secured for the 1900 campaign but up to the present time the National office of the Socialist Party has circulated over one million leaflets and over 50,000 pamphlets. In 1900 there were no regular organizers at work under the direction of the National office with the exception of the candidates. This year during the present campaign there have been from ten to twenty-five organizers working under the direct control of and paid by the National office. These have covered all the unorganized states quite thoroughly and have given active assistance wherever they were needed within the organized states. Many state organizations sustain an activity but little less than that of the national organization, as will be seen from the reports given herewith. Another method of gauging strength is seen by the greatly increased attention to the socialists in the public press. Here, again, there is almost no comparison between the scanty notices of four years ago and the columns of matter that are now being printed.

Just as I write this, for instance, the Chicago Chronicle, the most rabid anti-socialist paper in the United States, prints a two column article stating that not less than two republican seats in the next House of Representatives are endangered by the socialist movement in Wisconsin, while quite a large number of assemblymen will be elected; and a news item of the same issue states concerning Illinois "information has been received at republican state headquarters that the socialists are making great gains in nearly every industrial and foreign community in the state."

Taking up the comparative membership of the party we find that in 1900 there were probably not over five or six thousand dues paying members in both wings of the Social Democratic Party. At the present time these have increased to over 30,000.

Within the trade unions there has been a corresponding growth. This is indicated in the reports from the various states

which follow and has been mentioned so often in the socialist press that further notice is not necessary here.

When we come to the actual estimates there is room for the widest possible disagreement. Many undoubtedly will claim that the table given herewith is too conservative. I can only say that it is based on reports from several active comrades in nearly every state. The figures so obtained have been checked by comparison with the reports of national organizers, and finally the entire table has been gone through with National Secretary Maily. It should be said, however, that he is in no way responsible for these figures, although his suggestions were taken into consideration in its formation. Numerous other comrades who were in a position to know the situation have also given their aid. It indicates a probable increase of about 100 per cent over two years ago, and 400 per cent over four years ago, that is, it indicates that our vote is doubling about every two years. This is certainly as rapid a growth as can be assimilated. In this connection a quotation from the report of Comrade Franklin H. Wentworth is interesting. He says, "I fear that when our votes are counted the returns will show astonishing gains of sympathetic ballots. It would have been better for us if the democrats had nominated Hearst. We can do very well without a sympathetic influx until such time as our organizations are able to assimilate it."

In conclusion it must be remembered that the work of the old party politicians will mainly be done during the last three weeks of the campaign. Could our vote be taken now it would be much larger than later when the millions of capitalism are turned loose. The unthinking, wavering voter who had just begun to think, is swept way back into his old political slavery. It depends upon the socialist, to a large degree, as to how far this movement goes. Our campaign must not be allowed to lag during the last few weeks. Now is the time for a great common effort. If you have given the time and money before, now give the more. If you have not responded until now, do not delay any longer and see that your efforts are kept up until election night.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

STATE.	1900.	1902.	1904.
Alabama	928	2,312	5,000
Arizona .....	....	519	2,000
*Arkansas	27	27	2,000
California	7,572	9,592	22,000
Colorado	684	7,360	15,000
Connecticut	1,741	2,857	5,000
*Delaware	57	57	700

*Florida	603	603	5,000
Georgia .....	.....	.....	1,500
Idaho .....	.....	1,800	3,000
Illinois	9,687	20,167	45,000
Indiana	2,374	7,134	15,000
Iowa	2,742	6,360	12,000
Kansas	1,605	4,078	8,000
Kentucky	760	1,886	3,500
Louisiana .....	.....	.....	5,000
Maine	878	1,974	2,000
*Maryland	908	908	2,000
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	40,000
Michigan	2,826	4,261	8,000
Minnesota	3,065	5,143	10,000
Mississippi .....	.....	.....	1,000
Missouri	6,128	5,335	15,000
Montana	708	2,466	6,000
Nebraska	823	3,157	7,000
Nevada .....	.....	.....	1,000
New Hampshire	790	1,057	2,000
New Jersey	4,609	5,491	10,000
New Mexico Ter. ....	.....	.....	1,000
New York	12,869	23,400	40,000
North Carolina .....	.....	.....	1,000
North Dakota	518	1,245	3,000
Ohio	4,847	14,270	25,000
Oklahoma Territory	815	1,963	5,000
Oregon	1,494	3,532	6,000
Pennsylvania	4,831	21,910	30,000
Rhode Island .....	.....	.....	2,000
South Carolina .....	.....	.....	500
South Dakota	176	2,620	5,000
*Tennessee	410	410	4,000
Texas	1,846	3,513	8,000
Utah	717	2,927	6,000
*Vermont	371	371	1,000
*Virginia	225	225	1,000
Washington	1,609	4,739	12,000
*West Virginia	286	286	5,000
Wisconsin	7,095	15,957	40,000
Wyoming .....	.....	552	1,500
Total	98,424	225,903	450,700

*These states had no election in 1902.

REPORT BY STATES.

Alabama.—There is a large strike in the Birmingham district and reports come to the effect that the miners are flocking to socialism, a recent speech by Debs having aroused the most intense enthusiasm. Four years ago there was practically no movement in Alabama.

Arizona.—National organizers have visited this state several times and all report an active interest. The Tucson papers have been commenting on the socialist growth and state that there will be a considerable vote.

California.—Reports from Alameda, Tulare, San Diego, and Riverside together with information gathered from various other sources indicate that the vote of 7,572 cast in 1900 will be multiplied at least three fold this year. The confusion with the "Labor Party" in 1902 caused the increase to be very little in that year, but this is now a thing of the past and there is a united effort throughout the state, with the exception of a small factional quarrel in San Francisco, which is not, however, of a character to affect the vote adversely. Comrade Ratdke of Local Alameda county reports that sales of literature amount to \$5.00 per weekly meeting with a large free distribution of a local campaign paper, the *Socialist Voice*. Vote estimated at 2,000 compared with an average of about 1,000 in 1902. Tulare county reports that twice as much speaking is being done and five times as much literature circulated as four years ago. Last presidential election there was but one local in Tulare county; now there are seven. San Diego county is being covered with a van for speaking and literature, and a house to house canvass is being made. They expect to double their vote of two years ago (800). Vote in 1900 was 350. They elected a justice of the peace and constable two years ago and expect to capture several more positions this fall. Riverside has eight locals compared with half that number four years ago and expects to cast three times as large a vote as then.

Colorado.—Comrade Southworth writes: "No party organization four years ago; fifty locals in good standing now. Probable vote 20,000, but it will not all be counted for us." Too much must not be expected from Colorado because of the terrible school which her workers have been attending. It seems to require something more than persecution to make socialists. The state Federation of Labor has endorsed the Democratic party, seeming to think that a bull-pen with a democratic label on it would be less oppressive than the republican brand. At the same time the "Miners' Magazine" is doing splendid work among the W. F. of M., and reports from all parts of the state indicate intense interest in socialism. It must also be remembered in calculating the Colorado vote that the wholesale deportations and

compulsory removals of various sorts will, through residence qualifications, disfranchise very many socialist voters.

Report from Comrade Maynard of Denver states that the agitation is much greater than in 1900; that whereas there was practically no organization four years ago there are now one hundred dues-paying members, and she estimates the vote for Debs in Denver at 3,000.

Connecticut.—State Secretary W. E. White reports that in agitation and distribution of literature there is at least twice as much activity as two years ago. Membership in 1902 was 300, is 500 now. Expects a vote of 4,000 in the state. National office reports show that this is probably too low as there is very great activity in the localities visited by the national organizers.

Delaware.—This state has always been considered immune to socialist propaganda, but Comrade Ella Reeves Cohen has been working under the national office in this state for some time and has now secured an organization which gives promise of a considerable vote.

Florida.—From a remarkably good report by State Secretary Green we take the following extracts: "The party was organized July 14th, 1902. An organizer has been at work during the last seven months. During this time he established eighteen locals with a membership of 184. We now have 35 locals in good standing with 360 members. We have a state paper published at Jacksonville, that began publication last July. The railroads have proved to be our best allies in this state. They have oppressed and plundered the truckers and fruit growers until they are nearly frantic. This has made them ready to listen to us and to read our literature with avidity, until in some counties our propaganda takes like wild-fire. This is particularly true of the southern counties, especially of Lee and Hillsboro counties. In the former county we only had one local last June, with 15 members; now we have eight locals with more than 100 dues-paying members, and still growing rapidly. In Hillsboro county, where we only had two locals last July, with about 25 members, we now have ten locals with about 75 members. These men are mostly farmers and truckers, but they have a surprisingly clear idea of socialism and the class-struggle. We had 601 votes for Debs four years ago, and from all indications we should have at least ten times as much this fall. The comrades in Lee county are perfectly confident of electing most, if not all, of their county ticket in November." A report from Jacksonville confirms this enthusiastic position, and statements from various parts of the state bring a like story.

Idaho.—There has been active agitation throughout this entire state for two years and the state is now quite well organized. National Organizer Wilkins has worked there for six weeks during the campaign and reports probability of a good vote.

Illinois.—It may be largely because I am more familiar with the situation in Illinois than any where else (although I have visited many other states during the last year) that I am inclined to believe that this state will lead the socialist column at the coming election. I am led to this conclusion by various facts. In 1900 there were barely a dozen locals in good standing in the state. Today there are 19 county organizations, none of whom have less than three branches and one of which, that embracing Cook county, has 60 branches and nearly two thousand members upon its books. Aside from these there are 50 locals in good standing outside of county organizations. There will be five organizers regularly in the field paid by the state committee from now until election and some of these have been working for some time. This is entirely aside from something over 50 speakers who are working locally or are sent out occasionally. The reports which come in are all extremely encouraging. Capitalist papers estimate our vote in Rock Island at one thousand and in Peoria between two or three thousand, an increase of several hundred percent in both instances. Throughout the entire coal mining district, there is a most remarkable interest in socialism. From the Danville district there is a prospect of electing Comrade Walker who is a district president of the U. M. W. to the legislature. Indeed almost all the officials and active workers of the U. M. W. in Illinois are also active in the socialist movement. It is only necessary to name Comrade James of Spring Valley, Carr of Ladd, McDonald of Streator and Perry, president of the Illinois field to show how fully this is true. In Chicago the machinists seem almost unanimous for socialism and they have 20,000 members in this city. The street-car men, brass workers and many others are equally strong in their socialist attitude. Every one knows that the great stock yards strike was a tremendous educator for socialism and today it is a simple fact that the republican and democratic heelers in that neighborhood have absolutely thrown up their hands and are not attempting to carry on any campaign. Many capitalist politicians tell us that the socialist vote in Chicago alone will certainly be 50,000. But we know that tremendous pressure will be brought to bear to alter this situation. So I have placed the total state vote below what many expect in Chicago. It is practically certain, however, that several members of the legislature will be elected.

Indiana.—State Secretary Strickland reports that party receipts have doubled within the year. Comrade Mahoney of Terre Haute reports an extremely active agitation in that city and estimates the vote of Vigo county at 2,000. Clippings from the capitalist press grant us more than double our previous vote of 7,134 in 1902. Comrade Kelly, of Marion, reports active agitation and

increase of vote probable. Aside from township officials in the coal belt few officials will be elected. The U. M. W. members in Indiana as in Illinois are turning toward socialism in great numbers.

Iowa.—No report from State Secretary Jacobsen, but the national secretary states that the reason for this probably is that he is too hard at work as he has been actively engaged in speaking and working for some time. Various national organizers have also been sent through the state.

Kansas.—No report from the state secretary. This state has been having a boom of organization, but many of the locals established seem to be on paper and it is very difficult to tell just what will be the result. All agree that there is "something doing in Kansas" but just what the result will be is impossible to say as that state is proverbially uncertain. At a recent meeting of Comrade Debs in Wichita there were five thousand present and National Organizer Work sends in most enthusiastic reports of his Kansas meetings.

Kentucky.—State Secretary Lanfersiek reports for Newport that "Four years ago there was little agitation; this year we are holding from two to four meetings a week. About 300 papers distributed at street meetings per week. No comparison between the work done four years ago and now. This fall we will have Mills, Debs, Wentworth, and probably others. Nothing four years ago. Vote for Debs four years ago in Campbell county, (including Newport, Bellevue, Dayton) 205; for governor in 1903, 674. Adverse local conditions in Newport last year; eliminated now; expect county to poll vote of 1,000." He does not seem to expect much of a growth for the whole state as he only estimates vote of 3,000, which seems to contradict the Newport facts given. Comrade Geo. M. Jackson, who has been traveling through the mountain districts of Kentucky and Tennessee, was a recent visitor at the REVIEW office and reports a great interest in that locality. The mines and lumber are being exploited with wage labor and this is introducing the mountaineers at once to capitalism and socialism.

Louisiana.—State Secretary Hall reports that "while four years ago there was no organization whatever, today there are twenty locals and new ones organizing all along the line. National organizers and local speakers have covered a large proportion of the state during the last year. Hundreds of papers and pamphlets are being distributed and the demand increasing every day. We hope to poll 10 per cent of vote cast, say seven or eight thousand and secure official standing as a political party. Our vote may run 10,000 or more, as there is extreme dissatisfaction with the so-called Democratic party. Two-thirds of the reg-

istered voters staid away from the polls in the state election in May, 1904."

Maine.—The state secretary reports many times as much speaking, while the amount of literature rises from 50,000 pieces in 1900 to over 200,000 in 1904. Practically no organization in 1900, fourteen active locals at present. In the election just held about 1500 votes were cast for the socialist party candidate for governor, just about twice the vote cast for Debs in 1900. Vote this fall will probably be about 2,000.

Massachusetts.—No report from state secretary. Reports from various localities indicate that there is an almost complete recovery from the lethargy that seemed to follow the slight setback from the great "coal vote," and that the work of agitation and the enthusiasm that placed Massachusetts in the front rank of socialism in America is present with greater vigor than ever before. Comrade Renier of Springfield says that "twice the number of lectures and entertainments have been held as in 1900." He estimates the vote of that city at 1,200 as compared with 350 in 1900. Lynn expects 1,000 votes compared with 750 last year.

From Worcester comes the statement that "we are in about the same condition as four years ago." Ware says "hope to make gain over last year but do not feel sure we will do that." Haverhill reports probability of electing a representative, and some local officers.

Michigan.—This state carried on a very extensive "soap-box" campaign last summer. Indeed it seems to have been rather more extensive and expensive than the situation warranted and to have somewhat exhausted the organization. From all over the state however comes reports of a much greater interest in socialism than ever before. Socialist speakers report audiences many times larger than previously. Union men are mentioned as especially turning toward socialism in large numbers. The exactions of the transportation companies has also given Michigan one of the best movements among the farmers of any state. In Battle Creek the socialists have several members of the city government and keep up an active agitation.

Minnesota.—State Secretary Nash reports: "Four years ago there was one speaker in the state for the S. D. P. and one for the S. L. P., each remaining in the field about four weeks. This year the S. D. P., known as the Public Ownership Party, has had from two to three speakers in the field almost continuously for four or five months, and they will continue the work until election night, and then commence again for the next campaign. Literature was distributed in small quantities four years ago, and this year it is being sold in large quantities, besides which a large amount is being distributed free in almost all parts of the state. Four years ago there were seven locals in the state, and today we

have a little over sixty, with a constant call for speakers from various places throughout the state, where we have heretofore been unable to make any impression. The S. L. P. has become nearly disrupted, and only for the fact that the supreme court has come to its rescue, in giving it the name to which we are justly entitled according to the laws of this state they would not be in existence today. In denying us the name Socialist upon the official ballot, they have taken the only method that would resuscitate the S. L. P. corpse, which already smells to heaven, and has been discredited in all parts of the state. Most of its members have deserted its ranks, and are now working in conjunction with us; and those who still remain are too nearly dead to carry on any agitation, relying wholly upon the hope that people who do but little reading will vote wherever they see the word socialist." Comrade Nash makes no estimate of the vote, but reports from Crookston, Austin and Duluth, with general information from other centers makes it safe to expect that in spite of the adverse conditions regarding the name, there will be three times as many votes cast as in 1900. In Duluth, where there was no vote in 1900, and only 289 in 1902, a vote of between 500 and 1,000 is expected this year. In Crookston the vote of 250 of 1900 will probably be multiplied by four this fall.

Missouri.—Comrade Behrens, the candidate for governor, is also the president of the state Federation of Labor and he has been making a most active canvass. In St. Louis the socialist and trade union movement are very closely identified. There is both an English and German socialist paper published there and clippings from capitalist papers indicate that the socialist activity is very great.

Montana.—No report from the state secretary. Report from Local Butte states that many socialist voters have been driven out of the mines through a system of black-listing and hence will be disfranchised by resident qualifications. Agitation is greater than ever before. Reports from various quarters estimate increase at 100 percent over vote of 1902. Comrade Mabie, of Chico, however, does not find much more agitation there than four years ago and says while there will be considerable increase over 1900 there will be little over 1902 in that locality.

New Jersey.—State Secretary Killingback says: "Indications are we will add fifty per cent, making total this year of 8,000 votes. I will be greatly disappointed if we do not reach 10,000. All the old S. L. P. leaders of any consequence are with us this year." National secretary reports that New Jersey is buying more literature than any other state in the union and seems inclined to think that Comrade Strobell's estimate is very much within the bounds of probability.

Comrade Strobell, of the literature committee, declares that

he is not given to roseate stories but "All the congressional districts have tickets and there are good prospects of getting everyone of the 21 local tickets filled. The literature is going out in great quantities, which will be vastly increased when we are through with the nominations. It seems to me we may safely estimate on double the vote of last year in the state."

New York.—The following report from State Secretary John C. Chase gives an excellent view of the work in that state: "We are carrying on more agitation in this campaign than ever before in the history of the movement in this state. In Greater New York, all through the summer months open air meetings have been held nightly, and speakers almost without number, have held forth, expounding the principles of socialism. Many new speakers have been developed within the last year or two, and with the little army of speakers now available in Greater New York, something like an average of 60 meetings a week have been and are being held. Several speakers of national reputation have been touring the state, under the direction of the state committee and others will be constantly at work, until the close of the campaign. We have 48 locals of the party in the state most of them active and carrying on the work of agitation either in conjunction with the state committee, or on their own account. Our candidate for governor has been devoting his entire time to the work of agitation since July 1st and will continue until election day. Literature: The state committee has issued up to this time, something like six hundred thousand pieces of literature and before the end of the campaign we will have issued three times that amount. As our party in New York state is known as the Social Democratic party, we are obliged to constantly keep our name and emblem before the voters, and we therefore, find ourselves obliged to issue much literature bearing upon this particular point, besides the literature of an educational character. We will distribute half a million of "The Mission of the S. D. P.," the leaflet written by Comrade Debs and re-arranged for use in this state. We also have 5,000 copies of the pamphlet, "Unionism and Socialism," for use at all meetings and many other valuable pamphlets that are bound to make socialists. Probable vote. The vote of the Social Democratic party in New York state last year was 33,399. This vote was cast at an election in an "odd year" with no gubernatorial candidate and was, for that reason perhaps, somewhat of an abnormal vote. To hold this vote even, would mean a good substantial gain, but conservatively speaking, I would set the vote for Debs and Hanford at 35,000. There is no probability of electing any officials this year in this state. There are some districts in New York city where the possibilities of electing assemblymen in the near future are very bright, but this

year's canvass will not result in the election of any of our candidates, unless the unexpected happens."

Rochester reports agitation "twice as much" and party organization "twice as effective" with a probable vote of 3,500. From Yonkers speaking is reported about the same, "while much more literature is being distributed and a vote of one thousand is expected for West Chester county."

North Carolina.—This state has a socialist electoral ticket in the field for the first time. National Organizer Towner has been working in North and South Carolina for the last six weeks and reports prospect of a good socialist vote.

Ohio.—The State Secretary Gardner reports that a circuit tour for speakers so arranged as to keep expenses very low, embraces 35 Ohio towns. In addition out of door work "has developed speakers in nearly every town." This is contrasted with the condition in 1900 "when every great while a speaker would come through the state hitting the high places only." There were 14 locals with a membership of between two and three hundred in 1900. There are now 58 locals with 1,500 members in good standing. The probable vote is "very hard to state," but I think I am conservative in saying that the vote for Eugene V. Debs will be 20,000 in this state.

Comrade Bandlow, of Cleveland, who is noted for his ultra-conservatism in making estimates, thinks that the vote of the county which includes Cleveland, will be about 3,000, an increase of nearly 50 percent over all previous elections. The secretary of Local Cleveland says that 4,000 is a "conservative estimate" for the city of Cleveland, while republican and democratic politicians are worrying about the possibility of Comrade Max S. Hayes being elected to congress.

Toledo expects a vote of 2,500 and the secretary of Local Newark says there will be a gain of 200 per cent in Licking county. In Butler county one thousand votes are expected, over 100 percent increase.

Oklahoma Territory.—In few localities has there been as rapid a growth in socialist sentiment, agitation and organization as in Oklahoma, and were statehood a fact, a large accession to the vote for Debs and Hanford might be expected from here. Comrade Hart, of Kingfisher, estimates the total vote at between four and eight thousand. It was about 2,000 in 1900. Whereas there was almost no organization four years ago there are now over one hundred locals in good standing and more being constantly organized.

Oregon.—Acting State Secretary Axelson reports that organization is in rather poor shape, "only 410 dues paying members in July." Says there has been little definite agitation carried on by the state organization. As to the probable vote he says that "last

June the vote stood for superior judge, 6,419, an increase of 25 percent over the vote of two years before. We are looking for at least ten percent increase again next November. Some think we will double it, but I doubt that strongly." The national secretary informs us that steps are being taken to send a speaker into Oregon for the remainder of the campaign which will probably stir things up.

Pennsylvania.—State secretary sent no report. Comrade Cohen, of Local Philadelphia, reports that fifteen street meetings are held weekly, at which 150 pieces of literature are sold and 200 given away. Estimates the vote at 3,500, more than double that of 1900. As a whole, Pennsylvania, like Massachusetts, is suffering from an overdose of "coal-vote," which will take some time to digest. A large proportion of the locals organized at the time of the anthracite strike have disappeared, and the whole state organization has been disarranged by the extra work then undertaken and the relapse which followed it. Nevertheless socialism is steadily increasing and it is probable that the vote of 1902 will be increased by something like thirty to fifty percent. In the industrial centers, such as Pittsburg, there is considerable activity, although in some of these places the relics of the S. L. P. still continue to form a disturbing element, although on the whole their best workers have amalgamated with the socialist party.

Report from Scranton says that there was no organization in 1900. It began in 1903 with 7 members, now have 33 names on books. Vote in 1902, 918; 1903, 360; estimated for 1904, 800. "The main reason for this inactivity is the general disgust of always seeing two opposing socialist ballots. As soon as the socialist workmen stop squabbling among themselves fully 3,000 votes can be gained here."

Tennessee.—No report by state secretary. Reports from various portions of the state tell of several national organizers doing good work where there was nothing done in 1902. The estimate of the total vote varies from 5,000 to 7,000. The secretary of Local Harriman reports increased interest and a probable vote of 60 compared with 13 in 1900. This is a fairly typical report.

Texas.—No report from state secretary. Comrade Kerrigan, of Dallas, reports much more speaking throughout the state than ever before. A great "encampment" was arranged for at Grand Saline at the time of the state convention in August, which aroused much interest. Party organization is much improved. Hostile legislation disfranchising a portion of the working class, and a ballot law that permits fraud on a wholesale scale, will prevent the casting and counting of any very large socialist vote. Still it should show an increase of fifty percent over 1902.

Utah.—Comrade Joseph Gilbert, editor *The Crisis*, writes as follows: "Four years ago the socialist candidate for president

received 700 votes. At that time there was not much of an organization, what little activity there was being mostly confined to Salt Lake City and Ogden, with a sprinkling in some of the mining camps. At no time has the movement, until the present, been in what may be considered a properly organized condition having been cursed with factionalism. The entire vote of Utah this coming election will be about 90,000, of which a conservative estimate of the socialist vote is a little over 6,000, or about seven percent."

Vermont.—State Secretary Anderson writes that while there has been little more speaking this year than in 1900 there has been much more literature distributed. In 1900 there were four locals now there are six. The state vote on September 6th was 757, as opposed to 596 in 1900. This last vote makes the party an official one. Vermont is one of the hardest states to affect. Its conservative republicanism is traditional. But something of a beginning has been made.

Washington.—Reports from various parts of this state agree that it will be one of those to add heavily to the increased socialist vote at the coming election. Comrade Scott, writing for the state secretary, reports that agitation both by speakers and literature is much greater than four years ago. In regard to organization he states that "there are two or three applications for charters coming in weekly." He concludes that "two years ago the state vote was about 4,700. Expect at least 12,000 this autumn. The country districts seem to be developing faster than the city."

Hoquiam looks for a gain of nearly three fold and says that "two strong union labor men have been nominated for legislature in this county and their election is possible."

West Virginia.—In this state the movement has been created since 1900. As Comrade Klein, state secretary, says: "Agitation,—1900, none; in 1904, Debs one speech, Wilkins 40, and a number of local speakers. Nineteen hundred, no organization; 1904, complete state organization, with about 25 locals." He adds that the socialists are conceded 5,000 votes, and stand a chance of electing county officers in Cobell and Fayette counties.

Wisconsin.—State secretary, Miss E. H. Thomas, writes as follows: "The social democratic (socialist) party in Wisconsin will use during the present campaign about double the amount of agitation through speakers, and about five times as much literature, as was used in this state in the campaign of 1900. The number of locals in Wisconsin has also about doubled during the last four years. It is impossible to estimate the vote at this time, but it will undoubtedly show a large increase over our vote in the last presidential campaign. We shall elect quite a number of assemblymen, and hope to elect one or two congressmen." From Racine comes the report that "We have 10 branches, with a mem-

bership of about 150. We have only been organized four years, and our vote was 117 for Debs in 1900, 217 in 1902 for governor; 676 in 1903 for mayor, and 1,149 in 1904 for city treasurer. We expect to get 1,600 or more this fall. Last spring we gave the elected candidates a close chase in four wards, being only from 12 to 30 votes behind. We may elect our assemblyman in the first district." The fight in Wisconsin between LaFollette and the "Stalwart" Republicans will drive many voters into the socialist ranks, especially since the republican national convention turned LaFollette and his "socialistic" measures down so hard.

Wyoming.—No report from state secretary. Secretary of Local Laramie reports a full ticket in the field, active agitation, extensive circulation of literature and an increase of at least 100 percent in the vote.

A. M. SIMONS.

The following was received from Comrade Debs just as we go to press. He writes from Los Angeles, California.

"Judging by the crowds that attend our meetings and the enthusiasm that prevails everywhere this will be an epoch-making year in the annals of the working class awakening and socialist party development. In all my experience there has been nothing to compare to it. Want of time prevents me from responding to your inquiries in detail, but I feel free to say in a general way that the campaign and the outlook this year are so far in advance of the campaign of four years ago that comparison reduces the latter to insignificant proportions. Where we had one speaker then we have now a score or more. Literally tons of revolutionary literature are being distributed and the working class and the people generally are eager to read and be enlightened as never before. The party organization is in excellent condition and harmony and good will prevail in its councils, while a spirit of aggressive activity animates the whole membership. The party interest of the REVIEW is to be commended and will doubtless have its good results.

EUGENE V. DEBS."

The International Congress.

NEVER before has the name "International" been so well deserved by any gathering as by the one which met last month in Amsterdam. There were 474 delegates present distributed as follows among the various countries:

Delegates.

Italy	3
Denmark	7
Germany	68
Hungary	3
Australia	1
Canada	1
United States:—	
Socialist Party	9
Socialist Labor Party	1
Social Democratic Women's Party	1
Armenia	1
England:—	
Social Democratic Federation	34
Independent Labor Party	31
Fabian Society	5
Liverpool Fabian Society	1
Labour Representation Committee	2
Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain	2
Trade Unions	26
Argentine Republic	2
Austria	11
Belgium	38
Bohemia	2
Bulgaria	2
Spain	5
France:—	
Parti Socialiste de France	46
Parti Socialiste Francais	39
Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Revolutionnaire	6
Holland	33
Japan	1
Norway	2
Poland:—	
Social Democratic Party of Russia, Poland and Lithuania... 6	
Socialist Polish Party "proletarian"	
Social Democratic Polish Party Austria, Russia and Germany.20	
Russia:—	
Social Democratic Party of Russia	31

	Delegates.
Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia	6
Judischer Arbeiterbund	8
Sweden	6
Switzerland	7
Servia	1
<hr/>	
Total delegates,	474

Most of the resolutions which were adopted were given in our last issue and, while some changes were made in these resolutions yet, in few cases were these of any great importance.

The one great question of the Congress was the question of tactics. For the last five years there has been a steady attempt on the part of those who had not yet fully adopted the socialist position to bring the socialist movement toward the unconverted rather than having the latter come to the party. In a way this is but a tribute to the tremendous strength of the socialist movement at the present time. Yet it could not but be felt that there were great dangers in this tendency. In France, Germany, Italy and England this movement had attained considerable strength.

Germany had settled the question at the Dresden conference by the resolution declaring in favor of the class struggle position. In France, however, the fight still raged. While Millerand had been driven from the party yet Jaures still maintained the desirability of socialist support for bourgeois governments. The *Parti Socialiste de France* (Guesdists) demanded that the International Congress express itself on this question. In order to make the contest appear as little as possible like a mere extension of the internal quarrels of France, they did not formulate a resolution of their own but simply requested that the International Congress adopt the Dresden resolution. For several days the struggle was carried on in committee. Vandervelde wished to modify the Dresden resolution so as to make it less of a direct condemnation of Jaures. The majority of the committee however were in favor of the Dresden resolution. Nevertheless both were brought before the congress. Then began what was by far the greatest debate ever held in a socialist body. Jaures defended his position in what all agree was one of the most brilliant oratorical efforts ever put forth in a socialist organization. Even his friends agree as to the contrast between him and Bebel in this respect. Says the I. L. P. Labor Leader "Jaures used no notes and bore down upon you like some rushing mountain stream. . . . He used all the devices of the man who plays on the feelings of his audience. Now he spoke slowly, now quickly, at one time he repeated a sentence for increased effect and at another

time he let his sentences chase one another as if his whole object was to institute an oratorical Derby. Bebel on the contrary made points instead of playing on people's feelings."

Nearly all of our readers know the result of the struggle. Vandervelde's movement was defeated by a vote of 16 to 24, after which the Dresden resolution was adopted by 27 votes to 3, the countries being divided as follows:

FOR THE RESOLUTION.

England, 1 vote; Germany, 2; Belgium, 2; Bulgaria, 2; Spain, 2; United States, 2; France, 1; Austria, 2; Hungary, 2; Italy, 2; Japan, 2; Norway, 1; Poland, 2; Russia, 2. Total, 25.

AGAINST THE RESOLUTION.

England, 1 vote; Australia, 2; France, 1; Norway, 1. Total, 5.

Twelve votes were withheld as follows:

Argentine Republic, 2 votes; Belgium, 2; Denmark, 2; Holland, 2; Switzerland, 2; Sweden, 2.

A word of explanation as to the method of voting should be given. Each country is allowed two votes and these may be divided if the delegation does not agree.

It is worth while to notice some of the comments which have appeared upon the action of the congress since its adjournment. These are really of more importance than the speeches as they indicate the effect upon the various national movements. Jaures makes a most bitter attack, as might have been expected, and intimates that he will pay no attention to it. But perhaps the most striking development has been upon the English movement. We have noted several times that the Labor Representation Committee and the Independent Labor Party had practically left the socialist position. The *Labor Leader* has been filled with denunciation of the congress and Keir Hardie in his report of the International descends to deliberate misrepresentation when he declares that the supporters of the Dresden resolution "assume that the lot of the worker must keep growing from bad to worse until it grows intolerable when the worker will rise in political revolution and overthrow the entire system." He is specially untruthful when he continues by saying that Kautsky is the leading representative of this faction, and we cannot but wonder if the English socialists are so utterly ignorant of Kautsky's writings as to believe such falsehoods. We are not surprised therefore to see in the next number of the *Labor Leader* after the one containing this remarkable article another communication from Keir Hardie in which he draws up an indictment of the "class war" and denies the entire class struggle philosophy. Incidentally the article betrays a most pitiful ignorance (if we grant him honesty) of the socialist philosophy.

This attitude of Comrade Hardie's is all the more remarkable since it places him and the handful of Labor Representation Com-

mittee leaders of England in a class entirely by themselves. In Jaures' speech at the International Congress he was very careful to declare that he did not abandon the class war, and both Bernstein and Vandervelde insist that their tactics are in accord with the class struggle and indignantly deny that they have repudiated the class struggle philosophy. Indeed, the only question in the congress, so far as is shown by the debate, was simply as to the advisability of attempting to lay down International rules. Kautsky declares in the *Neue Zeit* that "among the very numerous speakers there was scarcely one that completely accepted the tactics of Jaures. In spite of all personal sympathy which existed for him nearly all the speakers repudiated his tactics, and the fact that there were so many votes against the Dresden resolution is largely due to considerations as to the impossibility of formulating rules for International tactics."

JAURES' SPEECH.

The following speech of Jaures is translated from *Le Petit Republicque* with the assistance of the German translation which appeared in the *Vorwärts*:

"It is a difficult task to follow a speaker who is charged with the duty of impartiality expounding hostile positions. To follow a report delivered in such a calm manner is to expose one's self to the appearance of violence, or at least to passion, which would be displeasing after such an appeal for unity as that to which you have just listened. But socialist unity must not be an oppressive uniformity which would deny that right of criticism and discussion which is the essence of socialism.

"I do not claim to speak in the name of the Adler-Vandervelde minority, but only for myself and the majority of those who voted for me.

"The Dresden resolution which was adopted by the Germans after a long, theoretical and practical debate gives rise to a multitude of ideas. I can barely touch upon these and state why I am opposed to it. I wish to indicate our position in the debate and our point of view in International socialism. If I vote against the Dresden resolution is it not because it has been moved and supported by certain socialists who are opposed to us, or because its adoption will enable the Guesdeists to say, 'this proves our claim that you have for years deserted the class struggle position and your policy is now denounced by the International movement.' I am absolutely certain that the French proletariat will not be deceived. They know and will remember that our policy has always been for social, moral and intellectual progress, and has never been marked by a desertion of the class struggle.

"The working class will not disavow us. If it is sought to throw the weight of the vote of the International congress into the battle in France, we demand that we take account of the Socialist, revolutionary, republican proletariat who have opposed those who declared that the republic, and the secularization of the schools

were not worth an hour's time of the proletariat, and ought to be sacrificed for the hope of the automatic installation of a collectivist regime through the play of blind forces. It is we who will demand an account of Vaillant for his denial of the secular, revolutionary, republican traditions of the Blanquists. (Applause.)

"It is not the situation in France that disturbs me. I thoroughly recognize that impliedly or explicitly the Dresden resolution recognizes the dual necessity of an immediate and a revolutionary socialist action. It is right in saying that socialism must be carried on by a class organization, independent in its end and actions and devoted to the complete transformation of the capitalist system with the object of abolishing all exploitation and restoring to the collective workers all the fruits of their labor.

"It would appear from Vandervelde's report that to him the reformists seem to consider reforms as a means of consolidating the bourgeois regime. I know not whom he means by this, but it applies neither to me nor to my friends. All our reforms have for their revolutionary object the emancipation of oppressed and exploited labor. (Applause.)

"We wish to be autonomous in our object and in the political and economic organization of the working class, not isolated into factional sects, but participating in the whole historic environment of proletarian revolutionary activity. In so far as the Dresden resolution recognizes the necessity of socialist autonomy, I agree with it. But, you must recognize that socialism must make its appeal to all the forces of democracy if it is to accomplish immediate reforms. We must not cease to grasp and to utilize democratic evolution to further proletarian evolution whenever it has need of such assistance. I have heard Guesde at a previous meeting, where we have spoken together in socialist propaganda, declare that out of thirty-seven million citizens, not more than 200,000 individuals had purely capitalist class interests. I have heard Bebel say the same thing. It would be foolish to leave this half developed democracy to itself. This is why it is necessary that the proletariat with its close organization must make use of all democracy. The Socialistic Radical party of France is neither proletarian nor capitalist, counting among its members the artisans of the small industries and the country workers. This party will accept partial reforms such as secularization, progressive income tax, inheritance tax, and the progressive socialization of mines, insurance, sugar factories, and all monopolistic industries. We do not need to merge ourselves with them but we would be fools and criminals to reject their co-operation if we may thereby realize possible reforms which would hasten the coming of the new era. (Applause.)

"That which leads me to vote against the Dresden resolution is that it appears to me to be an attempt to set forth as a supreme formula of socialism what is really but a socialist tradition. To

Bebel, Ferri and Kautsky I will say that it is a singular method of establishing socialist unity in France to place a weapon in the hands of one of the factions to be used against the other. Above all else, I am opposed to the Dresden resolution because it implies a sort of deep distrust of the proletariat. Its authors seem to fear that the proletariat will compromise itself and lose itself through its collaboration with democracy. The International socialism which would renovate the entire world and free it from capitalism speaks to the proletariat that it expects to accomplish this if it were an incompetent minor incapable of directing itself, —a blind man in a strange city. It is as a protest against this position that we oppose the Dresden resolution. It is because it would seek to limit the diverse activity of the proletariat by narrow rules and bind and injure the working class where it has the need of the greatest liberty of initiation and activity.

"The more mature and stronger the proletariat is in any country the more decisively does it move toward our tactics. Wherever freedom of movement and action rules, there new problems arise. So it is in Italy where the bourgeois democracy is ready to take new forward steps if socialism does not neglect to fulfill its political role. In England labor organizations are beginning to come to socialism. Bebel says that it was the reforms of the English bourgeoisie which prevented the adherence of the proletariat to class-conscious socialism. I think on the contrary that class-conscious socialism has not in its beginning had a sufficiently close contact with labor organizations. It was a misfortune that the socialist parties were not closely united to the trade unions at the beginning and that they were so dominated by revolutionary catastrophic theories. Because they stood waiting for a catastrophic revolution the English socialists have not been able to become a part of the great labor movement. The bond between the proletariat and socialism is just now growing, but this is because of socialist political activity in social reforms. In Belgium, it is possible to overthrow the clerical party within two years if the liberals and socialists unite. The same problems will then present themselves in Belgium. Our brothers will then have the same trials to endure, the same difficulties to surmount that we now have.

"It is admitted that the Dresden resolution is only a provisional measure even for Germany. When the German socialists brought this resolution before the International congress they labored under a fatal illusion because they thought that their National rule might be made to serve as a uniform International regulation adaptable to the internal situation of every country. Since we are compelled to set forth our internal situation, we hope that our German friends will permit us to examine theirs. In seeking to force their Dresden resolution upon us they but communicate to the International congress the spirit of uncer-

tainty and of hesitation with which they are stricken. You have given to International socialism a method of action and of systematic organization. You are a great party, and to you belongs the future of Germany, one of the most forcible and intelligent of the great divisions of humanity. But there is a great contrast between the appearance and the reality of your great force in spite of your electoral success. It is apparent to the eyes of all that this formidable electoral force of yours, valuable as it may be for propaganda, has little effect because you refuse to utilize democratic instruments which are necessary to give it effect. The Dresden resolution will impose upon the whole International movement the rules of inaction and necessity of inaction which it has imposed upon the German movement, which have taken the instruments for transformation from the German proletariat. They are lacking in revolutionary tradition. They have not conquered universal suffrage and democracy, they have received it from above, and to-day those who gave it threaten to withdraw it. And so it is that you in your 'red kingdom' of Saxony may find your universal suffrage taken away from you without a possibility of resistance. Your publications represent me as the corrupter of the proletariat. Yet you have been obliged to permit your official organ to sign a retraction at the time of the Krupp affair. Why? You have no revolutionary tradition. You are the only country in the world where socialism will not be enacted when it secures a majority. You have no true parliamentary regime, for your parliament is, after all, but a plaything in the hands of more powerful forces. You are therefore neither parliamentary nor revolutionary socialists. To be sure, you are large and strong; you have your destiny. Humanity waited upon your congress at Dresden. At least, *Vorwärts* has proclaimed that the kingdom was yours after the election and that you would convoke the International at Berlin, but the fact is that you are powerless. (Applause.) You have blindly groped hither and thither and concealed your powerlessness of action by taking refuge in theoretical formulas that conceal the political aim. (Applause.) And now you would seek to bind the International with all its forces, all its powers, and make it share your temporary powerlessness, your momentary inactivity.

"Where then does your movement encounter opposition? In France, Belgium, England, Switzerland, those countries where democratic life is most intense and most effective, and it is just this fact which proves that your Dresden resolution is a menace to the International."

BEBEL'S SPEECH.

Bebel replied to Jaures in a speech of which the following is a translation of the *Vorwaerts* report:

"The speech which Comrade Jaures has made to-day would

give you the wholly false impression that we German Social Democrats had called forth this debate. Neither before nor since the Dresden congress have we thought of such a thing for a moment. It is due much more to a fraction of the French comrades who believe that our Dresden resolution should be adopted as the foundation of the tactics of the social democrats in all parliamentary ruled countries. It is self-evident that we would decide for our own resolution, and all the more so since the causes that had led us to adopt it in Germany have appeared in a large number of other countries. Furthermore that events since the Paris congress of 1900 have shown that in spite of the unanimous adoption of the Kautsky resolution, these tendencies, these practices have continued to advance and in many countries have secured an important influence. Therefore, it is doubly desirable to pass judgment on these tendencies.

When one listened to Jaures, the question continually arose, how is it possible that a majority could be found in the committee for such a resolution? He has made it appear as if the other nations must be absolute idiots to vote for such a resolution. He has represented it as the abolition of all freedom, of individual thought, as a suppression of the minority, in short, as the greatest intellectual terrorism conceivable in the social democracy. Hence, it is characteristic that a few of our friends who were not wholly in accord with all the phrases of the resolution have favored the Adler-Vandervelde movement, while the whole sense and content of our resolution remains untouched. From this standpoint Jaures' whole critique is directed upon the sense and content of its significance. Jaures says this belongs only to monarchical Germany. To be sure, Germany is not only one monarchy, it is almost two dozen monarchies, and for a monarchy at the very least, two dozen too many. (Laughter and cries of "good"). So conditions in Germany are actually extraordinary. Certainly Germany is a reactionary, feudalistic police dominated land—one of the worst ruled countries in Europe. We know this who have to fight this system day after day and who bear the traces of its workings upon our bodies. We do not need any one from other countries to tell us in what miserable conditions we are. But the facts are such that our resolution may perhaps give the correct tactics to be followed in other countries.

"My opinions on monarchy and republic have been frequently given in no unmistakable manner in the bourgeois press. I repeat them now outside the committee. It goes without saying that we are republicans, socialist republicans, (applause), that is indeed one of the strongest complaints of Count Bülow and Prince Bismarck and the whole German reaction, from all times up to the present, against us. We have never denied this, but we do not rush after the bourgeois republic. However much we may envy

you French on account of your republic, and however much we may wish it, we do not think it is worth while to let our heads be cracked for it (thunderous applause). Whether bourgeois monarchy or bourgeois republic, both are class states, both must from their very nature be considered as the supporters of the capitalist social order; both must use all their strength to the end that the bourgeois retain complete power in legislation, for the very moment that they lose political power they lose also their economic and social position.

"Monarchy is not so bad as you paint it, nor the republic so good. Even in our military, agrarian, police Germany we have institutions which would be ideal in comparison with those of your bourgeois republic. Look at the tax legislation in Prussia and other individual states and then look at France. I know of no other country in Europe that has so oppressive, reactionary, exploiting a system of taxation as France. In opposition to this exhausting system with a budget of three and a half billion francs, we at least have a progressive income and property tax.

"And so far as concerns the improvement of the laboring class the bourgeois republic also utilizes all its forces against the laborer. Where are the laborers used with a more universal and oppressive brutality than in the great bourgeois republic on the other side of the ocean, the ideal of so many of you? In Switzerland also, a far more democratic republic than even France, six times in this last short summer, the militia has been used against the laborers who sought to make use of the right of coalition and union through their small strikes. I envy you and your republic especially on account of the universal suffrage for all representative bodies. But I tell you frankly that if we had the suffrage in the same degree and with the same freedom as you, we would have shown you something wholly different (tremendous applause) from what you have yet shown us. But, when with you, laborers and employers come into conflict, there arises from you a shriek to high heaven against the French proletariat. What is your militia to-day other than a most acceptable instrument for the maintenance of class dominion? There has been no great battle in the last four years either at Lille, Roubaix, Marseilles, Brest, Martinique, or more recently in Normandy against the striking workers in which the Waldeck-Rousseau, Millerand ministry and the Combes ministry have not used the military against the laborers. In November the Paris police have broken into the Parisian labor headquarters in the most shamefully violent manner and have wounded and clubbed 70 laborers, and then some of our socialist friends in the Chamber have refused to vote for the punishment of the chief of police. (Hisses) Jaures has delivered a lecture to us about what we should do. I will only tell him that if in Germany any one had thought for the sake of favoring the government of supporting

an order of the day which surrendered the most important interest of the proletariat, he would find himself on the next day without any vote (tremendous applause) he would not remain a representative of the people another hour. We are too well disciplined for that.

"Jaures said that the Dresden resolution betrayed a spirit of uncertainty and doubt. I am greatly astonished that so widely cultured and historically correct a man as Comrade Jaures should make such a statement concerning the Dresden resolution and the German Social Democracy. With the exception of Turkey and Russia we Germans have the worst ruled government in Europe. But, in spite of that by means of the universal suffrage in the Reichstag and the corrupted suffrage for the individual states, we have sent a great number of representatives to the legislative bodies of Germany. Have these representatives ever rejected any reform, ever refused to support an advance? Just the contrary. If we have secured the least little bit of political and social advance in Germany, we social democrats can ascribe it alone to our account (bravo). We can do this supported even by the threat of our enemy Bismarck and against the attacks of our friend Jaures (applause). Only by us are they forced and whipped on to reform, and the social democrats are so charitable as to accept all concessions that they can wring from their opponents, whenever an advance is actually offered whether to-day from the government, to-morrow from the liberal parties, or the day after from the Center. But in the next hour we will fight them all, Center, government, representatives and Liberals, as our constant enemies. The bottomless abyss between us and the government, as well as the bourgeois parties, is not forgotten for a moment. In England also the government grants its reforms only because it would hinder the rise of a powerful socialist movement. The English bourgeoisie is the shrewdest in the world (hear, hear). If in the universal elections next year English liberalism is victorious it will make one of you, (perhaps John Burns) an under State Secretary, not in order to advance toward socialism, but in order to be able to say to the laborers that they have freely granted what is denied upon the battle field (applause from the English delegates) but in order to hold the votes of laborers and to avoid socialism (stormy applause from the English delegates.) What sort of services has Jaures performed through his alliances?

"If the republic of France was in danger the last few years, (I accept that as a fact), you were wholly right when you worked with the bourgeois defenders of the republic to rescue it. We would have done exactly the same. Neither do we offer you any reproach for your struggle against clericalism. Unite, if you are alone too weak, with the Liberals for this purpose. We would have done the same, but after the battle we are different people.

"And where was it during the last few years that Jaures has rescued the world peace from danger? We also have *spoken* for the peace of the world, but in contrast to us you *voted* for a military and naval state (the Jauresists "No") for a colonial state (Jauresists "No") for indirect taxes, for the secret fund (objections among the Jauresists) and thereby supported everything that endangered peace (loud applause). We cannot give a vote of confidence to the budget of a capitalist government. (Loud applause.)

"Jaures hopes through this co-operation with capitalist parties to secure the nationalization of railroads and mines. One of the most important points in his programme, then, the monarchical Germany has already accomplished (merriment.) If we in Germany really wished such an advance we would naturally have also supported the bourgeois parties, but we would have rejected most decisively any permanent alliance with these elements.

"Jaures believes that for Germany also the Dresden resolution will only have a professional significance. It seems to me that on this point he is a very poor prophet. I certainly can think of no conditions in which we would not act according to its fundamental principles. Therefore I have never heard a more outrageous, contradictory assertion than that the Dresden resolution arose from a spirit of doubt and uncertainty. It was directed at just these doubters and uncertain individuals who sought to corrupt our old and tested tactics, and it is a sign of our security that we have never thought of excommunicating anybody.

"Jaures spoke further of the political powerlessness of the German Social Democracy. What did he expect us to do after we had attained our three million? Did he expect us to set the three million in motion and lead them before the Imperial castle? (Merriment.) I have said immediately after this great victory that things would not at once be very much different. Three million is not enough for us, but give us four and eight million and then we will see. (Loud applause.) What you expect us to do at present when we are opposed to a capitalist majority of eight million, I certainly do not know. But just as we have never hitherto taken a step backwards, so in the future we shall march forward on the road of the Dresden resolution and rejoice when our opponents make way for us. (Applause.)

"To-day we have only the moral weight of a strong minority and we can do no more. Certainly, the proposed laws that we support with our votes often find their way into the government waste basket. So much the better for our agitation. If reasonable and necessary propositions do not become laws we thereby gain. But says Jaures as soon as we had received our three million votes 'the idea was suggested to abolish the Reichstag suffrage.' But Comrade Jaures, what does that show, except the

fright of the bourgeoisie? The great stream of universal suffrage swept round a little island, the water rose and those upon the island saw with fear the mathematically calculated moment in which the water would submerge the island. But what do you think would happen in France if you had two million votes? Do you think your bourgeoisie would look on peacefully? (Unrest and laughter among the Jauresists.) Just wait and see. 'Your helplessness arises from the fact that universal suffrage was given to you. You have no revolutionary principles.' So says Jaures. But the French bourgeoisie have helped the proletariat of 1848 to conquer the right of suffrage and when the latter demanded social reforms it went down in the June massacres. It was not the fighting spirit of the French comrades which gave them the republic (unrest in the French delegation), but Bismarck's victory which captured forced your emperor to give you a republic. That is no disgrace (Great merriment). And in Germany when Bismarck gave us universal suffrage he was obliged to refer it to the revolutionary traditions of 1848 and 1849. That his plan to hold the bourgeoisie back with the help of a little socialist party was not carried out is due to the German social democracy.

"The Millerand episode has now gone by, but the quarrels arising out of it and which so greatly injured the French socialist movement still continue. Concerning this confusion of minds a fine statement was made by—Jaures in the *Cosmopolis* of 1898. (Cries of 'hear, hear.') 'Socialists cannot take power gradually. One must wait until it can all be taken. (Jaures, 'Very true.') We can co-operate in securing partial reforms, but whoever sets a new life principle as a goal in place of the existing one can only accept the entire power. If we were to take but a part, this influence would be paralyzed by the present social order. The new ideal would not thereby be realized but compromised. We can attain to this in a crisis and cannot come out of it again.' (Hear, hear.) How prophetically, Comrade Jaures, have you foreseen developments. (Jaures 'No, no.' Great merriment.) You yourselves have made the worst compromise by your continuous support of Millerand. That was the most significant step of your life, the most dangerous adherent that you could have given to International socialism. (Loud applause.) Millerand did not greet the International Socialist congress of 1900, but rather made his obeisance before the bloodiest despot in Europe—the Czar. And when we went to Pere La Chaise to honor the murdered Communards by laying a wreath upon their graves, then were we greeted by the infantry, cavalry and artillery of the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry. There were more police agents than Deputies, and they did everything possible to make an International recognition of the Communards impossible. This one thing should have been enough to have made Millerand for them impossible. (Cheering and applause.) And since then, we have

seen that in every vote in the French parliament the Jauresist faction has split into two or three divisions, such as is seen in Germany only among the most decadent capitalist party, the National Liberals, and now a fraction of the proletarian party in France offers us this same spectacle, with the natural result that the party is compromised and demoralized. Victor Hugo could once call the French bourgeoisie "the light of the world." The French social democrats should occupy the same place in the movement for International socialism. Unfortunately the French socialists offer a spectacle the very opposite of admirable. We must do everything to see to it that when this spectacle, for which we all over the world are responsible, is ended that at last French socialism may take the place to which its intellectual and economic powers entitle it, and therefore we should vote for the Dresden resolution. I have no fear of the consequences. On the contrary the French proletariat is not what it is my firm conviction that it is, if it does not accept the warning of the congress. Do you, then, if possible, adopt the Dresden resolution unanimously?" (Tremendous applause, which was continuously renewed and then, after Bebel had long taken his place broke out again and again. Countless cheers broke through the sound of hand-clapping and many delegates were on their feet waving their handkerchiefs.)

This whole discussion is interesting when taken in connection with the evolution of socialist thought as displayed by successive International congresses. The Vienna *Volks Tribune* calls attention to the fact that "a short distance from Amsterdam at The Hague, in the year 1872, there was a congress of the 'old International;' a little proletarian coffee house was then large enough to accommodate the few people who had come together to consider the development of the labor movement who could sit round a single table as they worked out the various formulas which were to influence the course of universal history and turn it into new paths. What that little body of ridiculed and despised but able men then placed upon paper has to-day become living fact. Out of a variety of theoretical theses a popular movement has arisen, clearer and more comprehensive than the world has ever known. Then we had principles, to-day, visible facts; then, thoughts, to-day, deeds."

At that time, there was the greatest diversity and sharpest antagonism in the most elementary principles. In London in a final break was made with the anarchistic followers of Bakunin. Still, however, the divergence of principles and the antagonism of individuals was so great that the proceedings were continually interrupted by personal encounters, and it was only through the frequent intervention of capitalist police that deliberation was at all possible. Even, at the congresses of 1900 in Paris there were

times when the comrades came close to physical encounter, and the capitalist press hailed the inevitability of a split in the ranks of the socialists. To-day however fierce may sound the phrases which Bebel and Jaures hurl at each other the questions to be decided are after all largely doctrinaire in their character. That socialists disagree over International tactics is not remarkable. That they had reached a basic unity which permitted them to discuss the possibility of International tactics was a long step ahead of the condition reached in any previous congress.

The next congress will be held at Stuttgart in 1907, the German comrades having given assurance that freedom of speech would be permitted. This would be the first International congress ever held within the borders of the country having the strongest socialist movement.

The International Socialist Bureau reported that twenty-four nations were now represented on its committee. It will continue to have its seat at Brussels. An Inter-parliamentary committee was also formed having its seat for the present at Amsterdam. The proceedings of the congress will be issued in English, French and German, and can be procured through the International Secretary at Brussels for 25 cents.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

SOCIALIST UNITY.

"The Congress declares:

"That in order that the working class may develop its full strength in the struggle against capitalism, it is necessary there should be but one Socialist Party in each country as against the parties of capitalists, just as there is but one proletariat in each country.

"For these reasons, it is the imperative duty of all comrades and all Socialist organizations to strive to the utmost of their power to bring about this unity of the party, on the basis of the principles established by the international Congresses, that unity which is necessary in the interests of the proletariat to which they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of divisions within their ranks.

"To assist in the attainment of this aim, the International Socialist Bureau, as well as all parties within the countries where this unity exists, will cheerfully offer their services and co-operation."

FIRST OF MAY.

"Whereas the demonstration of the workers on the First of May has for object the common upholding, on a fixed day, and in all the countries where there is a modern working-class movement, of the cause of the proletariat, especially the protection of the workers by the eight hours' day law; the class solidarity and the universal holiday; and of demonstrating the unity of the working-class movement in all countries.

"Whereas the unity of the demonstration only exists in some countries, and in others not the First of May, but the first Sunday in the month, is celebrated.

"The Amsterdam Congress reaffirms the resolutions adopted at the International Socialist Congresses held in Paris in 1889, in Brussels 1891, in Zurich 1893, and Paris in 1900, and invites all the Socialist parties and trade unions of all countries to organize energetically the working-class demonstrations of the First of May, in order to demand the institu-

tion of the legal eight hours' day, and to maintain the interests of the working-class and the cause of universal peace.

"But this demonstration can be most effective only by the suspension of work on the First of May.

"The Congress, therefore, urges it upon all proletarian organizations as a duty, to strive to secure the complete stoppage of work on May First wherever that can be done without injury to working-class interests."

TRUSTS.

"The Trusts have their complete development, even in competition, in the world of production.

"They grow gradually into gigantic associations, organized nationally, or even internationally, and which reduce many industries to a complete monopoly.

"The Trusts are an inevitable consequence of competition, and they represent a system of production based on low wages.

"In these conditions the associations of capitalists of all countries and of all industries form powers composed on the basis of their common interests. Also the conflict between the capitalist class and the working class becomes more and more accentuated. Production is regulated, diminishing waste, and assuring the efficiency of labor, but all the benefit is for the capitalists while the exploitation of the workers is intensified.

"Considering these facts, and in view of the experiences which show the futility of legislation against Trusts.

"The Congress of Amsterdam, affirming the conclusions of the Congress of Paris, declares:

"1. That the Socialist Party of all countries should abstain from any attempt whatever to prevent the formation of trusts, or to restrain their development.

"2. The efforts of the Socialist Party should be in the direction of the socialization of production, having for object the general well-being and the elimination of profits.

"The method of establishing the socialization, and the order in which it will be effected will be determined by our power of action and by the nature of the industries trustified.

"In opposition to these organizations, which menace the economy organization of the workers by the consolidation of the capitalist forces the workers of the whole world must oppose a force organized nationally and internationally, as the single arm against capitalist oppression and the only means of bringing to an end the *regime* of capitalist society by establishing Socialism."

Theodore Roosevelt and His Essays.

IT is peculiarly unusual in America for a man in public life to indulge to any extent in literary expression. It is very far from the common to find even a professedly literary man who honestly, without ideas of reserve, pours out all of his thought upon every question of work, play, morals, economics, ethics, politics.

This is what Mr. Roosevelt has done in his essays. Not one nature in a thousand is capable of the all round vitality, briskness and dogmaticism which makes possible the variety and conciseness of Roosevelt's work. It is particularly edifying to have as evidences for and against the most prominent man in the United States far more definite than a third person could dare or hope to construct.

In examining the work of a man who lives so close to his words, it is just to allow for written and spoken utterances something of the same latitude we would use in judging the character of an acquaintance. It is manifestly unjust to pay attention to chance sentences and phrases in the case of a man who has endeavored to lay his whole heart and soul, his whole self, before his reader. It is upon this account that the entire number of Roosevelt's essays have been chosen as the subject of this paper, and it is on the same account that references for support of any contentions herein raised must be referred to the life of the man himself and to the entire number of his essays.

It is typical of a period of change, even more than of other periods, that private, public, economic, social, literary and business questions must be discussed with very close regard for one another. Perhaps at no time has it been so necessary to relate these various manifestations of the dynamic forces remolding the very detail of our national structure. Some general view point or adherence to some ideal becomes imperative. Roosevelt is an idealist. Indeed perusal of his works discloses the influence of two sets of ideals somewhat difficult to reconcile. By birth and early training he is a member of our almost completely evolved leisure class. Through imagination and books and some small experience he is strongly influenced by what we may call the spirit of the American frontier. By "frontier" is meant not alone the existing frontier, but also the frontiers of earlier date whose ideals still so strongly influence our national life. Roosevelt's honestly professed ideal is the frontier ideal. The influence of birth, life and training pervades his whole attitude and is a hindrance to any deep insight into material conditions. It is on this account that the whole of the essays are virtually directed to the leisure or upper class as advices to them as to the best meth-

ods of justifying and perpetuating the class. Roosevelt, the man living true to his sentiments, is the ideal the books portray. The struggle to adjust his personal philosophy to varying stages of development brings these two ideals into clear relief. In the agricultural west he is democratic, in the city his position closely follows that of the less democratic European members of the leisure class.

Roosevelt's methods deserve more than casual mention. The wonderful vitality and directness of the man serves all that he stands for in good stead. But his weakness lies here close to his strength. So strenuous is his attack, so cocksure must he be of results, so directly before him must his objective be, that evils which there is stupendous difficulty in meeting are neglected altogether. Indeed, Roosevelt's disposition will not permit him to attend, or even admit evils that cannot be surmounted by mere weight of character. Roosevelt's methods may be likened to those of the knights of old, who were eager to overcome evils by vigil or by the lance, but who failed to see the relation of the feudal system to the helpless maid and the dispoiled serf.

Roosevelt's historical and political conceptions are vigorous and manifold, but here again his divorcement from material conditions limits his horizon. History to Roosevelt is a story of battles and picturesque characters. Politics is a matter purely of national character, a thing apart from or only casually influenced by material changes, clash of classes and conflicting interests. The whole scheme for Roosevelt is a battle between righteousness and unrighteousness, with righteousness always on his side. Roosevelt's political conceptions resemble closely those of the young Englishman of the ruling class who enters politics as a social privilege and holds his whole function served if the game is played fairly according to the old rules; who speaks of industrial changes, but is too far from the pinch to be capable of even approximately understanding their import. In his historical and political papers, Roosevelt thoroughly discusses the machine, but it is the political machine. To this subject a whole chapter is allotted. Surface manifestations are examined and attacked. But he pays little or no regard to those vast impersonal forces that work with infinitely greater potency than the power of any ideal which does not accord with the actual material environment. Politics become disreputable, &c. A fair illustration of Roosevelt's attitude toward history and politics may be found in that very characteristic essay, "Fellow Feeling as a Political Factor." In summing up the causes of decay of all those civilizations which at various times have waxed mighty, Roosevelt, in order to support his thesis that there never should be any form of class conflict, ascribes this decadence to the existence of his *bete noir*, the class conscious mind. It is the fact that the classes were "unrighteous" enough to struggle, which accord-

ing to Roosevelt produced the decline and decay of freedom and progress. That classes exist with conflicting interests is comparatively an unimportant matter. Roosevelt's idealistic and sentimental point of approach, together with that element in his character which compels him to slight and ignore what his mere desire and personal prowess cannot overcome, has held him blind to the significance of history.

Civilizations have generally declined after class struggle, but they have declined because of the existence of classes with large and growing conflict of interests and through the capture of control by a small class with the subsequent divorcement of the great majority from any real first hand interest in the governing institutions.

The existence of classes and the actual conflict of these interests is a situation too big and complex for mere personal virtue to solve. But Roosevelt is virile, and he belongs to the class where all have money or authority, and the power of each is therefore multiplied as by leverage. Individuality is fostered and emphasized, and appears superficially to be the dominant factor in events trained therefore to a personal point of view and naturally aggressive, Roosevelt cannot face and accept the impersonalness of industrial conditions.

The fact that class training, even where classes have not evolved into castes, is the strongest single educational influence, is ignored.

Politics become disreputable, according to Roosevelt, because men are not sufficiently broadminded and good. To his companions he advises an artificial stimulus in the hope that thereby the habit of taking interest in matters political may be formed, or that they may at least become devotees of the game for the game's sake. He says play the game and it will grow interesting to you.

And it is in this point of approach that Roosevelt reveals the effect of training and exemption from the ordinary experiences of his fellows.

Roosevelt is much more a personal moralist than a social philosopher. The panacea that he would offer would be his own personality multiplied by the number of inhabitants of the United States and its dependencies. Material inequality as a field for "Strenuousness" he would perhaps retain. Be good, be patriotic, but above all refuse to recognize any other classification, any other force than the personal and the national, these are his admonitions. Of course, despite himself, Roosevelt is compelled to recognize industrial and social problems, but it always seems to be with regret and with a desire to explain away their significance. Conflicting interests he cannot and will not see. His point of approach, as that of one free from material environment, together with the grafted ideal of communities in which inequalities are only inequalities of worth, both guide him astray. Under-

lying movements of national life, great industrial changes, vast discontent are mentioned, but to examine into them closely is treason to his thesis. On the other hand, Roosevelt is well versed in knowledge of national and international needs. The importance of a navy, the improvement of consular and civil service, the building and control of great canals, and the necessity for the intervention of a strong right arm are recognized as a logical and imperious cry of business growth and life. In spite of criticisms to the contrary, it is as an essential to the maintenance of our present civilization that Roosevelt demands military expansion, although of course his training in "sport" and his natural predilections may in large measure be responsible for his stand. It is (this) international competition that Roosevelt appreciates. But in speaking of wage-competition, it is the ability to exclude Chinese and slave labor that furnishes for Roosevelt the solution of the problem.

Some of this easy dismissal of vital social matters is observed in his treatment of any movement of discontent. "Unrighteous" dismisses the affair.

Roosevelt is a most salutary influence in attacking the false sentimentality of the over civilized man, as he calls him, the man who is irked by the necessity for struggle, be it physical or mental. War as a demand of present national needs he properly recognizes. The advantages of vigorous and intelligent competition to a strong and growing power, he emphasizes.

He speaks more nearly what he thinks than any man we have known in public life this long while. But most of all, Roosevelt clarifies issues. He insists upon "decent" public service and general honesty in politics should have a wonderful influence in clarifying issues. At the same time, himself a theorist, his foreign policy must assist in bringing about those stages in our industrial development which will enable us to judge of results from other standpoints than those of mere theory. Mr. Roosevelt's recognition of the supreme importance of the west makes an additional salutary influence.

The appearance of a man like Roosevelt upon the scene is most significant. For the first time within living memory we have as president a man who has risen into great prominence without serving a long and fairly regular apprenticeship in some trade or profession. Indeed it is a strain upon the memory to recall any perceptible number of men in politics who have not served in trade, business or some profession closely allied to business. The demand of the times for a man who can represent the only conscious and coherent voice of the nation—the cry for expansion, industrial and territorial, rather than for social readjustment, demands the appearance at the helm of a man in sympathy with the trend toward concentration. As the proper sympathy and understanding of this spirit would exist in purest form among

the commercial classes it would be expected that leaders would appear from these classes. Perhaps a logical choice would be that of a man thoroughly trained in the management of large industrial enterprises. Such a man's sympathy with present tendencies would be assured while his training would amply fit him to grapple with the problems of commercial growth. The other choice would be that of a man coming from a division whose existing class is largely related with the commercial but who could appeal at the same time to the vaguer, less organized ideals of the nation. From the commercial or from the leisure classes, these choices must come. Hanna and Roosevelt present typical illustrations. There is no other class or set of class interests sufficiently definite or articulate to hope in their present form to gain the supremacy. Indeed, there is no other set of aspirations sufficiently intelligent and at the same time powerful to enter the competition. Roosevelt is undoubtedly the best type that the compromise of clashing interests could produce. His training and raising in an environment so closely dependent upon sanction of existing conditions fit him to understand and appreciate that there is at present but one set of ideals sufficiently comprehensive and intelligent to meet the situation. At the same time his separation from first hand influences and his idealism permit him a more generous latitude than could be expected from a man of the other stamp.

Roosevelt draws his support from three main streams. First, he has the support of what we may call the business element assured to him by his wise appreciation of honesty and of international policies, as well as by his ability as a vote getter. The vigor, versatility and romantic life of the man draws a large sentimental following. But the peculiar element of his strength Mr. Roosevelt derives from what we may call the traditional ideal. Through the United States, even in the less developed portions of some of the eastern states, we find a society not differing essentially from that of the early frontier. Especially we find the ideals of such communities lagging as we should expect them, far behind the disappearance of their material basis. These rather narrow, rough, democratic ideals, while unorganized and incoherent, make one of the main *motifs* of American life. Roosevelt through his adoption of this ideal achieves by his refusal to recognize changes something of the limited horizon of these communities, whose small experience forbids them to see broadly. The recollection of vast tracts of fertile land waiting the asking, the remembrance of a country far more homogenous, the inherited tradition of a narrowly fierce democracy are still fresh. Roosevelt's personal habits, his adoption of this ideal as typically American enables him to draw strength from this numerous element. Territorial and commercial expansion appeals as a substitute for new land. The unrest in response to demands for readjustment sees much hope in the vigor of the young leader who preaches its own aspirations and who promises continuance of what is disappearing.

The writer is far from holding the opinion that this is the best type of leader we may hope for after the working class gains consciousness of its own interests and its own ideals. What is urged is that with but one set of ideals clearly postulated and understood by any considerable number of voters we cannot intelligently expect a broader or deeper sympathy with social strength.

W.

The Work That All Can Do.

The best work and the most important work in the Socialist movement is a kind of work that all can do. No matter what the things a comrade may be unable to do, each and every one of us can **DISTRIBUTE LITERATURE.**

And that is the most important thing in our movement. Every Socialist in the United States should distribute a book, a pamphlet, or a few leaflets and papers every single day between this day and election day. The people are this year more ready to read our literature than ever before. It will be a crime of omission on the part of our comrades if all those outside the Socialist movement are not supplied with means of enlightenment.

Let each comrade see that his nearest neighbor has some Socialist pamphlet, paper or leaflet. See that all the people in your tenement, all the people in your block, all the people in your city, all the people in your township, have something to read on the subject of Socialism between to-day and election day.

If you work in a factory, see that every person in that factory has a Socialist leaflet at least once each week between this and the 8th of November. If you belong to a trade union, see that every member has some socialist literature before election day. See to it that at every meeting of your union every man is given a Socialist paper or leaflet.

Do not leave this work for some one else to do. **DO IT YOURSELF. DO IT NOW.**

Put your faith in print. Distribute Socialist literature, and you will get Socialist results. Distribute Socialist literature, and we shall have Socialism in our time.

BEN HANFORD.

The Paramount Issue.

IT is not true that there are no issues in this campaign. On one subject and one only are the two parties disagreed—the full dinner pail. The republicans tell the workingmen they have been prosperous and should leave good enough alone. The democrats preach the gospel of discontent and since they offer the only alternative to republican rule let it go at that. Why have we settled down to such crude politics? Capital and labor are in conflict everywhere. Other countries, less democratic and almost as developed in industry, do not have a single issue—"hungry or satisfied."

The truth is that while our people have been busy with their own affairs the politicians have industriously elaborated for this country the most inflexible, the most intricate political system the world has ever known. Our own government as all others has been perverted—sold out to private interests and to a class. But that is not all. Not only has the government been used by a class—but from top to bottom our whole system and form of government has been constructed and shaped for the purpose of a class. The full dinner-pail is the climax of a century of unintermittent political degeneration. It will be with us as long as our present form of government persists.

We are fortunate to have one issue. This much we are assured. The opposition party always finds itself forced to educate the people to at least one stirring political issue. It is not necessary sincerely to support any proposed reform, but it is essential to point out some widespread source of discontent, to attribute it to the party in power and to promise some change. Afterwards, to quote Kipling's line, "there can be found a thousand reasons for failure if not a single excuse." But some real abuse must be pointed out, the responsibility for the abuse must be placed on the party in power, promises must be given to put things to rights and votes obtained. This much at least our present system of government, dominated by political machines and manipulated by the corporations and business interests, does assure us—at least one vital issue for each campaign. This is the final irreducible minimum of self-government.

The issue must be vital. As the knowledge of the people of the corruption of the parties becomes more widespread, less is hoped for from them. Every campaign it is necessary to agitate deeper and deeper questions in order to convince the voter that there is any use in making a political change. The free silver movement for instance, was at the bottom a spontaneous and genuine movement of agrarian discontent. However demagogic

and insincere the position of the democratic party itself, the actual conditions of the farming community were brought to public attention as never before. In the farming sections the discussions centered on matters of vital concern to farmers—the prices obtained for crops, the control of the farmer by his creditors, etc. There was, to be sure, little or no sincere talk on the conditions of the working people. But for one-third of the community at least, the farmers, the Bryan campaign of 1896 was a campaign of political enlightenment. It was in the next campaign that the republicans brought out the full dinner pail which approaches as near to the fundamental discussion of the labor problem as the two party system is capable of, and has now, for the second time, been made the sole real issue among workingmen.

As the main issues have become more vital, all secondary issues have been laid aside. The parties have found it necessary to work up the voters into a greater and greater pitch of excitement and to deal with realities. But at the same time they have gained the infinite advantage over the people of shoving all other issues away no matter what their importance. So, the main issue in the agricultural sections in 1896 became prosperity. Do we have it or do we not? In 1900 this also became the one real issue in the large cities. The arguments of the republican campaign text-book this year can nearly all be traced down to this single position—first, all the classes in the country are prosperous; second, republican policies have brought about this prosperity. The democratic campaign on the other hand is based on the denial of both of these statements. The whole of the democratic tactics is this: literature is to be spread among all classes calling attention to the lack of prosperity for certain classes during the whole republican administration and to the recent depression in all industries. The republican's policies are to be blamed for all these mischances. But practically no new measures are to be proposed. It is simply assumed that the republicans are wrong and the democrats supposed antitheses are right. The one fundamental change the democrats propose in the present political situation is a democratic in place of a republican administration. All other issues have permanently disappeared.

The greatest experiment in democracy the world has ever known has simply come to this: that the political machines select every public servant and decide every public question except one—has the government in power on the whole brought more prosperity than the opposition party is likely to bring? Has your dinner pail been full? The amount of intelligence and character needed by the voter to decide this question is hardly above that of the savage. But all other questions have been taken away from him by those more "fit to govern."

Now, if we could show that neither of the parties have brought prosperity to the working people, their last and only plea for the support of the working people falls to the ground. Especially is this so if we can show that during the recent two administrations, a period in which on the whole, this country has had greater prosperity than any country of the world has ever witnessed before, the working people have actually received less real wages for their work than ever before. To do this no elaborate statistical investigations or calculations are needed. Two recent bulletins of the Department of Labor, those of March and July this year, will suffice.

The majority of the working people have not shared in prosperity. The figures of the Department of Labor and of the Interstate Commerce Commission show that the real wages of the employees of the railways and of the fifteen of the twenty-nine leading industries had fallen from 1897 to 1903. Accepting as accurate the Bureau's figures of the increased cost of living for this period at 14.5, tables I and II indicate the extent of this fall and the total number of persons employed in the railways and fifteen industries. Since last year the wages have been reduced in a large majority of industries. This would probably bring the level of real wages of nearly all the industries mentioned in table III also below the estimated increase in the cost of living, the increase from 1897 to this year 1904, as estimated by the United States Department of Labor, being 15.5 per cent.

But it is not necessary to accept the figures of the republican Department of Labor as accurate as far as the cost of living is concerned. There are two evident errors in these figures. First, it is estimated that increase in the cost of living has been the same as the cost of food. The Department obtained accurate figures as to the increased cost of food for several thousand working class families but it did not investigate the rise in the price of clothing or what is equivalent, the corresponding deterioration in quality or the increase in rents, fuel, light and other household expenses. According to the report of the Bulletin of Labor for March mentioned above, the rise of wholesale prices of those commodities which the workingman purchases when weighed according to the workingman's budgets, furnished by the Department itself, was 22 per cent from 1897 to 1903. But the Department assumes that retail prices do not rise as rapidly as wholesale prices. That in the long run the reverse is the case, cannot be doubted from the figures of the increased cost of living which were obtained by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor and the investigations of the Anthracite Strike Commission. This is the second error of the Department of Labor, the first being the proposition that the other articles rise in price to about the same extent only as food. The third error arises from the fact that the workingmen's budgets

examined were not those of typical workingmen. The majority of workingmen as shown by the Census investigations, do not receive as much as \$600 a year. The budgets examined by the Department of Labor ranged even above \$1,200. The majority of the families examined were those of skilled workers whereas at least two-thirds of the working people in the country are unskilled. Now, the budgets, or the distribution of the income between various purchases, of unskilled labor are very different from those of skilled labor. The latter buy a great many more articles the price of which is more or less fixed, whereas the principal expenses of the former are in those very simple necessities, the prices of which vary most widely, such as meat, flour, paper, coal, clothing, shoes, rent, etc. It is therefore entirely justifiable to make a new calculation of the increased cost of living based on the wholesale prices.

Taking as a basis the relative wholesale prices of commodities from the Bulletin 51, Department of Labor, page 248, we have the following table:

Table III.

RELATIVE PRICES OF COMMODITIES.

(Department of Labor, Bulletin 51, Page 248.)

	1897	1903	Per Cent Increase.
Food, etc.	87.7	107.1	22
Clothing	91.1	106.6	17
Fuel and lighting.....	96.4	149.3	55

The budgets of working class families which have an income of from \$400 to \$800 a year are distributed according to reports of the Department of Labor approximately as follows:

Meat	15 per cent.
Dairy and garden products.....	15 per cent.
Breadstuffs	6 per cent.
Other food, liquor, etc.....	14 per cent.
Clothing	15 per cent.
Rent	15 per cent.
Fuel	5 per cent.
Miscellaneous	15 per cent.

If then we take every \$100 of the workingman to have been expended according to the above proportions in July, 1897, we have the following table showing what his expenditures would have been in July, 1903. Rent is estimated to have risen 20 per cent and miscellaneous expenses to have increased at the same ratio as all the other commodities. By this method only 15 per cent of the commodities, that is to say, miscellaneous expenses are estimated to have increased according to the general average increase, whereas by the method of the Department of Labor, 55 per cent is reckoned in this loose manner. According to this

table, the workingman expended in 1903 \$122.72 for every \$100 he expended in 1897.

The Cost of Living—1897—1903.

(From U. S. Department of Labor figures, excluding rent.)

Date—	Food.	Clothing.	Rent.	Fuel.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
July, 1897	50	15	15	5	15	100
July, 1903	61	17.55	18	7.75	18.42	122.72

Returning now to table IV. we find that according to the above calculation of the increased cost of living, all the industries mentioned in the table would show an actual fall in real wages except cotton goods with a rise of .1 and glass with a rise of .4. Now let us bring into the estimates the fall in wages since last year—which have not been accompanied by a decrease in the cost of living. The glass industry and the cotton industry which showed a very slight increase have both had during the last year decreases of wages ranging from 10 to 20 per cent and would therefore show a fall in real wages since 1897 even accepting the figures of the Department of Labor on the cost of living. The case is similar with the slaughtering and meat packing industry, the paper industry, the woolen industry, the bakeries, agricultural implements, and according to the associated press dispatches it is probably also true of the other industries mentioned in this table, none of which showed but a very slight excess last year over the increased cost of living.

There are now left for our consideration the two important industries mentioned in table V, the iron and steel and the building trades. The iron and steel industry can be quickly disposed of. Wage scales in nearly every department have fallen from 10 to 20 per cent in the last year. This would bring the real wages of the majority, though not those of all the employees, to a point below that of 1897. More important are the building trades. The decreases in the wages of many classes in the building trades have been noted all over the country this year but they have been slight and have not applied to all the trades. We may concede that the present wages in the building trades have increased from 5 to 10 per cent more rapidly than the cost of living. But there is no clearer case than the building trades of an increase of wages through the efforts of the unions. This increase cannot be said to be due to any political causes. These unions are resisting the tendency for lower wages all over the country at the present moment. They are usually the first to begin to fight for better conditions and the last to give up to the organized efforts of the employers to lower wages. While other unions have surrendered, the building trades are still maintaining their fight, but it is a losing fight, and even before this article goes to press, it is probable that wages in these trades will be on the downward trend.

During a period in which the "prosperity party" has had control over the presidency, congress and the legislatures of nearly all the leading states, during a period in which the wealth of the country has increased nearly 50 per cent according to the best estimates, the wages of all the most important classes of labor have risen less rapidly than the cost of living. Aside from the increased amount of unemployment, the working people have not shared in the fruits of prosperity; and even steady employment is now making a way for a vast amount of idleness in all the leading industries. The sole issue on which the party in power can appeal for the votes of the working people has now fallen. The democratic party has already been convicted. The conditions when it was last in power were considerably worse than those at the present moment.

The lesson to the labor movement is to accept the challenge of both the great political parties and to stick to the paramount issue they have themselves chosen, prosperity. Neither the democratic or the republican parties have brought prosperity to the working people and therefore neither of these parties offers the working people any hope.

Wages of Railway Employees from July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1903.

(The Bureau of Labor estimates the increase in the cost of living during this period at about 14.5).

Class of Employees—	Year 1897	Year 1903	In- crease	Per Cent.
General Officer Clerks.....	\$2.18	\$2.21	\$.03	1
Station Agents	1.73	1.87	.16	9
Other Station Men.....	1.62	1.64	.02	1
Enginemen	3.65	4.01	.36	10
Firemen	2.05	2.28	.23	11
Conductors	3.07	3.38	.31	10
Other Trainmen	1.90	2.17	.27	14
Machinists	2.23	2.50	.27	12
Carpenters	2.01	2.19	.18	9
Other Shopmen	1.71	1.86	.15	9
Section Foremen	1.70	1.78	.08	5
Other Trackmen	1.16	1.31	.15	13
Switch tenders, crossing tenders and watchmen.	1.72	1.76	.04	2
Telegraph Employees and Dispatchers.....	1.90	2.08	.18	9
Employees—Account Floating Equipment.....	1.86	2.11	.25	13
All Other Employees and Laborers.....	1.64	1.77	.13	8

1,312,537 employees.

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH REAL WAGES HAVE DECREASED.

(See Bulletin of Department of Labor, July, 1904.)

Industry—	Change of Wages from 1897 to 1903.	No. of Employees in Industry.
Cars, Steam Railroad.....	+13.5	173,595
Flour	+11.1	37,073
Foundry and Machine Shop.....	+12.4	350,327
Potteries	+ 7.8	43,714
Carpets	+ 9.3	28,411

Carriages and Wagons.....	+ 7.4	62,540
Clothing, Factory Product.....	+ 4.0	274,782
Fruits and Vegetables, Canning and Pre- serving	+10.4	36,401
Leather	+ 7.9	52,109
Shipbuilding	+ 6.1	46,781
Silk Goods	+ 5.5	65,416
Tobacco, Cigars and Cigarettes.....	+ 6.0	103,462
Streets and Sewers, Contract Work....	+13.4	34,090
Boots and Shoes.....	+12.8	142,922
Printing and Publishing, Newspaper....	+14.1	162,992
Total		1,614,685

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH REAL WAGES HAVE REMAINED PRACTICALLY STATIONARY.

(See Bulletin of the Department of Labor, July, 1904.)

Industry—	Change of Wages from 1897 to 1903.	No. of Employees in Industry.
Agricultural implements	+17.9	46,582
Brick	+15.2	61,979
Printing and publishing, book and job..	+17.0	162,992
Furniture	+18.0	100,018
Glass	+22.1	52,818
Bakery, bread	+19.2	60,271
Cotton goods	+21.8	302,861
Liquors, malt	+19.0	39,532
Lumber	+16.3	283,179
Paper and wood pulp.....	+18.9	49,646
Slaughtering and meat packing.....	+15.9	69,441
Woolen and worsted goods.....	+15.0	125,901
Total		1,355,220

INDUSTRIES IN WHICH REAL WAGES HAVE INCREASED.

(See Bulletin of the Department of Labor, July, 1904.)

Industry—	Change of Wages from 1897 to 1903.	No. of Employees in Industry.
Building trades	+24.8	1,500,000 est.
Iron and Steel.....		222,490
Blast furnace	+22.5	
Muck bar	+32.2	
Open hearth steel.....	+33.8	
Bar iron	+39.3	
Blooming mill	+42.9	
Bessemer converting	+42.5	
Rails	+53.4	
Total		1,522,490

"INVESTIGATOR."

EDITORIAL

Apathy in the Present Election.

The capitalist press is assuring us that nobody is taking any interest in the present electoral contest. The professional political worker is complaining of a fall in the price of his goods. The great newspapers are all explaining that everybody has already decided how they are going to vote.

Superficially this appears to be true. Four or eight years ago the hotel lobbies, and railroad trains were filled with little groups of men fiercely discussing the "issues" of the day. At the present time political discussions are as scarce as differences between the republican and democratic party.

This statement, however, that "nobody" is interested in politics this year bears a distinct resemblance to the favorite phrase of the society reporter. "Nobody is left in town" he sagely informs us each spring. "Everybody" has gone to the mountains or the seashore, is the reverse side of the same thing. If we look a little closer into the present political situation we shall see that it is the same "everybody" who is affected with this chill apathy and the same "nobody" who is at present interested in politics. The hotel lobbies, the suburban trains, the bank corridors and the Board of Trade have few political discussions these days. On the other hand, the trade union hall, the shop, the mill, the factory and the mine are filled with such discussions as never before. There is nothing for the class, who arrogate to themselves the title of "society," because of their political rulership at the present time and consider themselves the social body, to quarrel about. They consider that the entire affair was settled when they captured the two political parties and made them as like one another as two peas in a pod. The republican Dromio may caper in front of his democratic twin and occasionally make faces at him, but everybody knows that their blood relationship will prevent any real hostilities.

That portion of the working class which gets its manners from the society columns and its brains from the editorial department of the capitalist press may still remain apathetic, but there are hundreds of thousands among the laborers who are beginning to realize that the class which produces the wealth of the world, which constitutes the only indispensable portion of the industrial fabric, may, after all, be some portion of "so-

ciety." They are beginning to have a mind and consciousness of their own. So it is that the very apathy of their masters arouses in them the necessity of class-antagonism. Socialist speakers are not complaining of any apathy. The report which comes from every direction is that never before was there the close rapt attention to socialist speakers, never before was there such eagerness for socialist literature, never before such willingness to accept the socialist philosophy. So it is that, just as we are beginning to realize that when a society reporter says that "nobody is left in town," we know that in reality there is only about 95 per cent of the population still stiffing at their daily toil, just as we are beginning to realize that it is only the idle, useless superfluous portion of society that is meant when we read "society news;" just so in the political field when we hear that there is a dull apathy as to politics, we find that this only applies to a very small portion and that the most useless portion of the social structure.

The reports which were sent in response to our request for information concerning the socialist activity contains much valuable matter impossible to include in the article which appears in this number. There were so many valuable suggestions as to organization, methods of work, etc., that we have decided to prepare for our next issue an article on "Party Organization." We believe that nothing could be more timely than such an article. The one great problem which will confront us immediately after election will be the organization of the forces which have been conjured up by the campaign excitement.

As has been stated several times in socialist periodicals the John Crerar Library, of Chicago, is making a special effort to collect material bearing on the socialist movement in America. We would urge that all state and local organizations publishing any literature whatever send two copies of all documents issued to that library. Platforms and election manifestos are especially desired. Such matter will be carefully filed away and preserved and it will be of great value to the socialist movement of America to have a place where such material may be secured. Address John Crerar Library, Chicago, Ill.

The "Letters from a Pork Packer's Stenographer," crowded out this month, will appear in succeeding number.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

As the time approaches to hold the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor the usual rumors are afloat that important changes are to be made in the executive council of that body. Conferences are said to have been held in Chicago, New York, Washington and various other places to arrange certain details in the matter of deposing certain officials and filling their positions. Of course, President Samuel Gompers is slated for decapitation and Secretary Morrison is to go. Fifth Vice-President Thomas J. Kidd and Eighth Vice-President W. J. Spencer are also to be opposed and dumped if possible, and Fourth Vice-President Max Morris, it is claimed, will find a strong candidate in the field against him. For several years there has been talk of changing the complexion of the official family of the A. F. of L. First Vice-President James Duncan has always been mentioned in these conferences as Gompers' successor. At New Orleans, two years ago, Duncan was put forward for the presidency and had the proposition under consideration for several days, but finally declined to accept the honor—although it was pretty certain that he could have been elected by a safe majority—giving a number of important reasons for his decision. At the Boston convention last year Duncan was again groomed for the presidency, but his election was by no means as sure as at the preceding convention, owing to the fact that Gompers' friends and organizers came to town in droves for the double purpose of "plugging" for their chief and to smash socialism so that the capitalists would withdraw "the sting of antagonism." Anyhow, Duncan flunked again about three minutes before the nominations were made. And so the annual confabs are taking place again among certain delegates (and they are not the "wicked" socialists, either), looking to Gompers' undoing and Duncan's promotion.

If Gompers is deposed Morrison will go with him and some such man as William Ryan, secretary of the Illinois miners, will step into Federation secretaryship. Thomas I. Kidd, of the woodworkers, has been opposed by the carpenters in the last two conventions owing to the jurisdiction fight between the two organizations. Kidd has lately tendered his resignation as secretary of the woodworkers, and unless he changes his mind will withdraw from active work in the labor movement. Naturally the carpenters will claim his seat in the council. Spencer attempted to overthrow President Merrick at the recent plumbers' convention, lost his position as general organizer for his pains, and will quite likely be again opposed by Sherman, of the electrical workers, now that the former's prestige has been weakened. Morris has long been regarded as incapable of representing the extreme west and has only held on because no candidate appeared against him. Then he is also pretty well mixed up in politics and draws more or less criticism upon the executive council.

The Chicago slate-makers, I am informed, have decided that Gompers and all his friends will have to walk the plank. This sweeping change, if successful, would no doubt include the national organizers, or a good

part of them, who are a machine in themselves. It is surprising how indifferent the affiliated national unions and their memberships are regarding this small army of organizers, who draw \$200 to \$300 a month for doing nothing that could not be done better by local volunteers who are paid their actual expenses only. The present system is becoming scandalous and will cause a great deal of talk if continued.

I have received a somewhat similar story by way of Washington differing only in the claim that the main points of the reconstruction have been arranged harmoniously by Gompers and Duncan and their friends. The Washington report is said to be absolutely authentic. It is in effect that Gompers is to make way for Duncan as his successor, and that the former is to be given a federal appointment, along about the new year, as a "recognition of labor," provided Roosevelt is re-elected. The position will probably be the labor commissionership now held by Carroll D. Wright, and for which office John Mitchell, of the miners, and Chief Clark, of the railway conductors, have been favorably mentioned in political circles. Mitchell, however, as the story goes, will stand for re-election at the miners' convention in January, as a sort of vindication of his acts in favoring a wage reduction last spring. Thereafter he will resign, if triumphant to take a position that will be created for him in the National Civic Federation. It might be mentioned here that organized labor of the country is almost a unit in advocating the promotion of William S. Waudby to Carroll D. Wright's place. Mr. Waudby was largely instrumental in having the labor department created by Congress and has been a special agent therein since its inception. It is admitted at the White House that no man ever had such general and spontaneous support for a position, in the shape of resolutions from organizations, petitions, individual recommendations, etc., as Mr. Waudby. Yet Roosevelt has given no sign that Waudby, who is a pioneer in the Typographical Union, will be advanced. Indeed, it is claimed that some of the Federation officials held a conference with Roosevelt last spring, opposed Waudby's promotion, urged Gompers for Wright's position, and arranged to assist Roosevelt in the present campaign. It is somewhat significant that while in Colorado Mitchell repeated over and over again his friendship for Roosevelt, despite the fact that he is largely responsible for the present widespread open-shop agitation, and it is equally strange that none of the other members of the executive council aim the slightest criticism at the president for the hostile attitude that he assumed toward organized labor. In fact, in the September number of the Federationist President Gompers quotes alleged questions put to him as to why he does not support Roosevelt, and Samuel, not only does not attack Teddy's labor record, but dodges the issue by coyly announcing that "I am a trade unionist." This supposed dialogue was so cleverly meaningless that it had to be preserved for the admiration of future generations in the Federationist. In the game of politics an enemy is really supported by the passiveness of those who could administer some hard knocks if they would.

In the course of the coming year or two no doubt quite a good many leaders, so-called, will stand out from under. There is a crisis confronting organized labor and many more severe struggles will have to be faced, and the average man is so constituted that he dislikes to be directly identified with the side that stands the greatest chances of losing, especially where he cares little for his class interests and is solely enrapt with his own importance and what the world calls success. Some of the strikes of the past season are signs of what the future has in store. The struggle of the butchers, in which they were at least temporarily defeated in the attempt to check the conquering march of capitalism in its campaign of wage reductions, which, unfortunately, the miners, longshoremen and other better situated organizations did not resist, will be followed by other

contests between the two hostile forces. No matter whether these stories that Gompers is going to get into Roosevelt's bandwagon, that Mitchell will withdraw from activity in the miners, that Kidd is leaving the woodworkers and other changes are made in the personnel of officials are true or not, the fact remains that the struggle will continue just the same—the irrepressible conflict will rage notwithstanding the foolish attempts of some of our "leaders" to deny its existence.

In the latter part of September a prominent manufacturer (who is thoroughly in sympathy with the unions and socialism as well, but for obvious reasons cannot proclaim that fact from the housetops at this time) told me that the iron and steel barons had decided that the old Amalgamated Association must be destroyed or at least be made helpless. He also claimed to have it from the mouths of Pittsburg and New York capitalists that some of the railway brotherhoods are to be "squeezed until they are brought to their senses," and that when the present truce between the anthracite miners and operators expires next year the latter will make another effort to run their business to suit themselves. A leading vessel owner is authority for the statement that next season the long-shoremen, seamen and kindred organizations will be forced to yield open shop conditions on the great lakes; the foundry proprietors refuse to enter into another national agreement with the iron molders and friction between their organizations is increasing; the machinists are tied up in several big strikes; the printers are to be resisted when they attempt to enforce the eight-hour day in job offices next year, and threats of a running fight all over the country in the building next season are frequently heard.

The industrial outlook is anything but satisfactory. Nearly every trade has trouble at present, and what with the open shop craze that prevails and the mania to reduce wages, "the sting of antagonism" (which Gompers said had been withdrawn by the capitalists because he and his crowd at Boston proved to the master class that the unions were hostile to socialism) will be jabbed into labor more sharply than ever. It is quite generally understood that if this were not presidential year a good many more strikes and lockouts would have been precipitated, but some of the shrewd capitalists prefer to wait until the workingmen have again fought each other at the polls in November, and are perhaps weakened somewhat after the coming hard winter, before piling in indiscriminately in the union-smashing campaign. They argue that the toilers will have unsteady work the coming winter and with prices of necessities remaining at maximum figures the men will be in no position to resist for any length of time.

It must be admitted that the advantage is with the organized employers. They are in control of the industries and can close or operate their establishments to please themselves. They are likewise in control of the government, in nation, state and municipality, and can use its powers to aid in their conspiracies. The only thing left for the workers to do is to cling to their unions all the more tenaciously, point out to the unorganized the conditions that exist and the dangers that are looming up ahead, make every effort to increase their memberships and prepare for the worst, and last, but by no means least, serve notice on the unbridled plutocracy what it may expect by striking a blow at the ballot-box next month—by voting for Debs and Hanford and the straight ticket of the socialist party.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Italy.

It is impossible as yet to secure any definite information from the socialist side concerning the general strike and riots which have been taking place in Rome, Naples, Genoa, Milan and other Italian cities during September. It is known that the socialists have declared such a strike as a protest against the military outrages of the government. But immediately that the strike began the Italian government ordered a close press censorship which has prohibited any information reaching the outside world. By our next number, however, we shall have received publications from the seat of trouble and shall be able to give full particulars.

Germany.

All interest here settles around the National Convention which has just been held at Bremen. Here again complete details are not available, but the principal points under discussion were the municipal programme, the alteration of the internal organization of the party and Bernstein's proposition for the revision of the programme itself. Nothing was done on Bernstein's proposition and on the whole the meeting passed off without any sharp antagonisms. It was arranged to make the organization more centralized and to limit its membership to those whose socialism was assured.

In an early number we shall give a complete translation of the municipal programme and so much of the discussion as will be valuable to the American movement.

The anniversary of Lassalle's death, August 31, 1864, was celebrated quite largely throughout Germany and nearly all the papers published extensive articles reviewing his work.

France.

From a letter of Comrade Lee, of the *New York Worker*, who is now in Paris, we learn that the *Guesdists* have taken steps looking toward the unity of all socialist parties in France in accordance with the Amsterdam resolution. Jaures, on the other hand, who made his political debut on the unity issue among socialists, has nothing to say.

Russia.

Carl Joubert has an article in the *Nineteenth Century* of London in which he discusses the revolutionary forces of Russia and shows how completely the entire empire is honeycombed with forces desiring the overthrow of present institutions. He tells how the various organizations together have arranged for co-operation in taking advantage of the present opportunity. He tells how on the day that Von Plehve was killed

the Czar found a sealed letter on the table in his private room which had been placed there in spite of all the secret police that swarm about him. The letter was sent from the executive committee of the revolutionary party and dealt with matters with which they were concerned. Their influence is equally felt within the army and he claims to have seen letters written by soldiers at the front stating that large numbers of the Russian army are pledged "to make no Japanese widows." One letter tells of men voluntarily surrendering to the Japanese in order to avoid fighting for the Czar.

At the same time word comes that industrial conditions in Russia are growing worse. *Vorwärts* prints a statement concerning conditions in Riga to the effect that many of the great textile industries are only running three or four days in the week and that strikes and other methods of expressing discontent are evident.

In an editorial article, after surveying the condition of the various ruling classes in Russia, *Vorwärts* concludes, "there is certainly one class in which we can trust, who have reached a position where their condition cannot be bettered through any little swindling concession, but only through a fundamental change of the Russian social organization, through at least the introduction of a constitutional government. This class alone can rescue Russia from the influence of the little clique who are sworn to exhaust all the strength of the country in an exploiting war. This class from which alone we can expect anything is the laboring class.

"In just so far as this class can express itself is there hope for Russia."

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Need of Socialist Literature.

By the time this issue of the REVIEW is in the hands of its more distant readers, the vote-making work for 1904 will be practically over; the voters will have made up their minds how to cast their ballots, and some hundreds of thousands who never voted a socialist ticket before will have decided to vote for Comrade Debs, while a still greater number will have admitted the reasonableness of socialism, but will have concluded to vote once more the old ticket they have been accustomed to, with the idea of coming into the socialist movement when they see it has a chance to win.

The socialist campaign never stops, and the workers for socialism realize the necessity for a fresh start the day after election. But what many of them do not yet realize, and what we hope to make clear in these paragraphs, is the changed situation, calling for changed methods. It is no longer a question of finding new sympathizers for socialism; the sympathizers are here, in almost embarrassing numbers; the question is how to transform them into clear-headed socialists who will be able in their turn to do effective work for socialism.

To accomplish this we must depend almost wholly on literature, but the quality of the literature is as important as the quantity. When a man has once taken his stand as a socialist, he may and often does take an innocent delight in reading over and over the reasons why he should be a socialist. The pleasure thus derived is in its essence very much like that of the life-long church-member who likes to attend revival meetings. If he enjoys such reading, there is no reason in the world why he should not indulge himself in it. Only, he should not imagine for a moment that he is thereby doing any work for socialism, or fitting himself to work for it.

Good propaganda literature is not written, and good propaganda talks are not made, by people who have read nothing on socialism but appeals to vote the socialist ticket. The philosophy of socialism is not easy to understand and apply, for the obvious reason that the problems it has to attack are complex ones. But it is well worth the necessary effort to understand and apply, because when one once has a firm grasp of its principles, he gets a new insight into every question of history, economics or politics.

The object of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is to put the standard works on socialism within the reach of those who need them but can not afford to pay high prices. The publishing house is now owned by about two hundred socialist locals and eight hundred individual socialists, each of whom has invested ten dollars, not with the idea of receiving dividends, but in order to insure the publication of socialist books, and to get the privilege of buying these books at cost. The company is organized under the laws of the state of Illinois, so that no liability is involved in buying a share of its stock. We have lately secured authority from the secretary of state to issue four thousand additional shares at ten dollars each, and the growth of the company's work will largely depend on how soon these shares can be subscribed and paid for. Full particulars, with a descriptive catalogue of socialist books, will be mailed on request.

A Twenty Dollar Library.

Here is a suggestion for a small library such as every socialist Local should have for the use of its members. We have arranged the books in the order in which we would suggest that they be taken up by a new convert who has hitherto read only propaganda papers and pamphlets.

1. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, Vandervelde.....\$0.50
2. American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty, Ladoff..... .50
3. The American Farmer, Simons..... .50
4. The Social Revolution, Kautsky..... .50
5. Karl Marx, Biographical Memoirs, Liebknecht..... .50
6. The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels..... .50
7. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels..... .50
8. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Engels .50
9. Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy, Engels..... .50
10. Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century,
Sombart 1.00
11. Love's Coming-of-Age, Carpenter 1.00
12. Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola.... 1.00
13. Walt Whitman, the Poet of the Wider Selfhood, Maynard..... 1.00
14. Poetical Works of Walt Whitman..... .75
15. The Economic Foundations of Society, Loria..... 1.25
16. Capital, a Critical Analysis of Capitalistic Production, Marx.. 2.00
- 17-20. International Socialist Review, volumes I, II, III and IV.... 8.00

For twenty dollars we will send this entire set of books, by express at purchaser's expense, and a full-paid certificate for a share of stock in our co-operative company; or to any one already a stockholder we will send the entire set for ten dollars. For two dollars additional we will prepay charges to any part of the world, but in most parts of the United States the charges to the express company on delivery of the books will be much less than this. All books in this list are substantially bound in cloth.

Rebels of the New South.

If you want to read a socialist novel, by a man who knows how to write novels and who knows what socialism is, send for this new book by Walter Marion Raymond. It is described on page 191 of last month's REVIEW, and we have not room to repeat what was said. In the former announcement, however, we omitted to state that the book will be illustrated with eight full-page engravings from original drawings, and will be artistically bound in cloth with white stamping from an original design. The first edition involves an outlay of \$450.00, and it will be an important help to the work of the company if all who want copies will remit for them as soon as they read this announcement. Price, one dollar; to stockholders, sixty cents, postpaid.

Raising the Debts of the Company.

The fund contributed by stockholders and others for the purpose of paying off the debt of the company to outside capitalists now stands as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$1,891.94
C. T. Ericsson, Montana	1.00
J. W. Sewell, Kentucky	5.00
Local Idaho Falls, Idaho	1.00
Frank Kostack, Ohio, (additional)	25.00
Local Phoenix, British Columbia	2.00
J. A. Teit, British Columbia	2.00
M. E. Shore, California .....	.80
Elsie Schultz, Illinois (additional)	3.00
P. R. Skinner, Oregon (additional)	5.00
Alex. Schablik, Washington (additional)	2.00
W. S. Burnett, California (additional)	2.00
Local Glen Carbon, Illinois	3.00
Mrs. Prestonia Mann Martin, New York (additional)	100.00
Dr. H. M. Wilson, Pennsylvania	5.00
J. A. Lindquist, Alabama	1.00
U. L. Seerist, Georgia	2.50
G. Stadelmann, Yucon Territory	4.40
Allen A. Crockett, California (additional)	1.00
Daniel Fish, Washington	5.00
Gus Weiss, California (additional)	2.00
L. W. Longmire, Washington	2.00
H. A. Munro, Alabama	1.00
N. O. Nelson, Illinois (additional)	25.00
C. E. Payne, North Dakota	5.00
J. Merritt Lamb, Michigan	5.00
J. O. Duckett, South Carolina (additional)	2.00
William Bateman, Iowa (additional)	1.20
Thomas C. Hall, New York (additional)	25.00
Mrs. West Paul, Oklahoma (additional)	1.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois (additional)	239.90

Total up to September 30, 1904\$2,371.74

It will thus be seen that encouraging progress has been made toward paying off the debt. The over-due bills have been paid, leaving only current bills for small amounts, which will easily be paid from the sales of books. There now remain outstanding notes to the amount of \$740.87, maturing between October 9 and December 9, held by Chicago banks and

business houses, and two notes for \$300 and \$800 respectively, held by a Wisconsin bank. These last named notes bear seven per cent interest, and since they are guaranteed by a stockholder, the probability is that we can keep the money as long as we wish, except in the event of a financial panic. But it is exceedingly desirable to get them paid off at the earliest possible moment, partly because the annual interest, amounting to \$77 a year, might better be used in extending the work of our company, and partly because in the event of an acute financial crisis, the notes might prove a source of serious danger. The offer made by Charles H. Kerr to duplicate out of the balance due him on the books of the company every contribution made by others will hold good to the end of 1904, and by that time the total contributions should easily amount to enough to pay the last dollar due to outsiders, so that the company will be owing only its own stockholders.

Look through the lists of acknowledgments in the last three issues of the REVIEW, and it will be seen that thus far less than a hundred out of nearly a thousand stockholders have made any contribution, large or small, yet every stockholder will share in the benefit of having the publishing house on a basis where its work can be rapidly enlarged without thereby endangering the loss of everything that has been accomplished. Every stockholder can afford to do something, even if it be only a trifling amount to show his interest.

On the other hand there are some socialist sympathizers to whom the payment of the entire debt of the company would mean a slighter personal sacrifice than the payment of ten dollars for a share meant to many of the shareholders.

As Comrade Bax points out in one of his charming essays, there are comparatively few places where large sums of money can be contributed to the socialist cause without the probability of doing as much harm as good. Here, however, is a publishing house which has made an unquestioned success with no resources but the subscriptions of a thousand laborers and the business credit of its manager. The opportunity is now offered to place this publishing house in a position where its future control will be absolutely in the hands of the majority of its stockholders, and where its work can be expanded indefinitely as fast as new stockholders can be found.

Much as the money is needed, we do not propose to raise it by selling large blocks of stock, even though the purchasers be socialists. We regard the democratic control of the company as of the first importance. No one now owns more than fifty shares, and arrangements will as soon as possible be made to distribute all holdings of more than two or three shares each, while no effort is being made to sell more than one share to a subscriber, and three-fourths of all the shares are now held singly.

Moral: If not a stockholder, become one. If you hold a share of stock, then contribute your fair proportion, whether it be fifty cents or five thousand dollars, toward putting the co-operative company on a safe and permanent basis.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. V

NOVEMBER, 1904

NO. 5

The General Strike in Italy.

THE center of revolutionary interest in Europe constantly shifts from country to country. Now it is Russia that startles the world with some sudden movement of her underground proletariat. Then, it is Germany with a three million socialist vote that shakes the tottering throne on which the Kaiser sits. To-day it is Italy that occupies the center of the stage. For some time the Italian government under the ministry of Giolitti has been remarkable for the brutality which it has exercised against the working men, although it is almost needless to say that it has done nothing that could compare with what has been done in Colorado. Nevertheless every strike was used as an excuse for setting the militia in motion and several strikers have been shot. Finally, when on the 15th of September, word came of one more of those massacres at Sestri near Genoa, it was felt that something must be done to make the protests of the workers effective. Without any definite orders laborers all over Italy began on the 16th of September to lay down their work. The socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies and the staff of the socialist daily *Avanti* decided that the time was ripe to co-operate with this general movement of the masses by calling a general strike to last for at least two days. Consequently they issued the following call:

"To the Sections of the Socialist Party and the Executive Committees of the Chambers of Labor in Italy:

"The undersigned, members of the Socialist party organization in Rome, the parliamentary fraction, and the staff of the Central organ, *Avanti*, convinced of the pressing necessity of an energetic and unanimous protest of the organized proletariat of Italy against the bloody massacres which have followed one another in such quick succession as to show them to be parts of a systematic and concerted plan, welcome the initiative of the labor bodies of Italy and call upon the organizations to announce a general strike,

with the greatest possible extension, throughout all of Italy as a legal, suitable and living expression of the condemnation of the governmental methods which continuously lead to fraternal murders, and also as an assertion of class defence on the part of the proletariat and its right of existence."

This was signed by representatives of the various bodies mentioned in the call. Although all efforts were made to prevent the general circulation of this document, yet it reached nearly the whole of Italy during the next day, and the most general strike ever known in history followed. For three whole days the city of Genoa was without light, bread or meat. In Rome, Turin, Bologna, and thousands even of the smallest towns all work ceased. It was a most striking example of the helplessness of bourgeois society without the proletariat. Even in the purely agrarian province of Mantua 120,000 laborers left the fields. In some of the cities the whole police force was withdrawn, evidently in the hope that mobs would result, which would give an excuse for massacres by the troops. The socialists, however, at once organized a police force, and it is on record that but one violent death took place throughout the entire territory covered by the general strike, and this was in no way traceable to the disorder, so that it was probably the most peaceful period ever known in Italy. Orders were given to close all places dispensing alcoholic liquors, while at the same time men were detailed to distribute milk to the sick and to children. The daily papers all ceased to appear, but the central labor bodies in each city issued small strike bulletins containing such information as was essential to the proper conduct of the strike. In Milan the strike lasted for five days and during all those days the city was in the hands of the *Camera del Lavoro* or Chambers of Labor. This body attended to the public functions, the distribution of bread where necessary and the cleanliness of the city.

When the strike began most of the military were some distance away from Milan, and as all railroad connection was broken, they were obliged to march back and did not arrive until the closing day of the strike. On their arrival they found no mob on which to fire and quickly dispersed to begin a search for food.

Finally, work was quietly resumed on the orders of the labor bodies with as perfect order as it had been laid down. It is safe to say that, while no direct pledges of any value have been given, since the pledges of Giolitti are considered absolutely unreliable, yet it will be a long time before troops are used against the strikers, without much greater provocation than has existed in previous cases.

The following telegram however was sent from the Sindac Barinetti at Rome to the laborers of Milan:

"CITIZENS: The Home Minister has taken action in order to repress the abuse by the military; the carbineers suspected of

guilt have been subjected to penal procedure and arrested. The Minister has also taken steps to hinder the authorities from intervening in conflicts between capital and labor, leaves full liberty for all manifestations, refrains from intervening (save in cases of danger) in public meetings. These assurances having attained the aim of the strike, I trust that calm will be everywhere maintained and that all will return to their work."

This use of the general strike has again aroused the most intense interest in the possibilities of this means of activity. There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that it is a weapon which must be used with the greatest care and which demands for its effectiveness a high degree of organization. In Italy there were times when there was great danger of the forces that had been unchained breaking loose in unintelligent uprising and it was only with the greatest of skill that they were controlled.

This movement is of special importance in connection with other events in Italy. The general elections are to take place on Nov. 6th, with a supplementary ballot on Nov. 13th, and the new parliament is to open on Nov. 30th. The socialists have nominated nearly 300 candidates throughout Italy, and are carrying on an extremely active campaign. They are getting so near to possible victory now that their opponents are frightened. The Associated Press dispatches bring news of two important movements in this regard. The first is the statement that Austria and Germany, the other members of the Triple Alliance, have notified Italy that this alliance will be dissolved unless she can find some way of suppressing the socialist movement. Otherwise, these countries claim, Italy will constitute a source of weakness rather than of strength in International politics. Incidentally neither the emperor of Austria or Kaiser Billy offer any suggestions as to how this "suppression" is to be accomplished, or any explanations concerning their failure to "suppress" the socialists of the countries over which they rule.

Other facts are equally important in showing the power of the Italian socialist movement. Ever since the formation of the present government in Italy, and the removal of temporal power from the Pope, the latter has taken the ground that he was a "prisoner in the Vatican" and all Catholics have been warned against taking part in any way in the Italian government, even to the extent of voting. Word now comes that the Pope has changed his mind on this point, and has instructed all church officials to enter into an active campaign against the socialists. From all reports the Pope has awakened much too late since a large number of the Catholics of Italy are already voting the socialist ticket.

There is a significant sentence in the Associated Press telegram concerning the coming elections. It says: "All the garrisons have been reinforced and a squadron of warships is at Genoa." In this connection however another quotation from the

Associated Press dispatches is also interesting. The dispatch reads as follows:

"GENOA, Oct. 16.—The following dispatch from Rome, evidently mutilated by the censor, has been received here:

"The minister of war has addressed a circular to the military authorities saying that in the recent rioting the extreme party tried to induce soldiers to disregard discipline and rebel at Padua. The subversive propaganda in the army is seen, but it is powerless against the sense of duty strongly rooted in the Italian army; still there is at present a grave danger, which must be fought."

Who Foots the Bills?

SOME FACTS FOR WORKERS.

JUST after the Civil War the practice of engaging labor to work "on shares" was universal in the South because nobody had any money to pay with. One day an impecunious old reb, guying an equally impecunious comrade, proposed to hire him to pick blackberries on shares, offering to give him in payment half of what he picked.

Stated in this crude form the absurdity of the proposition is so manifest that nobody—not even the workingman who still continues to vote the old party ticket—would think of regarding it as anything else than a joke; but when the compilers of the United States Census* gravely put it forward as a subject for general gratulation that the laborers employed in the mining industry receive back as wages no less than 50 per cent of their product, nobody appears to see the absurdity; nobody stops to ask who gets the other 50 per cent. Does somebody else contribute to an equal degree with the laborer in producing this unaccounted for half, and if not, who bears the burden, and who gets the benefit? Is it those that labor most diligently who have most abundantly? Let us look into the matter a little and see who spends the money and who foots the bills.

The last census (1900) gives the total continental population of our country as approximately 76,000,000. Of these, the same authority informs us, 58,000,000, in round numbers, are over ten years of age, leaving some 18,000,000 children under ten, who are presumably incapable of contributing to their own livelihood. Now, as society is responsible for permitting these 18,000,000 souls to be brought into the world, without asking their consent to be born, it is clearly responsible for their support until they arrive at years of maturity, and the labor of the remaining 58,000,000 is justly pledged for their maintenance and education.

If this were all nobody would have a right to complain, but this is not all, by a good deal. The census tells us further that of these fifty-eight and odd millions only 29,000,000, in round numbers, or about one-half, are engaged in any gainful pursuit, leaving the other 29,000,000 to be set down to the account of superannuates and defectives, paupers, tramps, criminals, millionaires, and other deadbeats and idlers that have plagued society since the beginning of civilization. And to these the 18,000,000 minors who are, or ought to be, out of the race for self-support, and we have a grand total of 47,000,000 dependents riding on the

*For 1890; no statement for 1900 on this point has yet been given out.

backs of 29,000,000 laborers, or less than 2-5 of the entire population supporting the other 3-5. The exact percentage as given by the census, for the adult population, counting all over ten as adults, is 50.2 per cent producers in 1900 against 48 per cent in 1890. But this increased percentage, due partly to immigration and partly to the crushing down of small capitalists and middle class people into the ranks of the proletariat, instead of rebounding to the benefit of the workers, as it would do under a system where the products of labor were fairly distributed, places the toiler of 1900 at a distinct disadvantage compared with his predecessor of 1890, unless it can be shown—as has not yet been done satisfactorily—that the percentage of the product falling to the share of labor has increased in a corresponding degree. There are now 50 per cent of the adult population scrambling for jobs, where there were only 48 per cent in 1890.

But this is not all yet. The official figures tell us that of the 29,000,000 engaged in gainful pursuits, 1,750,178 are children. Just what ages are embraced under the very indefinite term children, is not stated, but as 14 is taken as the age limit in most of the states that have laws against child labor, we may assume that the census reports mean to include those between the ages of 10 and 14. But as few young people under sixteen can be expected to do more than earn their own support, we may fairly deduct all under that age from the burden-bearers of the nation. The most that can be expected of them is that they will not themselves be a burden upon others. Two million would be a moderate estimate of this class among the laborers, especially as the census gives a much larger ratio as their proportion to the whole population. Eliminating these then, from the producers of surplus wealth, without adding them to the consumers, we have our force of burden-bearers brought down to 27,000,000.

But even this is far from stating the case fairly. The census enumerates among persons engaged in gainful occupations, lawyers, bartenders, saloon-keepers, liquor dealers, tobacconists, soldiers, marines (military), pension and other claim agents, and many more whose usefulness to society it would take a very clever special pleader to make apparent. Nearly two hundred thousand are enumerated as engaged in the liquor traffic alone, and over two hundred and forty thousand claim agents, to say nothing of other classes engaged in useless or harmful pursuits. Some allowance must also be made for superfluous government and other officials and for the vast amount of labor wasted in competition. There are also large numbers, such as teachers, clergymen, domestic servants, artists, actors, authors, musicians, etc., whose business, while useful and necessary, is not directly productive, and whose maintenance must therefore come out of the general fund. But as the professions just named, or a large proportion

of them, increase the effectiveness of productive labor in various ways, they may fairly be counted as producers. The man or woman who educates a child into greater proficiency as a citizen, is, in fact, a part producer of the wealth created by him; and so, too, the one who by cooking my dinner gives me a chance to earn an extra dollar by the use of my brain, is fairly entitled to a share of that dollar.

The value of actors, authors, musicians, and the like, may not be so apparent at first sight as that of cooks and school teachers, but in proportion as they increase the efficiency of the laborer by refreshing and uplifting him through the wholesome amusement or the moral inspiration they give, they are indirectly part producers of the wealth he creates. There is no class so ready to encourage all sorts of wholesome amusements as the laboring class, for none feels the need of recreation so much. Including, therefore, only those occupations that are clearly useless or harmful, such as quacks and nostrum dealers of all sorts, jockies, turfmen, and the flunkeys of the rich, commercial travelers, advertising agents and other wastes of competition, superfluous officials, etc., 1,500,000 seems a very moderate estimate to allow. Deducting these from the producers and adding them to the consumers, we have something like 25,500,000 as the effective laboring force of the country against 48,500,000 non-producers, or one to two, approximately. A further deduction should be made on account of defectives and old people among the workers, who, like the under-aged, cannot be expected to do more than take care of themselves.

From all this we see pretty clearly who foots the bills of the American people. One-third of the population produces all the wealth, while less than one per cent owns one-half of it, and one-two hundredth of one per cent owns over one-fifth.

But even yet the case of the laborer against the loiterer has not been fully stated. In considering the deadheads he has to carry we have assumed that they were all of equal weight, which is far from being the case. For consider. While each pauper supported in almshouses, according to the census of 1890 (the statistics for 1900 have not yet been published), costs the nation upon an average about \$33 a year, or a little less than 10 cents a day, a millionaire of the proportions of a standard oil or a steel trust magnate, for instance, cannot be sustained on less than \$10,000 to \$40,000 a day. The income of at least one of these gentlemen was proved in court nearly a score of years ago to be not less than \$9,000,000 a year (see Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth*), and it is probably more than treble that amount now. Carnegie's \$300,000,000 of steel securities alone bring him an income of more than \$15,000,000 a year, or \$41,000 a day, while John Rockefeller praises God to the tune of \$2,000

an hour for every hour in the day all the year round! Taking the smallest of these estimates, \$10,000 a day, as our basis, we find that a millionaire of the proportions of the half dozen richest members of the little group who own one-fifth of all the wealth of the country, is equivalent to an army of 100,000 paupers in the burden his maintenance imposes upon the producers, and 760 of him would represent a burden equal to 76,000,000 paupers, or the entire population of the United States! Or to put it still another way, this little group of millionaires, comprising about 3,800 individuals, of whom it may safely be assumed that they toil not, neither do they spin, appropriate to themselves 4,000 times more than their proper share of the national wealth, which would be theirs on the principle of fair play and equal justice to all.

We see now where the other half of the wages goes, but let us look at the matter from still another point of view; and here we shall have to turn again to the census of 1890, since the figures for 1900 are not available. As the conditions, however, which produce these results have been greatly intensified since then, the figures will apply with greater force than ever. The total public revenue for the year 1890 from all sources, including national, state and territory, county and municipal taxation, amounted to \$1,400,000,000, or \$16 per capita of the total population at that time. Now, this sum is paid exclusively out of the product of labor; there is no other source for it to come from, for land and capital are but dead matter till waked to life by labor; in fact, capital itself is but stored up labor. The capitalist and the land holder think that they are the chief taxpayers, and so, for the matter of that, does the laborer himself; but where do they get the money to pay their taxes if not from the income of their stocks and bonds or the rent of their land? And where do this interest and this rent come from, if not from the sweat of the laborer's brow? Hence, the workingmen, as little as they suspect it, are the real taxpayers, and as the effective force has been shown to comprise somewhat less than one-third of the total population, their actual contribution to the support of public functions is about \$48 per capita. Is it robbery if they demand that some portion of this fund be spent on public baths and libraries and lodging houses for their benefit?

I leave these figures to speak for themselves. Can any one look upon them and doubt who it is that foots America's bills? Who it is that bears her burdens, feeds her charities and sustains her glory? It is not the poet, not the soldier, not the millionaire philanthropist, but the workingman and the working-woman. It is those that labor, whether with hand or brain, to make the earth bring forth her increase and human nature to bear its richest fruits.

E. F. ANDREWS.

Political Unrest in Australia.

LABOR politicians are jubilant. The Federal Labor Party still retain office; the Labor Parties both in Victoria and Western Australia have been greatly strengthened by the recent elections of those states. In South Australia the Labor Party has at length risen to the dignity of His Majesty's Constitutional Opposition. The state elections for both New South Wales and Queensland take place during the month (August) and high hopes are entertained of the party being strengthened in both states.

Since assuming office the Federal Labor Ministry has busied itself with the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. It has shown time after time that quite a number of its principles could be easily disposed of. The Labor Party, with the aid of some of the free-traders, defeated the Deakin government on the question of the inclusion of the civil servants among the workers over which the Arbitration Court was to have jurisdiction. The Labor Ministry, on taking up the bill, announced its intention of not including civil servants (with the exception of railway employees) among the workmen who were to be brought under the provisions of this act. An amendment was accepted by means of which any union registering under the act is prevented from using its funds for political purposes. The question of preference to unionists, which was regarded as being vital to the bill, was decided in the negative, and the Ministry went through the pretense of considering its position. The Government was also defeated in its attempt to include seamen in the bill. The bill has yet to go through the Senate, and the Ministry are apparently relying on this house amending the bill in the direction of granting preference to unionists and of extending the provisions of the act to seamen. This precious piece of legislation as it now stands is such that Reid, one of the most conservative of Federal politicians, is able to express satisfaction with it. It inflicts fines and penalties for breaking agreements, and when put into force will thoroughly tie up the unions.

At the Victorian elections, which took place some two months ago, the Labor Party succeeded in returning eighteen members. In Western Australia, at the recent elections, the Labor Party captured twenty-three seats out of a house of fifty. As the other twenty-seven members are split into three factions, it is possible that the W. A. Labor Party may be called upon to become "His Majesty's Constitutional Advisors." The Queensland Coalition Ministry had its working majority considerably reduced and an early election is the result. In New South Wales, although the Labor Party has not coalesced with the Government Party, it

has for a long time given them loyal support. The Labor Party is in evidence in all the states, and in many quarters it is regarded as the cause of the present political unrest here. Its increasing strength is, however, the result of the prevailing unrest—the cause of which lies much deeper. Political unrest implies economic unrest, and it is to economic causes that we must look for an explanation of current political happenings.

For several decades now Australia has been in the clutches of the foreign money lender. This money power—through the financial institutions—has been ruling the country with a high hand. It is the pastoral industry which has received most attention from the foreign money lords, and it is this industry which has been best developed. The pastoralists controlled the state parliaments and passed such legislation as suited their own interests or, rather, the interests of their masters, the money lenders, for the runs in many instances were only nominally owned by the local squatter. A very large proportion of the money borrowed by the various states was spent in building railways into the pastoral districts. Having had a large say in the government of the states, the pastoralist has been able to place a large proportion of the taxation necessary to pay interest on the shoulders of others—chiefly on the small industrial capitalist and farmer. The burden of this taxation fostered an anti-borrowing spirit with which the Labor Party allied itself—largely, no doubt, through hostility to the pastoralists, whose wage-slaves formed the backbone of the Labor movement. This anti-borrowing cry has been getting stronger and stronger just in proportion as the smaller capitalist felt the pinch of additional taxation, and this fact accounts to a large extent for the increase in the strength of the Labor Party—the only party pledged to an anti-borrowing policy. The Labor Party has also to a large extent identified itself with Protection, and thus unwittingly has taken sides with the local industrial capitalists against the pastoralist, financiers and importers. The hostility of the industrialists—most of whom are small capitalists—is gradually being withdrawn, whereas the hostility of the pastoralists continues.

The Labor Party fondly imagines that it has won over its opponents by its arguments, but it would seem that what is really happening is that the economic center of gravity is shifting from the pastoralists to the industrialists. Australia, economically, is in a position of unstable equilibrium. It is the Labor Party's sympathy for the middle class which has drawn it unconsciously to the side of the industrialists. One of the most significant features in the manifesto of the Queensland Coalition Ministry is state encouragement of immigration. The Labor Party in the past has been bitterly opposed to this. Probably these state-aided immigrants will form splendid material for exploitation by the industrial capitalists. The Labor Party assisting the indus-

trial capitalists to gain supremacy would be a striking instance of the irony of fate, for its platform tends rather to hinder than to aid economic development.

The farmer class has also won the sympathy of the Labor Party, and now in all the states legislation is promised for the cutting up of large estates. Light lines are to be constructed in agricultural districts. In Queensland, the Agricultural Bank Act is to be altered so as to allow farmers to borrow money on easier terms than at present.

It would thus seem that the Labor Party, hitherto *feared*, is now to be *used*. The plank in regard to nationalizing monopolies does not yet possess any terror for the industrial capitalist, as monopolies are few at present. As the party gains power it is more than likely that its members will learn that the industrial mechanism cannot be lightly interfered with. In that case they will gradually get rid of their useless lumber and become very similar to the politicians of the other sections. If, however, the ideals of the party are strictly adhered to, the industries of Australia will be tied up and economic development will be postponed for a time. An honest attempt to carry out its platform would lead to reaction and stagnation, but the history of the Federal Labor Ministry and of the Queensland Coalition rather favors the view that in a short time the labor party will only with difficulty be differentiated from the other parties. From the leaders of the party one never hears any reference to the class-struggle; occasionally one hears references to socialism but it is always of the governmental control variety. Tom Mann frequently gives expression to socialistic sentiments but he seems to be converted to a belief in compulsory conciliation and arbitration and other nostrums.

One of the recently elected labor members for Western Australia (for years a labor journalist), puts the case thus: "The old fear of the labor party is dying out. And for the best of reasons. Labor has outgrown its callow days. It no longer expects to reconstruct society in a week and have the millennium going full blast in a fortnight (evidently a reference to the A. L. F. manifesto of 1890). . . . A wider experience has given labor a deeper knowledge. The Mudgee Taylors are giving way to the Watsons; the agitator of yesterday has become the statesman of to-day. In this great fact lies the hope of labor. For, as it becomes more and more realized, the foolish fears of the past will give way to confidence and trust and our ranks will be swollen with recruits from the cultured and professional classes."

The following extract, taken from the Brisbane *Telegraph*—one of the most conservative organs in Queensland—expresses somewhat similar sentiments "Clearly no good will result from any attempt to stifle the socialist (?) party in the Federal or any other Parliament. This party represents a large section of the

constituents; and any endeavor to stifle the representatives of those constituents obviously is an endeavor to stifle the constituents themselves. . . . Perhaps it would be well if members of that party were invested with part power in the government of the country, thereby having their extreme ideas reduced in the process of training. . . . Any attempt to stifle the party will only fan the flames of discontent."

The labor party is still regarded as a socialist party by a number of dissatisfied political opponents who find themselves without portfolios and also by some of the most earnest workers of the labor movement itself.

ANDREW M. ANDERSON.

The Propaganda of the Heart.

Oh! for that hidden strength which can
Nerve into death the inner man!
Oh! for the spirit, tried and true,
And constant in the hour of trial,
Prepared to suffer or to do,
In meakness and in self-denial.

—John Greenleaf Whittier.

THROW with some force a pebble into water. At the point of impact the vortex of the particles of the disturbed water will be the most intense, penetrating into the depth but circumscribed in its area. Somewhat further from the point of impact the motion produced by the pebble will be less intense, less deep, but comprise a larger area. The loss in depth will be compensated by a gain in breadth, the farther we will look from the point of impact, from the center of the vortex toward its periphery.

The instinct of self-love is deeply rooted but circumscribed in the individual. The love between near relatives comprising a family is broader but less intense than the love of self. And the further we move away from the center of the vortex of the instinct of love of self, from the individual toward the periphery of more and more complex aggregates, from the family to the clan, from the clan to the tribe, from the tribe to the people, the nation, the race, the broader, but at the same time the more superficial and shallow appears the consciousness of kinship and feeling of the solidarity of interests.

With the intensification of life, with the advance of culture and civilization, the instinct of self-preservation of the human race is getting stronger and stronger. Correspondingly there is a notable increase, a marked intensification of the consciousness of kind and of the feeling of the solidarity of interests of larger and larger aggregates of men, of ethnical, political and social-economic units. This consciousness of kind and feeling of solidarity affects the conduct of men and shapes their moral conceptions. The terms "selfishness, self-seeking, self-aggrandisement," etc., gain more and more in the popular conception, the flavor of undesirable properties. On the other hand the love to one's own family, clan, tribe, people or nation, devotion to the collective interests of an aggregate of men, faithfulness to a set of altruistic ideals, to a *cause*, self-abnegation and disinterestedness are more and more becoming to be considered as virtues. The subjection, the subordination of individual interests to the interests of more and more complex aggregates is being considered in a larger and larger measure as the very essence of correct behavior. Civilized nations consider any act inimical to collective interests blameworthy, immoral and vice versa. Any act calculated to further and advance collective interests are looked upon as praiseworthy, moral. The

aggregate prescribes—at least in theory—the line of conduct to the individual under the penalty of disapproval in one form or another. Public opinion rules private opinion. Morality—hedonistic and utilitarian as it was and will always remain—takes broader and broader aspects as humanity advances on the thorny path of culture and civilization. The family rules the individual, the clan the family, the tribe the clan, the people the tribe and so on till we reach the largest aggregate—the human race in its entirety, till the *consciousness of self is merged in race—consciousness in socialism*. This is in a nut-shell the evolution of ethics.

Nature cares little about individuals, but very much about species. The development of race-consciousness in human kind is therefore in perfect accord with the laws of nature. However, there is an essential difference between the methods used by nature for the preservation of species and the means and ways employed by the human race for its own preservation.

Man is a psychical being and as such uses psychical means to attain his ends. The most potent factor in the uplifting of mankind from the mire of individualism to the heights of race-consciousness, from anarchism to socialism was and is the *human mind*. The human mind comprises all psychic activities, the conscious, controlling forces as well as the subconscious controlled ones, the intellectual as well as the emotional powers, the functions of the brain as well as of the heart. It is generally conceded by all those who in one way or another work in the interests of humanity, that nothing can be accomplished without an appeal to the reasoning faculties of men. Far be it from us to disparage the effectivity of the *propaganda of the brain*. We want here only to point out the one-sidedness and eventual sterility of intellectual propaganda alone, i. e., without its natural counterpart—the *propaganda of the heart*, the appeal to the emotional side of the human mind. It is of course of paramount importance to know and understand what and how and why certain results are to be attained. Human intellect is after all only a tool. As any other tool it may be left unused, it may be misused and may be used in the proper way and manner. If there is no motive for action the intellectual faculties, however well developed and enriched with knowledge they may be, will remain dormant. If the motive be narrow love of self the intellect will be misused in individual interests. Only when the moral and emotional side of the mind is developed to the exclusion of sordid personal motives, only when the consciousness and feeling of kind subordinates the consciousness and feeling of self, we are justified in expecting acts of self-sacrifice, disinterested devotion to a cause. More knowledge of what is wrong and what is right leaves us cold and passive. Mere *knowledge without a motive* for the application of it con concrete cases is *not dynamic*, but static. The motive

of human actions is supplied chiefly by the emotional side of mind. A close study of history proves the fallacy of the popular assumption, that the intellectual development alone is a progressive factor, while emotion is either an indifferent or even a retrogressive element. On the contrary, history proves that cold, calculating, logical reason without the aid of powerful emotional under currents never shaped human events, never swayed human destinies. History teaches us, that the great leaders of men on the path of moral development, the development of the consciousness of kind as opposed to the consciousness of self, that the great seers of the hoary antiquity, that our modern great moralists and revolutionary heroes were not necessarily intellectual giants, but rather simple-minded *heroes of the heart*, dreamers, poets, idealists.

"Bards who sung
Divine ideas below
Which always find us young,
And always keep us so."

The "saviors" of human-kind did not preach
"Organized charity scrimped and iced
In the name of a cautious, statistical Christ."

Indeed the traditional Christ of the Bible was anything but cautious or statistical. There was little cold reasoning about him. It was his eminently emotional consciousness of kind, his love to the human race, that left its impress on the history of humanity. He did not attempt to prove to the people the scientific correctness or the unimpeachable logic of his moral teachings. The Sermon on the Mount is all pure emotion, enthusiasm, passionate love to humanity. Joseph Mazzini said: "All great national enterprises have ever been originated by men of the people, whose sole strength lay in that power or faith and of will which neither counts obstacles nor measures time. Men of means and influence follow after, either to support and carry on the movement created by the first, or, as too often happens, to divert its original aim."

Any great world movement of the past can be traced back to emotion clarified by intellect, none to intellect alone.

The greatest modern world movement—*Socialism*—is a movement for the readjustment of human interrelations on a new principle, consequently it is primarily *an ethical movement*. Socialists must, therefore, in order to succeed, appeal to the heart as well as to the brain, they must arouse enthusiasm, a passionate hate of wrong, an intense love of justice and fair play in human relations. Our present mercantile civilization favors mercantile morals. It favors the development of the lowest activities of the brain—cunning, shrewdness, craftiness. Socialists have to extirpate the individualistic morals, the gross individualistic materialism of our age and preach the noble morals, the lofty materialism of humanitarian aspirations.

ISADOR LADOFF.

The Socialization of Humanity. A Reply.

HERBERT SPENCER in his Autobiography complains that none of his books were ever adequately reviewed; that the critical notices they received give no notion of their contents; and, in order that he may be fully understood, he reviews each of his books himself in the way he thinks it should be done. I take this occasion in replying to Mr. Untermann in his review of my book, "The Socialization of Humanity," to review it, it is because it is the best reply that can be offered to what Mr. Untermann has said, and to avoid criticism for self-reviewing, I quote the precedent of Mr. Spencer and his justification.

The object of the book, as stated in the preface, is to trace physical, organic and social phenomena to their sources in order to discover their laws, so that the subsequent expenditure of energy in nature life, mind and society may be determined for human welfare. Through an analysis and synthesis of matter and energy as seen in physical, organic and social nature, I conceive the universe to be a process in the adjustment and readjustment of the two forms of energy constituting nature: gravitant energy constituting matter and radiant energy constituting the conditions of matter; and that the universal process is accomplished by different methods in the expenditure of these two forms of energy along the line of least resistance. There are four forms of this law. First, as in physical nature where the line of least resistance is determined by the blind conflict of the contending energies, resulting in no economy of energy whatever; second, as in organic nature, where the line of least resistance is determined by mind, resulting in a degree of economy of energy to the advantage of the individual possessing mind; third, as in morality where the line of least resistance is determined through the moral sense, attaining a still greater degree of economy of energy by saving part of the energies heretofore wasted by the individual through selfishness, turning it to the advantage of society as a whole; fourth, as in perfect sociality where the line of least resistance is determined by the social sense, resulting in conscious society with perfect economy in the expenditure of all energy, turning the energy heretofore wasted to the advantage of society as a whole.

Mr. Untermann seems to think because energy under each of these laws always takes the line of least resistance that there is no difference in them. But there is all the difference in the world. Under the first law, while the line of least resistance is followed, it is at incalculable waste of energy. By waste I do not mean that energy is destroyed, yet Mr. Untermann would try to make it appear that I did; but that it accomplishes no work. Witness the enormous waste of energy of the rivers of the earth, such as Niagara Falls; the still greater waste of the wind currents of

the earth. Think of the incalculable waste of electricity which is produced by the friction of the phenomena of nature! All of this waste of energy is expended under the law of motion that the line of least resistance is determined by the blind conflict of the contending energies. Under the second law of the expenditure of energy, while mind directs these wasting energies of nature, yet it is only to individual advantage, the social advantage following being merely a by-product. Under the third law the moral sense takes control of the individual's selfish control of energy and directs it to social advantage by the process of feeling, conscience and duty. Control by the moral sense does much good; but the acme of economy is not reached until the line of least resistance is determined by the social sense, resulting in conscious society, the socialization of the race, the line of least resistance being determined by scientific knowledge, being a perfect reproduction of the environment in the mind of man.

Now in elaborating these four laws of motion I discuss them in detail, and it is these details that Mr. Untermann criticises rather than the laws themselves. He would make it appear that I do not understand what the mind is, that I give no explanation of sex, that I take my notion of morality from Herbert Spencer, that I give no adequate conception of the moral and social senses, that I know nothing of co-operation except among men, that my conception of religion is erroneous, and that I do not understand the evolution philosophy. He seems to think that because mind exists today that it must have existed always; that because morality exists today that it must have existed always, and so of every thing.

He says:

"The question of which was first, mind or matter, can simply be answered by declaring that the one cannot be without the other; that one exists as long as the other, that they are both eternal and that their origin is co-eternal." p. 158, lines 14 to 18.

While this is an universal belief among metaphysicians, yet, when the true concept of mind is understood, it is an absurdity. While the human mind, consisting of the emotions and the intellect, is due to the organization of the two forms of energy in nature, internal and external energies, and the two forms of energy in themselves are everlasting, yet the mind depending upon the organization of these two forms of energy, passes away when the organization ceases to exist; but the energies as energies continue to exist forever. Mind is a mere phenomenon. It is unscientific to personify mind and make it an entity like matter, when it is simply a method of expending energy in nature; for it leads to mysticism, metaphysics and superstition whereby the oppressing classes cheat the common man out of his birthright, a perfect life in this world, and give him in lieu thereof a promise

of a life everlasting which does not and can not exist. But it is perfectly scientific to trace the factors of mind back into nature, and forward into morality and sociality; to find the laws of the expenditure of all energy so that it may be turned to social advantage; to discover the myriad phenomena of nature under their various guises, and show that while nature is many, yet it is one. This is monism. And this is what I have attempted to do in my book.

Beginning with Newton's three laws of motion, the expenditure of energy through the mind is a fourth law of motion, through the moral sense a fifth law, through the social sense a sixth law.

What the mind is: a fourth law of motion:

"A sense is a result of the way a physical, external energy, light, heat, pressure and so forth, registers itself in an animal organism; and after countless ages of development ends in a highly developed sense organ to receive such external energy. The registrations are the residua of the impacting, external physical energies; and it is through them that the animal cognizes and classifies similar external energies, such registrations in the course of countless ages developing into the intellect. The functions of the registrations is to discharge, and furnish avenues of escape to the internal energies of an organism liberated by them, and thus adjust the organism through its motor apparatus to the environment. The residua increase in number—each residuum, impression, sensation, perception or idea, or whatever you may call it, being a path of escape to the internal energies of the organism, due to partial chemical decomposition, oxidation—and after countless ages of development and organization, from amoeba to man, end in the phenomenon we call intellect. The function of the intellect is to direct the ensuing action of the organism, due to external stimuli. It varies the law of action and reaction, the law of expending energy along the line of least resistance, determined by the contending energies, by making each reaction of an organism not controlled by present stimulus alone, as in inorganic bodies, but controlled by ideas, being the expenditure of energy through the accumulated experiences of the organism, from the registration of the stimuli it has inherited from its ancestors, and has experienced in its own life, and all the combinations it has been able to form from them. p. 8, 9.

What the moral sense is: a fifth law of motion:

"Human energy comprising feelings and emotions, like all energy when uncontrolled, expends itself along the line of least resistance or the greatest attraction, the resultant of the conditioning energies; and in expending itself, registers itself in the nervous systems of the acting individuals by the law of external repetition, leaving residua which in time become a moral sense through which similar energies are afterwards cognized and classified, and which has the function of regulating and determining the expenditure of the energies of the individuals in reactions from similar stimuli. As the physical energies have originated the physical senses in the animal organism to make it aware of external nature, so that it may expend its energies in the most economic manner possible from the point of view of the individual in nature; so human energy, feelings and emotions, in its expenditure in registering itself in human organisms, as adjusted in society, originated a moral sense in the individual, which makes him aware of human energies as they exist in human being in society, and which determines the expenditure of his energies in society in the most economic manner possible." pp. 130-1.

What the social sense is: a sixth law of motion:

"The social sense is the accepted body of knowledge of a tribe, a

nation or the race, commonly designated cult, mythology, superstition, philosophy or theology; it is the race's knowledge of itself, stored in many ways, consisting of the popular concepts of the race contained in tradition, public opinion, literature and institutions. It is through this body of knowledge that the individual knows society, and performs his functions in society as it is through his senses and intellect that he knows nature and performs his functions in nature. This body of knowledge performs the function of a sense in that it receives, classifies, registers ideas of society in the form of concepts, and furnishes forms of expending energy which guide and control the expenditure of the energies of the individual in accordance with it. The uncontrolled and original ideas of an individual produce a certain low form of society; for each individual strives within himself to realize his idea of society, but as individuals act from different points of view, much of their energy is dissipated in neutralization and opposition. Naturally in this great conflict in the expenditure of energy among primitive people, controlled by individual ideas, some form of expenditure will be better than others; then the conflict instead of being between individual and individual is between the individual and this common form. This is the incipient social sense, beginning in the opinion of an individual and ending in verifiable scientific truth of society, after having passed through primitive man's allegorical interpretation of the facts of nature, life, mind and society." pp. 162-3.

"If the individual's moral and social senses were perfectly developed the individual would hold within himself both the individual and the race. Just as man's intellect is a mirror of nature, so his moral and social senses are a counterpart of society. The moral sense is a repetition of society in the individual from the point of view of sensibility; the social sense is a repetition from the point of knowledge. The moral and social senses are in fact society in us, a part of our constituent being. Society is in us as a God to be ever present to watch over the expenditure of our energies to reward the good, to punish the bad. The relation existing between man's individual and social natures some day will be perfect. There will be no need of external social control, except for the purpose of developing the moral and social senses, for the perfect individual will expend all of his energies with perfect economy by the control of his moral and social senses. Society will not have to coerce such an individual, for compunctions of conscience will be sufficient to deter him from wrong actions, and self-approval will be sufficient reward for good actions as it is to-day with the most highly developed individuals. With society constituted of such individuals a perfect social organism will be reached. The individual will be just as much concerned with social functions as with individual functions. This is the acme of the universal process of matter—conscious social evolution, directing all the energies of nature, man and society to the greatest possible economy thereby securing the greatest organization possible to the matter and energies of nature and the greatest happiness of the human race." p. 160.

What we are;

"All nature is one. We can interpret all nature in terms of our life, and our life in terms of nature; thus we are akin to everything and everything is akin to us. This is monism. We see ourselves in the most insignificant phenomenon as well as the sublimest. All nature has a meaning to us—the ceaseless changes in the inorganic, the interminable strivings of the organic, and the complex and baffling struggle for existence in the social world—all are one and the same interminable adjustment and readjustment of the gravitant and radiant energies of nature following the great law of repetition from primal mist, through the organization of nature, life, mind and society back to the primal mist again *ad infinitum*." p. p. 236-7.

II.

Mr. Untermann has not criticised any of the fundamental doctrines of my book. In the opening sentence one would think he intended showing wherein I differed from Marx and Engels, yet he does not do so. I contend that when looked at in the light of the philosophy of monism there is nothing in my book which conflicts with Marx's doctrine of economic determinism. I simply emphasize the psychic factors of civilization, Marx the economic. A much too narrow interpretation heretofore has been placed upon the theories of Marx and Engels as is shown in their later work. Seligman in his *Economic Interpretation of History*, quoted by Mills in his *Struggles for Existence*, pp. 42-3, says:

"It is, however, important to remember that the originators of the theory (economic determinism) have themselves called attention to the danger of exaggeration. Towards the close of his career Engels, influenced, no doubt, by the weight of adverse criticism, pointed out that too much had been claimed for the doctrine. 'Marx and I,' he writes to a student in 1890, 'are partly responsible for the fact that the younger generation have some times laid more stress on the economic side than it deserved. In meeting the attacks of our opponents, it was necessary for us to emphasize the dominant principle denied by them; and we did not always have the time, place or opportunity to let the other factors, which were concerned in the mutual action and reaction, get their deserts.'—'According to the materialistic view of history the factor which in the last instance is decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. More than this, Marx nor I have ever asserted. But when any one distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase.'"

It will be seen from this that Marx's economic determinism is but a part of the philosophy of monism in general, and, if I have given a philosophy of monism, then I can not be seriously in opposition to Marx or Engels. The facts are, if any one will read my book carefully, he will see that the only difference between us is one of aspect; that I treat the whole subject of nature from the point of view of monism, whereas Marx and Engels confine themselves to an economic interpretation of history.

Mr. Untermann seems to think that the chief function of the critics is to point out contradictions, and wherever I have used a word in two different senses, for example, the use of the word nature, when I say: "Life and mind are developed in spite of nature, not with its assistance"; and "It is the nature of matter and energy to develop life, mind and human society, as it is for them to manifest themselves in any other way," he notes the seeming contradiction. Any one ought to see that nature is personified in the first sentence, whereas in the following, it is not; that the two sentences contrast naturalism with supernaturalism. Mr. Untermann follows this plan of criticism throughout, often criticising the nonsense he sees in one sentence through misunderstanding with the sense he really understands in another. In some

cases he takes my ultimate conception of a phenomenon and shows how it contradicts an undeveloped form of it. This is true of my concept of morality. In the following sentence he completely misunderstands my meaning. In order to keep the reformer from becoming discouraged, I show that the unconscious forces of nature work for the socialization of the race, I say: "That no matter whether the reformer proselytizes or the conservative persecutes, it matters not, the natural action, inter-action and reaction of the factors of physical, organic and social nature will inevitably end in a perfect social organism;" but Mr. Untermann totally misunderstands me, and thinks I am arguing against the necessity of agitation and goes into details to show the importance of agitation as if I had not done it time and again in the book.

But Mr. Untermann is so self-confident of his perfect orthodoxy in socialism, in monism, in the evolution philosophy that I am tempted to criticise his expression of the monistic philosophy in his review of my book. He says:

"In our further evolution, we shall find that there is no waste, and what seems like waste to us now was necessary and economical for its own time and place. As for co-operation all nature is constantly co-operating, all forms of life are but links in the universal division of labor."

If this were the only co-operation known to man, and Mr. Untermann implies that it is, then *laissez faire* is true, competition is right, the struggle for existence is desirable, war inevitable, and the natural condition of things not to be interfered with or improved; for we might disturb nature with our ignorant and unholy meddling and knock things helter-skelter. Socialism is a dream, the control of nature a utopia and dualistic theology is the true philosophy; for has it, too, not told us that every thing was for the best; that it is unwise, impious to criticise nature, to object to and improve nature; that every thing is in a divinely arranged plan, that "In our future evolution we shall find that there is no waste, and that what seems like waste to us now was necessary and economical for its time and place." Certainly this thought of Mr. Untermann is a reminiscence of his childhood days, and is not monistic materialism at all.

It seems strange to me that Mr. Untermann should criticise my book for not understanding co-operation when I show that nature everywhere blindly co-operates through the law of motion that all energy takes the line of least resistance determined by the conditioning energies; that the origin of plants and animals was due to a division of labor blindly made in nature (p. 70); that this is the explanation of sex (p. 72); that the same division of labor is seen in society in the elements of order and progress (p. 74); but that this form of co-operation is under Newton's three laws of motion, that all energy expends itself along the line of least resistance determined by the contending energies; and that the co-operation secured by the mind, by the moral sense and by the

social sense is conscious co-operation and will ultimately expend all energy with perfect economy doing away with poverty, the struggle for existence and war in the ultimate socialization of the race.

Mr. Untermann criticises my conception of class-consciousness. It is true that I state the doctrine in different language to him, yet none the less I state it. The ideas of Marx and Engels are not inspired so that we can not vary them, and no one has a patent on the truth. If I have arrived at a concept of class-consciousness by a study of all nature, it is just as much the truth as if I had arrived at it by a study of economics as did Marx and Engels. On page 301 I give the origin of class-consciousness and in conclusion say: "The true function of government of all, by all, for all can only come about with the democratization of the race. The ultimate goal of all humanity as seen in all history as family has enlarged into class, class into a people, is to make the whole of society into one people, thus realizing the democratization of the race." On page 213 I show how class-consciousness creates the moral sense. On page 444 in giving my concept of society, I say: "Human association is an organization in which the function of the organization is not to benefit the organization as a whole, or some class, or profession, or some corporation, or some great individual; but the benefit of all indiscriminately comprising it the least as well as the greatest." Mr. Unterman says that I fear to mention class-struggle, yet on page 462 I show the class struggle that is now going on in the United States and say: "Society must compel capitalists to abandon expending energy by the fourth law of motion, by introducing action by public corporate knowledge, the fifth and sixth laws of motion, the moral and social senses, to compete with private corporations and thus supplant them." On page 446 I say: "It is just as necessary that all the individuals of society shall be developed to their fullest capacity as that all of the constitutional units of the animal body be healthful, be able to perform their functions; for in each case the whole organism's condition is determined by the condition of its units." On pages 454-6 I show that class consciousness is but an incipient form of social consciousness; that when socialization is realized then the social organism will be perfectly conscious, so that a wrong done to the least member will be felt and seen as vividly by every one as if it were done to the greatest, and be remedied as soon as discovered. The happiness of all will be the chief concern of each, for without universal happiness there can be no individual happiness. This is the function of social consciousness.

Mr. Untermann appreciates what the book has attempted to do, but says it fails of accomplishing it:

"The author has gone deeply into things which are vital to the human race, and read many authors with understanding. But his read-

ing did not lead him to that source of light which would have enabled him to correlate the ideas of the various authors under one common conception wide enough to include and explain them all. This source is the literature of historical materialism created by the modern socialist movement. If he had grasped the meaning of the socialist philosophy and coupled this understanding with his great earnestness, his lofty concept of human relationship, and the sincere warmth which pervades his book from cover to cover, he would have created a work of epoch making value."

If this were true then indeed would I feel sad, for the object of my life has been to find the truth and utter it; and if I did not appreciate modern socialistic literature, it is because I can not, not because of neglect. I feel that this judgment is that of a contemporary which will not be shared in by the rising generation. Books that heretofore have attempted to do what my book failed to do, according to Mr. Untermann, yet so strenuously attempted, that is, make a wider generalization than heretofore had been attempted by any one, have always met with such criticism, yet in the end have gained appreciation and recognition. I have no fear that the fate of my book will be otherwise.

III.

The great defect in modern socialism is a lack of dynamic. It is urged against it that it can never be realized until there is a change in human nature. This means that while socialism may be absolutely just, may be perfectly scientific, yet there is no power known to man which will cause him to adopt it; that the race knowingly and wilfully would rather follow the injustice of capitalism with its lack of scientific qualification to adapt man to his environment, with its resulting incompleteness of life than to adopt socialism with its ideal and perfect system of living. It is this fundamental objection to socialism which caused me to make a complete analysis and synthesis of all the energies of nature to see if I could not discover the true dynamic which will secure the socialization of the race, be the basis of a scientific sociology which can be realized in the life of man today; and I think I have found it to be nothing more nor less than religion produced by the expenditure of energy through the moral and social senses. This is the ultimate conclusion of my book, yet it was overlooked by Mr. Untermann, he giving instead of my final conclusion, what I had to say in regard to our transitional period.

For the want of space I can only give a meagre concept of the ultimate religion of man and its function in the development of society. On page 53 I show that while external energies were developing the senses of sight, touch and hearing and the intellect, then the moral and social senses, that at the same time the internal energies were developing the sense of smell and taste, the desires, the will, love and finally religion; that man's intellectual nature is the highest form of external energy, while his emotional nature is the highest form of internal energy; and that the greatest

emotion of man is religion; that it can only be produced in its perfect form by morality, that kind of conduct which has been found to be of the greatest utility to the race, which expends all energy with perfect economy.

"Religion is the ultimate development of the primitive internal energy constituting matter, which causes it during the universal process of adjustment and readjustment of external radiant energy and internal gravitant energy, to unite into higher and higher organizations, beginning with molecular compounds and ending with humanity. Religion is the ultimate form of internal energy of matter which binds all organizations together. It begins with chemism in chemical combinations, then extends to living compounds. * * * In a still more differentiated form it unites the sexes in love. In its highest differentiated form, it begins by binding animals into species, men into clans, tribes into nations, and finally as religion, it will unite all humanity into one great organism. Religion is the energy of society, as feeling is the energy of the individual, and chemism is the energy of chemical compounds." p. 242.

If orthodox socialism is to be a factor in the ultimate socialization of the race, it must raise itself to the greatness of its mission, be not only a system of economics, not only a political program; but a philosophy of existence, a system of living, a religion that is to take the place of Christianity, and be the ultimate religion of man to make life worth living through all the coming ages, be a compensation to him for all of his individual sacrifices in the great battle he is now waging with capitalism in the socialization of the race. When socialism means this, it will be a fold for all the oppressed and down-trodden the world over; the home of the meek and lowly, the wise and just; the great cause which all enthusiastic reformers can embrace; the solace of the scientist in his arduous work for humanity; the inspiration of the artist in his picture of the ideal; the theme of the poet in all of his songs of hope and happiness; the machinery of the epic of humanity which will last until the race is no more; the model for the statesman to realize; and the school of the teacher in which he can interpret to all humanity the greatest thought he is able to think; and the life of the common people, for them to live in peace and happiness here on earth, the realized heaven of the poets and philosophers in all ages. Then socialism will be the greatest power the world has ever seen, be to the twentieth century what Christianity was to the first except instead of being a slave religion with a theological social sense, it will be a free man's religion with a monistic social sense which will see the way all energy should be expended and the socialization of the race will be attained. Then socialism will mean something, and not be the choice and watched doctrine of a band of persecuted spirits crowded in some garret to starve and dream; or the hope of some distant future which literary men allude to and flavor novels with, a hazy body of doctrine which can not be realized in practical life. Instead of taking a narrow view of socialism as Mr. Untermann would lead you to think, I take this view of it, and hail it to the world!

CHARLES KENDALL FRANKLIN.

Tolstoy and "The Times."

"Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast pearls before the swine, lest haply they trample them under their feet, and turn and rend you."—*Jesus Christ.*

A LONG article by Leo Tolstoy on the Russian-Japanese war, entitled "Bethink Yourselves," was published in "The Times" of June 27, together with a comment by one of the editors. Both article¹ and comment are eminently characteristic utterances; the one being no less straightforward and unanswerable than the other is feeble and evasive. We can well imagine the mingled feeling of embarrassment and gratification with which Tolstoy's manifesto on the war was received at the office of the famous organ of capitalism in Printing House Square. "The Times" had evidently been highly delighted at the prospect of publishing an essay on an actual topic by the greatest of Russian writers, and had announced this particular article some weeks before its publication as an extraordinary and unique attraction. On the one hand, it was a clever stroke of business for "The Times," especially at a moment when it is putting forth strenuous efforts to increase its circulation, to print an article on the war by such a distinguished author as Leo Tolstoy, and on the other hand, the essay was doubly welcome as an indictment of the Russian government, with which the personal relations of "The Times" have not been quite so cordial of late, as one might be led to expect from two such ancient and honorable pillars of the existing commercial, political, moral, and religious order of the world.

Unfortunately for "The Times," however, Tolstoy is an independent thinker, who absolutely refuses to adapt his views to the current capitalistic opinion which "The Times" represents; he is neither an imperialist nor an admirer of international politics, and worst of all, has a most uncomfortable habit of plain speech, and a profound contempt for capitalism and all its manifestations. So, as I have already said, one can well imagine the mingled feelings of the champions of British imperialism, the Tibet expedition, Chinese labor in South African mines, and Mr. Chamberlain, on the receipt of an article, in which the author instead of limiting himself to a fierce denunciation of the manners and methods of the Russian autocracy and of this particular war, launched forth on a general arraignment of all governments and all wars, and even went so far as to include among the latter the recent glorious conquest of the Dutch farmers in South Africa.

Well, the article having been abundantly advertised by "The

Times," and with its customary modesty it had to be printed, and it had to be printed in full, for Tolstoy will not allow the publication of special editions of his works, abridged or otherwise watered-down for the use of middle-class gentlemen of conservative tastes. Consequently, the only thing to be done was to select a member of the staff to write a leading article, sufficiently apologetic, unctuous, and inept to restore the balance of good feeling between "The Times" and its outraged subscribers, and sufficiently patronizing to avoid all appearance of incivility or disrespect to the distinguished contributor. That considering its hundred odd years of experience as a newspaper, "The Times" has carried the art of trimming to a height of perfection hitherto undreamed of, is no more necessary to say than that the editor, to whom was entrusted the important duty of writing the fatuous and patronizing leading article, fully succeeded in vindicating his journal from all suspicion, either of improper designs on the present order of society, or of sympathy or understanding for the great Russian philosopher.

We are all more or less familiar with Tolstoy's views on war.¹ His writings of the past ten years have been a continuous denunciation of the patriotism by which war is inflamed, the so-called Christianity of the orthodox churches by which it is countenanced and encouraged, the diplomatic falsehoods with which it is ushered in, and the system of exploitation and wage-slavery upon which it is based. His sympathy for the unfortunate and unknown peasants and workingmen who are driven forth, like so many wretched animals to slaughter, is no less than his contempt for their leaders, the men "who wish to distinguish themselves, or to do a bad turn to each other, or to earn the right to add one more little star, fingle-fangle, or scrap of ribbon to their idiotic glaring get-up," for the "journalists, who by their writings * * * incite men to war," for the "diplomatists who prepare war by their deceits," and for these "pastors of churches, calling themselves Christians," who "appeal to that God who has enjoined love to one's enemies—to the God of Love himself—to help the work of the devil to further the slaughter of men."

"The dissertation upon the war by Count Leo Tolstoy which we publish today is a remarkable document," says the "Times" editor. "It is at once a confession of faith, a political manifesto, a picture of the sufferings borne by the peasant soldiers of the Tsar, an illustration of the crude ideas fermenting in many of these soldiers' minds, and a curious and suggestive psychological study. It reveals with impressive distinctness the great gulf fixed between the whole mental attitude of the purely European nations and that of the distinguished and influential Slav writer who has imperfectly assimilated certain disjointed phases of European thought. In no country but Russia could a writer of the first rank so incongruously jumble the logical methods of the thirteenth century with the most 'ad-

(1) Comp. "Patriotism and Christianity," 1896; "Letters on War," 1700; "Patriotism and Government," 1900; "The Root of the Evil," 1901; "Thou Shalt Not Kill," etc., etc.

vanced' ideals of modern socialism. Count Tolstoy uses texts from the Gospels as political arguments with all the assurance and all the irrelevance of a medieval schoolman, and in the same breath he rejects, as idle and pernicious superstitions, not merely the rites and teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, but the cardinal dogmas of historic Christianity." . . .

To this it must be replied that a more incongruous combination of nonsense, inaccuracy and self-righteousness would be difficult to beat. Either the writer is completely ignorant of the tendency of Tolstoy's writings, in which case it would have been more discreet to have been silent on the subject, or else as is most probable, he is guilty of intentional misrepresentation. That Tolstoy is not a socialist, that he has never understood modern socialism, and is opposed to all legislative action as a means of social revolution or reform is apparent not only from his earlier works,¹ but also from the article under discussion, where it is stated:

"Therefore, however strange it may appear to those occupied with military plans, preparations, diplomatic considerations, administrative, financial, economical measures, revolutionary, socialistic propaganda, and various unnecessary sciences, by which they think to save mankind from its calamities, the deliverance of many, not only from the calamities of war, but also from all the calamities which men inflict upon themselves, will take place not through emperors or kings instituting peace alliances, not through those who would dethrone emperors, kings, or restrain them by constitutions or substitute republics for monarchies, not by peace conferences, not by the realization of socialistic programmes, not by victories or defeats on land or sea, not by libraries or universities, nor by those futile mental exercises which are now called science; but only by there being more and more of those simple men who, like the Dukhobors, Drojzin, Olkhovik in Russia, the Nazarenes in Austria, Condatier in France, Tervev in Holland, and others, having placed as their object, not external alterations of life, but the closest fulfilment in themselves of the will of Him who has sent them into life, will direct all their powers to this realization. Only such people realizing the kingdom of God in themselves, in their souls, will establish, without directly aiming at this purpose, that external kingdom of God which every human soul is longing for."

In short, Tolstoy, like the reformers with whom he is most in harmony, is not a socialist but a "Christian anarchist," in other words a revolutionary sectarian, who looks almost exclusively to religion and to the state of consciousness which may be induced by religious emotion as the source of salvation. Nor has he anything more in common with socialists than a recognition of the inherent evils of the present social order and a sincere desire to labor for its abolition. It is true that his ideal, so far as the material wealth of the world is concerned, is "each according to his needs, from each according to his ability," but this is plainly the (unorthodox and) utopian Christian ideal of thoroughgoing communism, which is, in the first place, as old as the hills, and in the second place, too far removed from the present to be of any practical importance except, indeed, as an

(1) "Some Social Remedies," 1900; "The Slavery of Our Times," 1900; "Appeal to Social Reformers," 1903, etc.

ideal,—too “ultimate” to be included in any modern socialist programme.

With Tolstoy's religion “The Times” fares even worse than with his socialism. That Tolstoy should quote texts from the Gospels and at the same time reject the rites and teachings and dogmas of orthodox Christianity can be a matter of surprise to no one who is familiar with the Christian teachings as expressed in the Gospels and with the gospel of capitalism as proclaimed in the orthodox Christian churches. The statements (attributed by all Christians to the founder of their religion) in regard to murder, armed resistance, the taking of oaths, and various other essentials of modern warfare, are sufficiently explicit as they stand in the current versions of the New Testament to require no explanation. The Gospels and their teaching have always been looked upon as the central document of Christianity: if any one reject them he is not a Christian, *i. e.*, one who professes to believe in the system of doctrines and precepts taught by Christ. The Russian priests who march at the head of advancing columns bearing in their hands an uplifted cross are no more Christian than the Church of England parsons who acted the part of recruiting sergeants during the Boer war, or the American clergymen who prayed to the Almighty God of Battle for the success of the arms of our own plutocracy in Cuba and the Philippines. Such actions are in direct contradiction to the moral teaching of the religion which they profess, and judged by that religion, their conduct is no less inexcusable than amazing. All this has been pointed out for years, not only by Tolstoy but by dozens of writers, Christian and non-Christian, and their indictment is unanswerable. And so long as the precepts in question are allowed to remain in the Gospels, and the Gospels themselves are held to be sacred by the orthodox ministers of religion, this contradiction—which it must be admitted is not particularly edifying—will continue. If the churches were openly to proclaim themselves not to be Christian, or if they were to prepare a new official revision of the Gospels, in which all passages that can be considered in any way objectionable or offensive to the spirit of an imperialistic capitalism have been carefully suppressed, there is no doubt but that the world would be much the better off for it. A sincere barbarian is certainly preferable to a pious fraud.

After a few weak remarks to the effect that Tolstoy “holds the governing classes of his own country up to the execration of ignorant peasants with a recklessness which might lead in certain circumstances to the cruelest of all bloodshed—the bloodshed of social war,” and that “he does not shrink from telling the suffering masses that they feed the ‘sluggards,’ who thrive on a system of fraud, of robbery, and of murder.” “The Times” editor goes on to say in his most patronizing tone, that Tolstoy's “earnestness

and sincerity are unquestionable; but the unmeasured vehemence of language, which imparts vividness to his invective and actuality to his descriptions, would alone suffice to deter sensible readers from accepting his statements without reserve. . . . His inability to perceive, even dimly, the elementary facts which dominate the social and political order of the world, his intolerance of the men and the institutions upholding that order, and his powerlessness to suggest any working alternative for the system he would overturn become more and more prominent as the news of successive engagements and disasters reaches his ears. He has none of the serene patience which comes of the conviction that in the evolution of mankind it is ordained that good shall triumph over evil."

No, it must be confessed, Tolstoy has none of that serene patience which "The Times'" editor, in common with some of our modern professors of political economy and sociology, apparently hold to be the summit of human wisdom. He knows that the conscious activity of man is essential to all effective progress, and that although it may be "ordained" that good shall triumph over evil, it is at any rate certain that whatever the forces are which are productive of the evolution of good, and however numerous, active human endeavor is the one indispensable agent to that end, without which nothing may be accomplished. He realizes that of all the factors of evolution conscious effort alone possesses moral worth, and that although good may indeed sometimes result indirectly from exploitation, oppression, and bloodshed, it must be placed to the shame rather than to the credit of the individuals who *unconsciously* participate in its production, all the while that their *conscious* endeavors are being devoted to the pursuit of their own selfish ends. For example, the capitalists may by their clumsy efforts to stave off an impending crisis open up vast territories to western civilization, which, with all its drawbacks, is unquestionably superior to the barbarism which as a rule it replaces; they may through the agency of their factories and industrial centres bring together large aggregates of workers, thereby rendering it possible for a uniform belief to be spread among them; they may by exploiting and crushing their workmen to the point of desperation arouse in them that spirit of unrest and sense of injustice which finally develops into an organized labor-movement, trade-unionism, and Social Democracy. Just as in Germany, where the anti-socialist speeches of the emperor are employed as an effective means of propaganda by the very political party which he is most anxious to suppress, and as in Colorado, where the bloodshed occasioned by the lawless rule of an unscrupulous plutocracy is hammering the lesson of class-conscious political action into the hard heads of those American workmen who have hitherto been gifted with that

serene patience which the "Times'" editor apparently so highly recommends, so in Russia, the present autocracy has involuntarily rendered its own self feeble, ineffective, and corrupt, and has unconsciously furthered the development of the very class that will some day assist in occasioning its fall. But it is plain that Tolstoy, who views all things from a purely religious and ethical standpoint, cannot be tolerant of individuals who, although consciously striving to uphold the present order, are, without knowing it, paving the way to its destruction. Unconscious action, whether beneficial or not, can by no possibility have a moral value, and not only is it morally worthless, but, as will be shown later on, it stands lowest in the scale of evolution. Nothing can illustrate more clearly the utter bankruptcy of current "bourgeois" ethics, than the implication of the "Times'" editor that Tolstoy does not perceive even dimly the elementary facts of the social and political order of the world, *simply because he is intolerant of the immorality and stupidity of those individuals who, while engaged in the pursuit of their own egoistic endeavors are at the same time unconsciously and involuntarily assisting in the gradual triumph of the good over evil.*

It is no wonder that Tolstoy has been driven into a somewhat exaggerated contempt of orthodox social and political science, which accepted authorities of the present day in their endeavor to adapt to the moral necessities of the governing classes have severed from all organic connection with the *science of ethics*, thereby displaying the utmost indifference to what the last fifty or sixty years have accomplished towards the unification of knowledge. And this bankruptcy of "bourgeois" sociology and ethics becomes only the more evident when the "Times" editor goes on to say, in the certainty of the approval of his cultured readers, that

"Count Tolstoy applies his dogma of the unmitigated wickedness of all war with the rigid logic which so commonly plunges idealists into papable absurdities in the real affairs of life. He lays down the startling proposition that it is the moral and religious duty of each individual Russian, whether he be soldier or civilian, to refuse to take part in the present contest, directly or indirectly. Whatever be the consequences—whether not only Port Arthur be taken, but St. Petersburg and Moscow' as well—this duty is absolute. The individual, whether he be the autocrat on the throne or the peasant tilling the fields, has no right even to consider the consequences of its violation. They may mean death to himself and ruin to the state. No matter, he must do his duty and refuse to kill."

Here the same train of thought repeats itself. No doubt even the editor of a yellow journal is willing to admit that war *per se* is—stated in the mildest possible terms—an evil. Moltke himself was willing to concede so much. And he knows perfectly well that the practice of warfare is characteristic of a lower rather

(1) "The most fatal error that ever happened in the world was the separation of political and ethical science."—*Shelley*. (Quoted by Tolstoy as a motto to his "Appeal to Social Reformers.")

than of a higher phase of human development. He is also aware that Tolstoy believes that war is something "incomprehensible and impossible in its cruelty, falsehood, and stupidity"—for this very statement occurs in the article he is criticising. Notwithstanding all this, he has the effrontery to speak of Tolstoy's simple and straightforward advice to men, not to take part in the present conflict or in any other war, that is to say, not to assist in what he himself has recognized to be—at the very least—an evil, as "fantastic propositions!" Perhaps the editor is surprised that Tolstoy, instead of denouncing war, does not express himself somewhat as follows: "It is true, war is incomprehensibly cruel and stupid, and through the agency of warfare certain irresponsible and unscrupulous members of society endeavor to attain certain definite objects. Although these objects are seldom attained and are in themselves almost invariably immoral and worthless and injurious to society, nevertheless the ultimate (unconscious) effect of war is to further the development of humanity towards civilization. One result of the present war may be the introduction of a more liberal form of government into Russia; it may even lead to the subversion of the present autocracy, the stronghold of reaction on the continent of Europe. The effects of the fall of the Russian autocracy will be felt throughout the entire world, and will further the development of liberal ideas and institutions in all countries. On the other hand, a great number of the most pugnacious and ferocious of modern savages may succeed in ridding the world of one another during the course of the conflict, and in spite of the general increase of brutality, which is one result of war, their mutual slaughter may still have the ultimate effect of reducing to a slight degree the savage instincts of humanity. Since we all have that serene patience which comes of the conviction that in the evolution of mankind it is ordained that good shall triumph over evil, and as it is quite impossible for us to put an end to the hostilities (even if we were desirous of so doing), let us further the evil with all our hearts that the more good may come of it. The end sacrifices the means."

Now, if Tolstoy were a journalist or sociologist, or economist, who has reduced himself to mental and moral incapacity in the service of Mr. Kipling's redoubtable God of Things as They Are, he might, indeed, say something of this sort, and be in thorough harmony with the ethics of capitalism. However, as a moralist of lofty aims, as a man whose life is devoted to the furtherance of human welfare, and as the greatest of modern prophets, standing as he does—in spite of his environment—in the forefront of progress, it would be a physical impossibility for him to return to a conception of human life and conduct which differs from the conceptions current in former ages (when barbarity was a still more universal phenomenon than it is

to-day), only in its hypocrisy. Having recognized that war is a crime, it is Tolstoy's duty as a man to condemn war, and as an ethical teacher to do all that lies in his power to dissuade his fellow beings from taking part in war. And in this, his moral sense and his feelings,—his sympathy for the working classes who bear the chief burden of suffering and in the end pay for the struggle with their labor,—are not "plunging" him into "palpable absurdities," as the "Times" editor very naturally would have us believe, but, as will be shown in the following paragraph, are in complete harmony with the most advanced scientific thought of the present day. Indeed, no other attitude is possible, once we have detected the hollowness of the sophism that an ethical (or intellectual) sanction for modern warfare and for the economic, social, and religious order from which it derives its material and "moral" support, is to be found in the fact that each or any of these may be demonstrated to contain an advantageous element.

It has already been pointed out that the advantageous element of war is almost exclusively a result of the unconscious and involuntary action of the individuals who are responsible for war, the results of whose *conscious* actions, *i. e.*, the killing, maiming, brutalizing, and extension of capitalistic industrial methods can hardly be called other than "unmitigated wickedness." Now it is scarcely necessary to say, first, that the capacity to foresee the future consequences of our actions, individual and collective, in other words, the power gradually to emancipate our lives from the tyranny of the "unconscious,"—the so-called element of chance,—a process by which man acquires, relatively speaking, a greater and greater control over his own destiny,—is one of the most marked characteristics of the upward progress of humanity towards civilization. The greater the sphere occupied by the unconscious, the lower the grade of culture. In the second place, it is a still more obvious truth that moral conduct is more highly evolved than immoral conduct. It follows, therefore, that individuals who only achieve good unconsciously and involuntarily, who have not the capacity to look out beyond the immediate consequences of their actions, and who are therefore in a high degree slaves of the "unconscious,"—and whose *voluntary* acts are as a rule unmitigated wickedness,—can scarcely be considered to be traveling in the direction of progress. All that need be said of them is that from the standpoint of morals and intellect they are ciphers,¹ and from the point of view of evolution, irresponsible survivors of a type that is in process of disappearance from the earth.

As to the actual practice of warfare it may be said, further, that the evolution of mankind is characterized among other things

(1) Unconscious ciphers, be it understood. Men like Baer, Carnegie and the "Times" editor are not as a rule inclined to let their light shine under a bushel or to class themselves among the publicans and sinners!

by the conquest of blind instinct and rude, primitive emotion by reason and the higher feelings, by an increasing definiteness and coherence of actions and consequent improvement in the adaptation of acts to ends (Spencer). There is no organized social activity (with the possible exception of the capitalistic method of production) in which actions are so incoherent, so indefinite, and so ill-adapted to their ends as in warfare; nor is there any activity of which the results are so uncertain, and if achieved, so utterly disproportionate to the amount of energy expended. The appalling amount of unproductive labor consumed, the death-rate of the troops engaged—due less to the bullets of the enemy than to enforced neglect and disease—the quantity of wasted gunpowder and projectiles, the futile random movements of opposed armies, the loss and destruction of supplies, of ships, of conveyances, the damage done to the property of non-combatants and to industry, and the subsequent well-known effects on the moral and mental qualities of the survivors—all these things are characteristic of a relapse into the incoherence, indefiniteness, and general irresponsibility of the most primitive stages of barbarism.

Thus Tolstoy's attitude toward war and his advice to the effect that it is better not to have anything to do with it, is not only supported by ethical and humane considerations, but is, as was to be expected, entirely consistent with the laws of social evolution, and consequently—to borrow the words of "The Times,"—with *those elementary facts which dominate the social and political order of the world.*

It remains to be said that, inasmuch as the theory of advantageous elements in human calamities is one of the most popular and pernicious of the many fallacies which are employed as a means of bolstering up the intellectual and moral side of the capitalistic order of society—a fallacy which is constantly to be met with, not only in the daily press, but also in the works of scientific writers of recognized ability, where it frequently appears in the form of the problem how to reconcile ethics with the facts of evolution, in other words, how to find an ethical sanction in the evolutionary hypothesis for the stupidities and atrocities of capitalism—and since, on the other hand, an inclination has been shown by various modern socialists, who advocate violent revolution in countries where there is no representative government, to make use of the same theory in support of their arguments, exception will, I hope, not be taken to the amount of space which has here been devoted to it.¹

HENRY BERGEN.

(1) There is no better illustration of the enlightened attitude of the great majority of Social Democrats toward war and violent revolution, than the following declaration of sympathy, addressed a few months ago by the Japanese Socialist Labor Party to their Russian comrades,—at a time when both organizations are being subjected to the most brutal persecutions by their respective governments.

Lawson's Economics.

WHILE "divying" up \$36,000,000, the proceeds of an "honest day's labor," Thomas W. Lawson, the Boston financier, was cheated, by his "pals" in a manner most modern and scientific, of his full share of the "swag." Whereupon Tom "exploded" and "denounced" and finally appealed to a "Just God" to right the wrongs of "our sons and daughters."

Yes, Tom; it all depends on whose ox is gored. So long as "our sons and daughters" were being skinned by you and your "pals," it never occurred to you that the "just God" had any business to butt in. It was different when they cheated you. You immediately found that the "just God" was neglecting his duties of a policeman.

Lawson's "disclosures" are to the Socialists an old story. It is an oft-told tale. Lawson's frenzy affords consolatory reading to the shorn "lambs" and acts as a sort of a safety valve. The Socialists have taken but little interest and scant notice of Tom's fulminations in *Everybody's*. And so long as Lawson confined himself to merely "hollering," it would have been unjust to criticise him. To "holler" is the inalienable resort of the injured. There Lawson was on his legitimate ground. But in the Fifth Chapter of Frenzied Finance, Lawson abandons this ground and ventures into the field of economics. Lawson may still call what he says "finance" but this name was adopted for their trade by the "*chevaliers d'industrie*" to which Lawson belongs and we are inclined to let them have it. Lawson had a reason for his venture. Lawson never felt a "call" to make the wrongs of all the wrongs of Lawson, but he evidently thinks that it would be a good move to induce all to make Lawson's wrongs as their own. And this is why Lawson wrinkles his brow, and fumbles with his fingers, trying to prove that 2 and 2 make 3 and some times 5.

When "exploding" and "denouncing" Lawson plies his pen with a facility almost equal to his deftness in picking the pockets of our "sons and daughters." Lawson should have stuck to this spectacular method of airing his wrongs as the best way of gaining our sympathy. For he was delightfully amusing, and the chief "*raison d'être*" of his articles—advertising the advertisements of *Everybody's Magazine*—would have been subserved just as well, if not better. But, as I said before, Lawson was ill advised enough to assume that he could instruct as well as amuse, and, in a moment of dismal cogitation, he plunged into the most dismal of all sciences—economics. And a dismal mess he made of it.

"What is this Standard Oil"? "What is its secret"? "Whence came it"? He "demands fiercely." And then significantly and portentously—"Can our republic endure, if it, too, endures?"

Simple Tom; had you stopped right here, we might have suspected that your display of guileless simplicity was merely an artful dodge. Instead you proceed to answer your own queries and naturally blunder, bungle and mess in a way pitiful to behold.

"To-day 'Standard Oil,' the 'Private Thing,' is the greatest power in the land—more powerful than the people individually or as a whole, and its secret is the knowledge of the trick of finance by which dollars are 'made' from nothing in unlimited quantities subject to no laws of man nor nature. The dollars that 'Standard Oil' makes are the exact equivalent of the dollars of the people as made by the Government which we know can only be coined and put into circulation in accordance with law and for the benefit of all the people." (Sic!)

The mystic nature of "Standard Oil's secret" which is "subject to no laws of man nor nature" is enough to make our flesh creep. But the vague and fearful sensation aroused in us by this uncanny "Private Thing"—"Standard Oil"—is soothingly allayed by Mr. Lawson who reminds us of a Providential Government which "we know" coins the dollars and puts them in circulation "for the benefit of all the people."

Lawson now waxes didactic and for those "readers not versed in the technical phrases of finance and economics" he condescends to "convey common sense" in an exoteric manner.

"In speaking of dollars brought into existence by the trick of finance I have referred to I shall call them henceforth 'made dollars' to distinguish them from dollars coined by the Government and legitimately acquired by the individual or corporation."

This distinction between "made" and "acquired" is as novel as it is suggestive. It suggests a train of thoughts as to the class that is "making" and the class that is "acquiring."

"These 'made dollars,'" Lawson continues, "it must be remembered, are really 'made' for all purposes of use as surely as if they had the Government's stamp, yet they are not made in the sense of the known volume of the people's money being added to. So, however, many of these 'made dollars' are brought into existence by this trick of finance, only the men who 'made' them can know and profit by their existence. The people are no wiser nor can they adjust themselves to the change of conditions brought about by the creation of all this new money, yet if 'un-made' or lost, the entire volume of the nation's wealth would be contracted."

This harping on the "people's money," "nation's wealth," brings fresh to our minds Section 7 of the Standard Oil Code, according to Lawson:

"——We are the people, and those people who are not us can be hired by us."

Lawson fails to explain how "the entire volume of the nation's wealth would be contracted" which means that part of it

would be destroyed, if some or all of the "made dollars" be "un-made."

But let Lawson continue: "I can better set before my readers this trick of finance by which 'made dollars' are brought into existence by an illustration than by any process of definition. Let us suppose that the United States Government at Washington, the only power legally entitled to issue money for circulation among the people, puts forth a particular \$10,000. All the conditions prescribed by law have been followed, and all the people in the country are benefited by the issuance and circulation of this particular \$10,000 each in the proportion the laws prescribe."

We ask of Lawson, earnestly and urgently, in the name of a "just God," to point out to us the laws which prescribe how all the people in the country should be benefited by the issuance and circulation of any particular \$10,000. We have been undoubtedly overlooked by these laws. For we are one of "all the people in the country." We think. If Lawson will apprise us of these interesting laws, we give a solemn vow that henceforth we will take a much more lively interest in the issuance of the \$10,000 bills than we have done heretofore. And here is Lawson's illustration:

"'B', a Western farmer, tills his soil and receives, by the sale of his wheat, the particular \$10,000, which he then deposits in *the bank*. *The bank*, being a part of the Government machinery, only receives, holds, and uses the \$10,000 under safeguards provided for by the laws of the land, so hereafter 'B's' material life is conducted on the basis that he is the full and actual possessor of \$10,000. He knows, further, that his \$10,000 cannot be expended nor contracted, nor its relation to any of the other money of the people which is in circulation, changed without his knowledge, because he knows it cannot be changed but by the Government. I say he knows this—he has every right to believe he knows it, but, in fact, it is not so, because of the working of the secret financial device of the Private Thing. At this stage enters 'C', the Private Thing.

"'C' purchases with \$3,300 ('B's' money) which he borrows from *the bank*, a copper-mine, depositing the title which he receives from the seller with *the bank* as collateral for the \$3,300. After purchasing, he arbitrarily calls the copper-mine worth \$10,000—arbitrarily because his act is not controlled nor regulated by any of the laws of the land—arbitrarily because the actual cost, \$3,300, is his secret and his alone. Then, arbitrarily, 'C' organizes his \$3,300 of copper property into the Arbitrary Copper Company, and issues to himself a piece of paper, which he arbitrarily stamps '10,000 stock dollars'. This he takes to *the bank*, and by loan or other device exchanges it for the remaining \$6,700 belonging to 'B', and thereafter 'C' conducts his affairs on the basis that he is the possessor of \$6,700, his 'made dollars' in the transaction. At this stage there is actually in use among the people

\$16,700 where 'B', the farmer, the legitimate factor, and his kind the people, suppose there is but \$10,000—\$10,000 which is recorded, known and legal, being used by the legitimate factors, 'B' and *the bank*, and \$6,700 which is unrecorded and unknown to any but 'C' and *the bank*, being used by the illegitimate *Private thing 'C.'*

"The next step is where 'C' sells his \$3,300, stamped '10,000 stock dollars' (which, as already shown, he has exchanged with *the bank* for the \$10,000 deposited by 'B'), to 'B' for \$10,000 which \$10,000 'B' withdraws from *the bank* by simply making out a check in favor of 'C'. * * * 'C' deposits 'B's' check with *the bank* and thereby liquidates his \$10,000 indebtedness to *the bank.*"

Even when stating the facts of his illustration, Lawson is hopelessly confused. Lawson does not state that the mine purchased by "C" is not worth more than what "C" actually paid for it. The purchase price proves nothing. It may be worth \$10,000 or \$100,000. But let us assume, as it is reasonable to do from the entire scheme of the illustration, that "C" paid for the mine its actual value, not more and no less. By what arithmetical process, then does Lawson arrive at the proposition that "at this stage there is actually in use among the people \$16,700"? \$16,700 of what? Of wealth, commodities, use-values? Or of money, circulation medium? If of the former, then Lawson should have remembered that the actual wealth "in use among the people" in his illustration is still the wheat and the mine. And all manipulations of all mystic "systems" cannot add one grain of use-value to the use values of the wheat and the mine. And their exchange value is still \$13,300. If of the latter, then it is plain that the actual money "in use among the people" is still the \$10,000 deposited by "B" in the Bank and which the Bank turned over to "C." The \$10,000 stock issued by "C" to himself and then deposited by him in the Bank as collateral, is no more money or dollars than a bill of sale or a deed of the mine would have been. The stock stands for the mine and is a commodity and not money or "made" dollars. And even after "C" sells the stock to "B" for \$10,000, still the total sum of exchange values is the equivalent of the wheat now owned by "C" and the equivalent of the mine now owned by "B", a total of \$13,300; and the total sum of money in circulation is still \$10,000. To be sure "C" borrowed \$10,000 of "B's" money and thereby was enabled to "do" him out of \$6,700 of the same, but what would you have? "Business is business," "fair exchange is no robbery," and "*caveat emptor*" and what not. There is no secret trick whatsoever about it. To buy in a cheap and sell in a dear market is the basic principle of trade. As a stock broker, Lawson does it or tries to do it every, time he buys and sells. You cannot make money without some one losing it. As the mine cannot pay dividends on more than

\$3,300, the stock is bound shortly to shrink to 33 per cent of its par value.

The reasons for Lawson's confusion are many. The first is that Lawson confuses between the wealth of a country—which includes all commodities, possessing both use-value and exchange-value—and the money of a country whose only use-value is to serve as a standard of value and a medium of exchange for all other commodities. Now it is evident that there is vastly more wealth whose exchange-value is measured by money than there is money in circulation. Ten dollars will buy a \$100 worth of wealth after it has passed 10 hands. We need not 10 yardsticks for the purpose of measuring 10 yards of cloth. But Lawson speaks of money as if it were the wealth of the nation. He speaks of the "made" dollars—"yet if 'unmade' or lost, the entire volume of the nation's wealth would be contracted." Now, if you scatter "made" or "acquired" dollars over the highways of the nation as thick as the leaves in autumn, this would still not add one pin's worth to the entire volume of the nation's wealth. Nor would this wealth be contracted by the unmaking or loss of any dollars. Least of all would the nation's wealth be contracted by the unmaking of "made" dollars which are not dollars at all, but merely stock, or certificates of ownership of certain property. The expansion or contraction of the volume of the medium of exchange may aid one class to prey upon the other and thereby affect production, but the nation's wealth does not expand or shrink as this medium.

Lawson evidently labors under the erroneous notion that the dollar possesses its exchange-value because it is issued by the government. Lawson of all men should have known that the exchange-value of a dollar is based upon the fact that it is gold or redeemable in gold.

Lawson may not be a believer in "fiat" money, but his reasoning shows him to be one. Hence, Lawson states that "he ('B') knows, further, that his \$10,000 cannot be expanded nor contracted." If "B" knows this then he knows a thing which it would be useful for him to forget. For, though \$10,000 always remain \$10,000, their purchase power expands or contracts as the prices of commodities fall or rise. On the other hand, not even the government can change "the relation of this \$10,000, to any of the other money of the people which is in circulation" or out of it, Lawson to the contrary notwithstanding. The government can enhance the purchase power of this \$10,000 and of all money is good for "B," the Western farmer, burying of money is purchase power by refusing redemption in gold or making it difficult.

We draw different conclusions from those of Lawson from his illustration. "B" puts the \$10,000 into The Bank. Anything wrong in that? Lawson claims that thereby "B" puts the \$10,000

at the disposal of the unscrupulous "system." What else can he do? Bury the money in the ground? Well, if burying of his money is good for "B," the Western farmer, burying of money is good for the whole A, B, C, of farmers of all points of the compass. But what results will follow: A contraction in the medium of exchange must ensue, which "B" and other farmers will find out to their detriment when selling their products or paying the interest and principal on their mortgages. But this is not all. The more contracted the currency becomes the easier it is for a "system" to secure control of it. That is all there is of merit in the Bryan's economics. But this prophet of expanded currency has found out by this time that the expansion of the currency merely changes the ways of Providence, but the "system gets there."

Hence we find "B" at the mercy of some "system" whether or no he deposits his money in The Bank.

What of The Bank?

Lawson claims that "a careful study of his illustration will clearly show that the foundation of this transaction was The Bank's putting in jeopardy the \$3,300 of B's."

What would Lawson have The Bank do? It must invest the money somehow. Jeopardy? It seems that the mine was worth \$3,300 or "C" would not have paid that sum for it. But admitting a margin of risk, the bank can point to the fact that the total gain to the depositors exceeds the total loss and that there is enough insurance to cover the risk.

A careful study of Lawson's illustration has convinced us that the crucial moment is not when the bank loans \$3,300 to "C" but when "B" pays to "C" \$10,000, each redeemable in gold for "C's" stock whose par value is \$10,000, but whose actual exchange-value is only \$3,300. It is evident that "B" is "done" by "C" out of \$6,700. "The more chump he," will you say. "What business has he to speculate?" But what do you want "B" to do? In this instance he bought a mine. "It is speculation," you will protest. But all business is speculation, more or less. "B" is a typical middle-class man. If he should leave stocks alone, not speculate in real estate and so on and so forth, "B" and the whole class of "B's" might as well abdicate here and now. Evidently the thing for them to do is to deposit their savings in the "System's" Bank and hire themselves out to the "system." This fate must eventually overtake the tribe of "B's" anyhow. Still we should not expect "B" to "rush" fate.

The analysis of Lawson's economics has been drawn out to a greater length than we expected. It is, however, much easier to analyze erroneous theories than a bewildering confusion of assertions that cannot stand separated nor hang together.

We can now patiently wait for the "remedy" announced by Lawson with such fanfaronade.

HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer.

LETTER NO. IV.

Chicago, Ill., May 1, 190-

My Dear Katherine:

THE night is "cold and dark and dreary; it rains, and the wind is never weary," and I am going to end one of the gloomiest days I have ever known by telling my woes to you. The sky was ominous and overcast all day long, and it was not much comfort to know that "behind" the clouds the sun was still shining, which reminds me of the "prosperity" cant the capitalist newspapers feed us working people—ALL on the other side.

The "Skin" Department was constantly lined with a stream of the "Maimed, the Halt and the Blind," who came to throw themselves upon the mercy (?) of the company's lawyers. "Our" assistant attorney spent the whole day at the County Hospital with one Peter Piper, a truck-man, who was injured while crossing one of the chutes, which was so rickety that it gave way, precipitating him across one of the sheep pens, thirty feet below, and breaking his back. It is the fear of the Legal Department that if Peter shuffles out of this vale of tears without signing a release for the company, his wife or brother may bring suit, as the case is clearly one of liability.

And so Attorney Karles waits at Peter's bedside, ready to greet his conscious gaze with a smile full of brotherly love, and a pencil, with which to have him sign away the only hope of the little Pipers for an education and the "higher life." For compulsory education laws don't do much good for the little boy who has no trousers. The demands of the small stomachs are apt to be considered more imperative than the development of their minds, and School Inspectors eluded that the children may earn clothes for their backs and a shelter over their heads. Poor little Pipers!

We received a call from the wife of the Hon. Phony Bumpkin, Alderman of the ———ent Ward. About a week ago, it seems, while one of "our" guides escorted Mrs. B. and a friend, by whom she was accompanied, through the various departments explaining the wonders of the plant, a linen dress which she wore was spotted with lard by the bursting of a pipe. The line of "The Maimed, the Halt and the Blind" was waylaid outside the Law Office, in order that we might sympathize in private with Her Ladyship, and our attorney-in-charge assured her deferentially that the check for \$50.00 which the company presented to her was only to compensate for the inconvenience to which she had been subjected. She explained that while she did not need it and the

gown could be cleaned, she deemed it no more than right, etc., etc., and drove majestically away in her carriage.

She was immediately followed by a young workman, who said he was twenty-eight, but who looked much older. Owing to the absence of gates on one of the freight elevators, his right foot had been mashed and consequently amputated two months ago. Immediately upon his appearance the attorney-in-charge became so busily engaged among his papers that it was some time before he noticed the young man at all. As the moments passed, the poor fellow grew more painfully timid and nervous, and finally, reduced to a pitiable state of subjection, signed a statement releasing the company from liability for the magnificent sum of \$10.00.

This much have I learned positively, my dear; if you want to gain anything from a corporation, don't say you NEED it, nor that it is right and just that you should have it; but rather that you have more money than you can use—and then demand it anyway, and in all probability you will get all you ask for—particularly if your father is an alderman or a railway official.

One cannot but observe that the old axiom applying to War has been altered in the minds of men to read "All is fair in business;" nor can one help noting the close relation between the two. After all, business is merely a more refined method of war, whereby men become the masters of their fellowmen, not by physical superiority, but through possession of those things whereon their lives depend. And surely no king is so powerful as he who holds the needs of men!

But as I was saying "our" unspoken motto is "All is fair in business." It is the legitimate (?) occupation of getting something for nothing, and so everything is made for profit, instead of for use, or primarily for profit, and only secondarily for use. Profit, not money, it seems to me, is the root of the evil.

Perhaps you remember reading in the newspapers a few years ago, of the sudden exposure of underground pipes that a Chicago Packing Company had secretly laid and connected with the city mains, in order to obtain their water without paying for it, and in this way robbing the city of thousands of dollars annually. Of course you do not remember that anybody was punished for it! No? Well, neither do I; nor does any one, for nobody was punished. There are a good many more thieves out of jails than there are in them; but they are among our most "esteemed citizens," and none of them ever stopped at stealing a loaf of bread. As an observing writer said a short time ago,

"A man goeth to jail for stealing a loaf of bread,
And to Congress for stealing a Railroad."

But to continue the story I started out to tell you. There has been in the employ of Graham & Company for about five years,

a young man called Franz Ellsworth, a collector, who called on our customers in certain Indiana towns. This young man has no father or mother. Three years ago he married a girl from one of these towns, and set up housekeeping on \$12.00 a week. It does not take much bravery to make a man a soldier in our land of perfected man-killing equipment, but it takes a great deal of love, and a lot more of courage and ignorance to induce a man to try to keep house on \$12.00 a week.

The first year a baby came, and another six months ago, since when the young father has divided his attention between taking care of Baby No. 1, who had the whooping cough, and devising ways and means with which to meet the new and necessary expenses. He had already given \$50.00 out of money collected for the company to the matron of the Mercy (?) Hospital, who demanded payment in advance, hoping that a little care might save his Mary's life. But she grew better and worse, and worse and better for six or seven weeks, until her husband's resources were completely exhausted. He had appropriated over \$100.00 of the company's money, and was forced to send false reports to the house. But "Murder will out," and he was bound to be caught between the press for funds at home and our demands for payment from our customers, before he could possibly pay it back.

The blow fell to-day, when he was summoned to appear before the Fates. His wife then learned the situation for the first time, and spent the greater part of the afternoon in boring the treasurer of the company with a recital of her woes. There were doctor bills, and baby clothes, and rent, and the "Poor Man's Friend," who had loaned her husband \$40.00 at the rate of \$10.00 a month, and for which she had receipts showing payments amounting to over \$60.00. But the "Poor Man's Friend" was insistent in demanding his principal. She deluged the attorney with her tears, while I sniffled in silence over my Remington, over the sorrows of the Poor!

O yes; I know. It sounds as though I were upholding crime and extravagance. Of course. Poor people have no business in hospitals! Nor in having babies! Or wives either, for that matter! All a poor man ought to want is WORK!

I am not as strong as I was five years ago, Katie, dear, and I am usually a rag by five o'clock. You know how hard I have struggled ever since I was a little girl, to reach the Heights; how I addressed envelopes during the day, and practiced my music in the evening; made out bills while I studied stenography; hammered my Remington all day, and prepared myself for the university at night, and how I worked my way through two years' study there. And you know, too, that it was because my life has been one long, never-ending effort to progress that I have been able to gain a few rounds—a very little of learning, the

world would say. And the price that I have paid is health and strength.

I am tired in the morning, often, Katie dear, and only more tired at the close of the day. And now that I have so little strength to add to the treasure stores I have gathered at such cost, I fear to see them slowly slipping from my grasp.

It is not the loss of fortune that constitutes tragedy; not Death, nor the defeat of an army; nor kings overthrown! It is the toiling man and woman, old at twenty-five; the daily death of sweet desires, of natural impulses; of longings crushed; the growing soul, without room for growth; the mechanical effort; the forgetfulness of everything, save work and bread and sleep; and work, and bread, and sleep, until the final curtain falls!

Something is wrong somewhere, dearie! Something is wrong! I cannot tell you what it is; but the ignorance, and poverty, and misery in the world, prove to us that the wrong is there! Show us that there is something better, nobler, happier than the society of to-day, and the society of yesterday. Harmony and happiness crown all efforts made along natural laws, and a society that produces wars, prisons, poverty and prostitutes, in a land of plenty, is not based upon those laws.

If there is plenty for all, surely the man and woman who toil should have enough! Something is wrong somewhere, dearie; but I am too tired this evening to try to think it out. This much only do I know. They tell us the country is "afflicted with over-production," and I, who have worked always, have need of many things.

You may overlook a dismal letter this time, but I have a bad headache; and throbbing temples would make anybody pessimistic.

Teddy was over last night, and we read Browning together. Browning was right, after all:

"What is the use of the lips' red charm,
The blood that blues the inside arm,
Unless we use, as the Soul knows how,
The earthly gift for an end divine!"

Had he ever heard of the women who toil, of the women machines, who work until they are thrown to the junk pile, I wonder? "A Lady of clay is as good, I trow!"

It is not riches I want; nor power; nor yet fame! It is to make work a means, and not the end of living; to have a little play among the toil; to watch the sun rise in the freshness of the morning; to see the spreading of leaves, and the growing of flowers; to progress a little, instead of losing a little; to be able to pause, amid our hurry-ever, to rest and dream awhile!

A thousand tender wishes, and a thousand tender kisses, from

Your loving

MARY.

LETTER NO. V.

CREDIT DEPTMTNT.

Chicago, Ill., June 19, 190-.

My Dear Kate:

Your letter came yesterday telling me of the nice little bank account your accommodating Uncle Benjamin left you when he said farewell to the troubles of his little grocery store—and I have been happy ever since. Five hundred dollars is a very comfortable sum to a young woman who is working her way through a course at the university, and I mean to see that you use it in smoothing the path to this darling ambition.

We have agreed that the laws of inheritance are ridiculous, and absolutely opposed to the principles of Democracy, and that for the daughter of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to be born three hundred times a millionaire is as foolish as for the people to permit the sons of kings to become themselves kings—born into the throne—in the “barbarous days of old.” Any sort of an unearned income is only another word for theft, for *somebody* sowed the seed, for *another* to reap the harvest—and represents somewhere an *unpaid*, uncompensated worker in the world, defrauded of his rights!

But a young woman, like you, who has worked years for a wholesale hardware company that keeps fourteen spies in its employ to record the work accomplished, the social relations, the degree that an applicant for work needs, or does not need, work, a company that “docked” you for half an hour, when you were one second late in the morning, and kept you working two or three nights a week, with no extra pay, and used cyclometers attached to their typewriters, to make you work the faster, whose vice-president ushered you into a pew at church on Sunday, and couldn’t see you at all on Monday—and that declared 48 per cent dividends at the end of the year—certainly has, in the pocket of somebody else in the world, an unpaid income! And so, dear, do not feel any scruples about taking the few hundred that will mean so much in your struggle for an education. Don’t be foolish and stay through the summer unless you take botany, boating, and another course that will keep you out doors as much as possible. It don’t make much difference how many studies you take, but what you get out of them, that figures in the long run. A rounded life is the better life, and it is as unfortunate to run all to brains as it is to develop only in body. Mind and muscle should go hand in hand to make a perfect man or woman, and I only see my mistake since I have begun to lose the more precious of the two.

I am up in the Credit Department, taking the place of one of the girls who is sick to-day. And while I wait for my dictation, I will endeavor to get a few lines off to you.

I am in disgrace this morning, for I was ten minutes late in getting to the office. The timekeeper checked me in with a blue pencil; the office door was locked, and I was compelled to stalk through the Departments on the first floor and run the gauntlet of a hundred pairs of rebuking eyes. I will confess to you why I was so unusually remiss. Teddy took me to a Thomas concert last night, and I got home at about 12:00 p. m., and as a result am utterly worn out this morning. I rose, however, at almost the usual time, took my cold plunge, swallowed a bit of toast and coffee, and tore madly down to catch the first car. I caught it; leaned comfortably against the carpet cushions (?) in the corner and fell asleep. I forgot to get off at the proper corner, was roused by the jolting at the car barns, and had to walk back eight blocks to transfer. It is simply a physical impossibility for me to go out in the evening and work—as I have to work here—the day after.

Last week one of the girls fell asleep at the breakfast table, and Friday evening, when Teddy came over, Sally found me dreaming peacefully on my bed, where I had lain down to rest a few moments before dinner.

Mr. Ralston is getting his correspondence into shape to dictate to me, so no more for the present. I give you below a sample of his letters; also his manner of enunciating:

"ceipt-chur-favo-rof-fifth. We wan-tchu-t'distinctly-understan-we're-no-tin-business-fe-rour-ealth. 'fyou-can't-payfer-billsas-theycom-due, we'll-pu-tchu-on-nour-C.O.D. lis-tor-refuse-to-fill-yer-rorders. WE-WAN-TOUR-MONEY, 'nd we WAN-TIT-QUICK! 'fwe-don't-ge-tour-money-by-return-mail, 'e'll-put th'account-tin-th-handsof-you-rattorney. Free't- Jones-Why don'tchu-wanswer-rours-sof-the....eentth ! 'ifyou-can't answer-rour-letter-s we'll-getta-manin-yer-place-thut-can. Follow-wou-rinstruccion-sor-resign-en-that QUICK! We're-charging th' F. E. Davi-saccount-tyou-because you won't-e'lect. 'N-we've-puttchur-friend-Mister-Razzol-lon-na-C. O. D.basis-He-was-zacordd-the privil'ge-g-of-buyin-fro-mus- bu-twe-don'twan-tis-sorder-sif-fee-cap't-pay-'is-bill-spromptly."

If you are able to make this out, you will have a fair sample of the way the Credit Department writes to its customers, and the kindly interest (?) it takes in the employees.

I wrote a letter for Mr. Ralston this morning to a man who complained at having to pay for fifty pounds of beef, when he only received 42 pounds, saying that when he sold cattle to the Packing Company, he not only had to pay the freight, but was only paid for what the cattle weighed here.

You see, when a farmer ships to this point we pay him the market price (made by us), and when we ship back to his town, or to him, we weigh the meats, and he pays for what we think our weights are—here at the plant. If he refuses, we ship him no more meats—and naturally (or artificially) he goes out of business.

The Treasurer of the Company is in this Department, and known as the Financial Manager. In the last two days he has

dictated letters to me borrowing at least \$900,000.00 for four months at 5½ and 6 per cent to conduct the business on. So you see when we buy a dollar's worth of meat—and 6 cents goes to the banker, and—perhaps 10 cents to the railroads, and something as taxes—and PROFITS—for the FIRM—there is little wonder that we don't get so very much for our money!

Nearly all our customers are practically on a cash basis, because the highest legal rate of interest we dare charge on accounts would be only about one-fifth the rate we charge the Public—in PROFITS.

I have also written to fifty or sixty employers this morning, whose names were furnished the company as references, by men applying for jobs. Some of these applications would make your heart ache. There is one from a teamster, aged thirty-five, who wants a place, and who is "willing to work for \$6.00 a week"; who has "no other means of support," but who has "a wife and four children." The blanks he was required to fill out covered the history of his life—twenty years of hard work—and small pay. Is it any wonder that the factories are filling up with little children! For even the Poor Man must eat! Or is it any wonder that Poor Men steal! Six dollars a week, in a land of "Over-production"!

We received a letter from our Branch House Manager at Birmingham, Ala., this morning, enclosing a request from the Ladies' Aid Society of the _____ Church, asking for a donation of two quarts of ice-cream, or some canned goods, for their Sociable, which will take place tomorrow evening. Our Branch House Manager advised the Ladies that he would refer the matter to Kansas City, who were, in turn, compelled to refer it to us. We will reply to our Kansas City Office tomorrow, to write to our Birmingham Manager, to say to the President of the Ladies' Aid Society, that we regret that her request reached us too late to give us an opportunity of being of service to the Ladies, etc., etc.

I wish I could accept your invitation to spend a month with you during the hot weather, but I have had such horrible doctor bills resulting from my sickness this spring, that I can't afford to take a vacation this summer, much as I may need it. If I had any faith in doctors, I might try to get a good tonic, but there would be sure to be cause for another big bill. My experience with a medical triumvirate for whom I worked last winter, was not calculated to increase my already waning trust in the profession.

There was an "Ear, Nose and Throat" specialist (?)—only respected because of his exorbitant charges; Dr. Meyers, out for all there is in it, and Dr. Jack, young and honest, who gained the usual reward of virtue by being frozen out shortly after I left.

When he couldn't do anything for a woman, he told her so; and if he did not understand what was the matter with a man, he

confessed his ignorance. To him measles were measles, and small-pox was smallpox, whether his patient was a pauper or a millionaire.

Dr. Meyers, on the contrary, called tonsilitis "sore throat" among the poor, and "incipient diphtheria" in the homes of the rich. He cured, or neglected the former, and quarantined the family of the latter for a week, called three or four times a day; apparently effected a wonderful cure—or prevented a serious illness—and sent in his bill for \$150.00 at the end of the month.

Dr. Meyers used to give box parties at the theater every few evenings—with suppers afterward at Rector's or the Annex, and confide to us how he made his patients pay for them—and he generally did.

One morning a pale, weary looking woman came into the office, in a faded pink waist and a shiny figured black skirt hiked up about three inches in front, and sagging painfully in the rear. She looked just about as I would very likely look in ten years from now, if I married Teddy on \$15 a week. Doctor Meyers seemed to take little interest in her case. He said he had half a notion to turn her over to Dr. Jack—and I wished afterward he had—because she would have gone out just \$85.00 richer than she did after Doctor Meyers held her up.

At first he truthfully diagnosed her case; sent the drug clerk out to put up her medicine; made out her bill for \$5.00, and then Shifty Sadie handed him a hundred-dollar bill—and waited for her change. And right here was where Dr. M. got in some of his best work. He asked her additional questions, and seemed to grow more concerned and alarmed at each of her replies. He grew so grave, in fact, that the poor woman, unable to endure the suspense, asked if she was worse than he had thought and whether or not he could cure her. After he had worried her into a few tears, he grew sympathetic and soothing; said he thought he could bring her through with an operation (*Mon Dieu!* Of course!), insisted that she must come in to be "treated" twice a week, and took her into the Chamber of Horrors (the operating room), laid her on the table, and gave her four or five electric shocks with a marvelously ominous apparatus then and there—to clinch the scare.

Convinced of the gravity of her case, he persuaded her to buy a small battery and a set of "Dr. Meyers' Ills of Women," gave her enough medicine to kill an army, and sent her home—or work more likely—with just \$10.00 in her pocket.

This, Doctor Meyers says, is one of his favorite "roles." So, you see—added to my own experience—this leaves me little faith in doctors—barring dear old Doctor Buckley—of course. The lunch bell has rung—so no more for to-day. A great deal of love.
From your own,
MARY E. MARCY.

EDITORIAL

After-Election Work.

It is a trite saying that each socialist campaign begins the day after the election that closed the previous one. Never, however, was this so true as at present. The campaign that has just closed was in so many ways a campaign of beginnings, of preparation for the greater tasks that lay before, that the months that are immediately to follow must in many directions be filled with even more difficult work than those that have passed. The presidential campaign of 1904 will go down in socialist history as the greatest campaign of agitation ever carried on. We are now about to enter upon a campaign of education and organization. The growth during the past few months has been largely in quantity. It is for the socialists of America to see to it that it grows as rapidly in quality during the coming year. Even faster than party membership has grown the number of believers in socialism.

To a large extent organization has been done in the past merely as auxiliary to the work of agitation. Only when the traveling speakers have found men pressing forward for membership have organizations been formed. The work of organization has been carried on only in a sporadic and unsystematic manner. Little isolated locals have been formed which will probably disappear almost as quickly as they were drawn together. This has been to a large extent the usual method in a majority of states even between electoral campaigns. An alleged organizer is sent out on one-night stands, who makes a soap-box speech, gathers a handful of men together, takes their names, collects the dues, sells a little literature and sends in a charter application. This is often the last that is heard of the local.

It would seem almost unnecessary at the present time to urge the necessity of systematic organization. Yet owing to the fact that agitation has so largely outrun the party machinery of this country, such urging becomes imperative. Hustling for papers, distributing literature, making soap-box speeches, talking to friends and neighbors are of tremendously fundamental importance. Yet after all, this work is only sowing the seed. If organization and education are neglected the crop may perish for lack of care and there will be no harvest to be reaped. A mob of a half million voters has far less strength in the battle against capitalism than 50,000 organized workers.

In the stirring days that will soon be upon us the army of the proletariat must be drilled, disciplined and ready for quick concerted action if it is to meet the encroachments of capitalism. We must be capable of setting all our forces in motion simultaneously when needed, of concentrating our strength when necessity demands, of reaching every corner of the country in instant co-operation when such tactics are more effective. All this demands organization first, last and all the time.

The time has now come to adopt definite systematic methods of work. A plan which has been tried with great success in a few states, and there is a reason back of its success, is to start no new locals save in very exceptional cases, unless they can be directly connected with some near-by stronger local. The first effort of the State organization is to build up a few strong organizations in industrial localities.

When these have become practically self-supporting they are then taken as centres from which to proceed in the work of organizing the immediately surrounding territory. An organizer is sent to the central local with instructions to remain there as long as is necessary to cover the ground adequately. He organizes a little body of men who can give their time while the organizer is at work in visiting the localities to be organized. In this way there are several workers at the first meeting and the local can be set firmly upon its feet. It then elects delegates to the central organization and is then at once tied to the older and stronger body. In this way few locals are lost and little organizing energy wasted.

This plan also secures a much better membership. It vests the control of each organization in the older and better trained Socialists. This is a point of especial importance from now on. The Socialist Party is no longer a thing to be sneered at. Membership in it no longer carries a badge of disgrace even in the capitalist circles. It has become feared and therefore respected. It is moving on toward victory. It is inevitable, therefore, that many will seek to attach themselves to its fortunes in the hope of being dragged along with it to success. The most prominent class of these hangers-on will be disgruntled office-seeking politicians. Not understanding the nature of the Socialist movement, they will see in it only one more opportunity to accumulate goods in which to trade across the political bargain counter. It is a good plan when a man comes in who has been prominent in the party machine of the Democrats or Republicans to "keep him on ice" for a few months and not place him in official positions. To be sure, this suspicious attitude may be easily overdone. When it is extended to such a degree as to make occupation a test of membership or to give rise to continual internal suspicions, bickerings and dissensions we know from sad experience what disastrous results may follow.

Still another class will seek to hitch their fortunes to our car. All those who have any disagreement with existing conventionalities will claim to be kindred spirits. New Thought followers, Christian Socialists, anti-vaccinationists, free lovers, and, in short, all who find themselves opposed in their particular fad by any existing social regulations will now seek to identify themselves and their cause with the Socialist movement. This is

neither the time nor place to discuss the merits or demerits of any of these things. Suffice it to say that they have no part or parcel with Socialism and the persons who seek to attach them to the Socialist movement are simply fastening barnacles to the great ship of social revolution.

A word, however, with regard to these may not be out of place. Social conventions *per se* are neither good nor bad. We may say, however, that the presumption is in their favor, especially when they have continued through many social stages. This very continuance shows them to have played some part in social evolution. The Socialist does not attack institutions for the mere fun of overthrowing them. He is not unconventional merely because the majority is conventional. He is not "agin the government" merely for the sake of opposition. Socialism attacks those features of capitalism upon which rest the exploitation and enslavement of the working class. The battle is too fierce to permit of dispersion of forces. Again, every feature not essential to the main fight affords grounds for dissension. The fewer and more fundamental the principles upon which we unite the more compact and far-reaching the union.

EDUCATION.

With agitation and organization must go education. Without the latter the first two are but bare skeletons. Agitation and organization do not make socialists. They certainly do not make intelligent socialists capable of spreading the doctrine of socialism or of acting effectively in its interest. Never was this phase of the movement so important as at present. Hundreds of thousands have been drawn to the socialist standard by discontent, hatred of former party affiliation, or chance bits of socialist propaganda. These are still a source of weakness rather than of strength. They may easily prove a source of disruption and an obstacle in the road to socialism unless they can be made to understand the reasons for the faith that is in them. This does not mean that every member of the Socialist party, still less every man who votes the socialist ticket must be able to explain the materialistic interpretation of history, the philosophical place of the class struggle in social evolution, or the relation of surplus value to economic theory. He should however know something of the historical forces back of present conditions, and why they lead to the policy and tactics peculiar to the socialist movement.

It is certainly the minimum of expectations to insist that those who act as agitators and speakers should be fairly familiar with socialist philosophy. That philosophy has been written in language which can be understood by any one who is able to read ordinary journalistic literature. There is no excuse save laziness for the socialist speaker or writer who does not familiarize himself with the principles of the philosophy which he seeks to expound. Yet it is still easy to find socialist editors who publish "dictionary definitions" of socialism as authoritative, and statistics so erroneous that the most superficial statistician could tear them to pieces.

We often boast of the willingness of our speakers to debate with opponents. It is fortunate for us that our challenges are not always accepted.

We have listened to speeches from men who were acting as official organizers and agitators containing errors that the merest tyro in capitalist economics would have exploded. Now that we have proven ourselves dangerous, capitalism will no longer ignore us, but will soon begin to utilize all the powers of prostituted intellect that it controls. For a speaker really well grounded in socialism there is nothing to fear from any opponent. But conceit and ignorance are a poor armor in which to meet even the defenders of capitalism.

Many comrades confuse agitational and educational material. Five cent propaganda pamphlets never made a trained socialist worker. These are for the unconverted. A steady diet of propaganda literature on the part of socialists while it helps to keep up a sort of hysterical enthusiasm tends also to create a superficial conceit that acts as an obstacle to any serious thinking.

SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS.

The next few months are going to bring on several pressing problems. The municipal elections next spring will certainly place thousands of socialists in office in large and small cities. On the way that these men do their work will depend in no small degree the rate of progress of the socialist movement. For the last two years we have been urging the necessity of preparation for this time and, fortunately, steps have been taken that will prepare us for the work. No time should be lost however in submitting the municipal programme to a referendum and arranging for a thorough discussion of its various phases.

We also wish to urge once more the absolute necessity of a municipal secretary in the National office. To be sure this was voted down at the Convention. It is however none the less an inevitable necessity. The only question is when we will realize that necessity.

The press bureau is another line of work which has been allowed to lie idle during the campaign because of the imperative necessity of giving attention to our work. It should now receive the attention of the socialist organization. This is not something which the National office can make or unmake. Its success depends upon the number of socialist Locals which are willing to make the small payment which is necessary to secure matter. Almost every locality has some weekly paper which will publish the matter if it is paid for, and this is much the cheapest way to reach two or three thousand people in their own homes each week.

Several matters concerning the national organization are about to be submitted to a referendum. The members of the national committee which will largely determine policies and tactics for the next three years will soon be chosen. These years will be the most crucial ones in the history of the American Socialist movement. Much depends upon the character of the men who are elected. Care should be taken to secure comrades with as broad an outlook upon social facts as possible, and who also are capable of planning and directing the campaign of education and organization which lies before us. Needless to say that they should be men of experience in the Socialist movement and not new recruits. However brilliant the latter

may be, they must for some time at least lack that comprehension of the Socialist esprit de corps and general attitude which the German characterizes as *socialistische weltanschauung*.

The work lies before us. Everything is ready, the working class of America are eager to know more of Socialist philosophy and to work for the success of Socialism. Whether they are enabled to do this in the most effective manner or not depends upon those who make up the present membership of the Socialist Party. The future alone can tell whether we are sufficient unto the occasion.

Our next number will contain a complete and accurate summary of the Socialist vote by states, with discussion of the results. This will give just the information that every Socialist will want for reference during the next four years.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

At least one knotty jurisdiction problem among the national trade unions has been untangled. The solution of the question was as easy as rolling off a log, although it was not accomplished until after some unnecessary fighting and bad feeling, which finally gave way to much diplomacy, mysterious conferences and the unwinding of a few miles of red tape. The International Association of Machinists and the Allied Metal Mechanics have settled their differences in the only manner that they can be settled—by amalgamating. There never was any good reason why the metal mechanics should have a separate existence, unless it was to provide an opportunity for a few gentlemen to pose as "great labor leaders," and their organization would perhaps not have been formed if the machinists had not regarded themselves as quite exclusive, dontcherknow, when the bicycle industry began to flourish. The metal mechanics are machine-tenders, and that's about all that the machinists are nowadays. The skilled craftsmen are gradually disappearing and making room for the handy men and "monkey-wrench" mechanics, who were regarded with more or less scorn by the proud skilled man. But the inventor is great leveler and has a way of knocking aristocratic notions out of the heads of those workers who become inflated with their own importance. After bumping up against the development of our modern capitalist system, the machinists suddenly began to realize that the world do move, that old methods must disappear before new ones, and so they entered upon an era of expansion along industrial lines by laying claim to all workers employed in machine shops, which was a correct position to take. But while the I. A. M. has adopted the principle of industrialism, and is absorbing kindred crafts to strengthen itself, President O'Connell and some of his friends are ardent "autonomists" when it comes to other trades, and have supported Gompers and his narrow policies from start to finish. It might be added, too, that with probably one exception there is more socialism among the machinists than any other national labor organization, but O'Connell has never given the slightest support or encouragement to the movement that has become so popular with most of the active workers in the I. A. M. in every industrial center. In fact I know of no national officer who is so thoroughly out of harmony with the progressive spirit of his own organization than James O'Connell, but it is a certainty that unless he moves forward he will get his bumps pretty soon. By the amalgamation O'Connell becomes the captain of a hundred thousand men, which places the I. A. M. well to the front among the large organizations. Another good feature of the merging was the virtual effacing of John Mulholland, president of the metal mechanics. In the last few years he has been almost constantly in hot water in explaining away scandals, overcoming factions that arose in the organization, and in trying to resist encroachments of other national unions. I haven't met anyone yet who has been able to give a good reason why Mulholland became prominent in the trade union movement. Pretty nearly everybody agrees that he would have made a great hit in the theatrical profession as a matinee idol and handsome hero who exposes the hellish plots of villains and saves the beautiful maiden in melo-

drama. Maybe Mulholland will yet go on the stage, now that he is out of a job of leading labor up a hill and then down again. Let us hope so.

The coming year seems destined to become historic with big events in which the forces of organized labor will be interested. Combined capitalism, unless it has become sane enough to understand that this year's great increase of socialist sentiment is the handwriting on the wall that pronounces the doom of exploitation and oppression, intends to open a campaign of union-smashing all along the line. It is not likely that labor's rapid progress toward socialism will serve as a warning to frenzied finance. When tyranny becomes drunk with power it simply rushes blindly forward and over into the chasm and disappears. The edict has gone forth from the haunts of capital that organized labor must go, no matter what the cost. The war that has been waged against the iron and steel workers in the Mahoning valley since last summer is to be continued wherever lodges exist that attempt to dispute the arrogant decrees of the United States Steel Corporation. The Carnegie branch of the octopus has set aside one million dollars for the purpose of wiping out the Amalgamated Association in its mills, and it is stated that other branches of the combine, and even some of the independent concerns, will make similar moves. In Chicago the vessel owning interests are said to be preparing to attack the unions of seamen, and in Cleveland representatives of the same interests have declared publicly that the powerful longshoremen's union is to be killed off next season. Last spring they were successful in destroying the masters' and pilots' organization, which, in many respects, enjoyed a sort of monopoly so far as skill was concerned, and next season they threaten to follow up the advantage gained. Next year also the agreement in the anthracite region, under which the operators have been chafing ever since it was enforced, runs out and another battle is promised there. Some of the daily papers are also printing stories to the effect that certain railways intend to make efforts to "throw off the yoke" of the brotherhoods, while the running fights in the building trades will be continued along the lines of the open shop crusades. It is also announced that the National Manufacturers' Association intends to make an onslaught against union labels of all the trades, and that employers everywhere who have heretofore been upon friendly terms with labor organizations will be forced to take one side or the other in this fight. The war of extermination that has been waged against the metal workers, such as the molders, machinists, metal polishers and brass workers, etc., is to be continued and made more general, while the teamsters, especially those of Chicago, who have long been feared by all classes of employers, are in for a struggle. As far as I am able to learn from official journals and discussions with national union representatives practically all the organizations will be on the defensive in 1905. The single exception will probably be the International Typographical Union, which is accumulating a war fund and will make an aggressive campaign to enforce the eight-hour day in all the job printing plants in the country on January 1, 1906. The proposed move of this organization is already meeting with the condemnation of the Typothetae, the employers' combine, which is being backed by the Parryites, and they, too, are collecting funds for the purpose of resisting the demands of the printers. While I confess to being somewhat biased in favor of the I. T. U. because of membership in that organization, still a fair examination of the conditions from as unprejudiced standpoint as possible under the circumstances indicate that the printers will win their fight and beat the employers to a finish if the latter insist on forcing trouble. The printers are well organized, well disciplined, intelligent and progressive. They were the pioneers of trade unionism in this country and are just as surely at present becoming more generally represented among the pioneers of socialism. They know what they are up against and will strengthen every weak point in their forces before plunging into an engagement. Of course, there will be the

usual number of local strikes and lockouts in various branches of industry, and they will all play their part in bringing out more clearly the full meaning of the class struggle that is even now being denied by some of our alleged leaders. The rank and file is bound to become more thoroughly aroused to the necessity of continuing the battle along political lines so auspiciously begun this year, as well as making every effort economically to maintain a decent standard of living, and finally abolish the system that produces the evils of which we complain.

Right here, as we are receiving the election returns of gains for the Socialist party, the political organization of the working class, it is well to utter a note of warning. The writer has personal acquaintances with hundreds of trade unionists who voted for Socialism, not because they had a thorough knowledge of the principles, but for the reason that their sympathies were in that direction this year and they had no other choice. Many who read this can no doubt make the same claim. Now comes the task of holding that vote and adding to it, and this can only be done by pursuing a vigorous campaign of education during the next twelve months. Every union man who understands the principles of socialism ought to consider it his duty to load up with a bundle of literature whenever he goes to a union meeting and spread it among his fellows; and he ought to insist—in temperate language, of course—upon the right to discuss economic questions under the rule of “good and welfare,” not in an objectionable manner or by indulging in personal attacks, but by sticking closely to principles and bald facts. Don’t forget that the most important and effective method of spreading the light is to pass around leaflets, books and papers. Support the party press and gather in subscribers. Once a reading man becomes interested in our literature he will soon stand pat for socialism. Care must also be taken at this juncture to safeguard the locals and branches by admitting only applicants who are clear-headed, sincere workers for socialism. Better have a small branch or local of harmonious, conscientious and intelligent men than a large one composed of muddle-heads and office-seekers who would trade, fuse and confuse, and sacrifice the party to gratify their own ambition. Remember that the politician and grafter will now cast goo-goo eyes at the Socialist party. Beware of the dangers of ignorance and dishonesty within; we will have hard enough battling with the enemy outside.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Germany.

The only important event in Germany during the past month was the National Convention at Bremen. In the report which was made by the party officials to the convention we learn several interesting facts. We note, for instance, that the total punishments inflicted upon the members of the socialist party for their activity amounted to 43 years and two months imprisonment, and over \$5,000 in fines. At the present time Comrade Rosa Luxemburg is in prison for *lese majeste*.

The book-publishing department of the Vorwärts reports a business of over \$75,000 and a profit of over \$8,000. The total income of the party amounted to about \$162,000. This sum has been giving the old political parties considerable distress, as it is a larger fund than even they have at their disposal.

The Congress itself was of less pressing interest than that of last year. It was generally felt that revisionism had been so thoroughly dealt with that there was no need for further action. The most important subjects under discussion were those of the municipal programme, party organization and the Schippel case. The latter was a discussion concerning the actions of Schippel, who had been rather inclined to temporize with socialist principles, especially on the tariff. He made a very shifty defense, and while no demand was made for his resignation, yet a resolution was adopted which will leave it for him to decide whether he shall continue in his previous tactics or whether he shall give up his seat in the Reichstag.

The action on the municipal question was in many respects similar to that of our own national congress. It was felt that the working out of a municipal program was too great a task to be accomplished in a national convention and so the matter was deferred for further consideration. The proposal for a municipal program was in its details also very similar to the one which is now out for discussion in America. Just prior to the meeting of the national convention a gathering of the socialist women was held. This is made necessary in Germany, since in many of the German states women are not permitted to become members of political organizations. This meeting showed great activity among the women and many plans were laid for further work.

England.

The English socialists are somewhat aroused over the attempt of Keir Hardie and some of the other I. L. P. leaders to revise the socialist philosophy in the manner to which reference was made in our last issue. Keir Hardie has an article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the International Congress at Amsterdam which is so full of misstatements and errors, both as to doctrines and facts, that it is rousing general indignation.

Incidentally, he tells us a few things that he does not know about the origin and present condition of the American socialist movement, concerning which we may have something to say in a later issue. George Bernard Shaw could not resist the opportunity to get into such a splendid fight and so has a characteristic article full of brilliant antitheses, cutting witticisms and poor logic in the *Clarion*. This is replied to by H. M. Hyndman in a masterly exposition of the socialist philosophy. It is interesting to note the emphasis which Comrade Hyndman lays upon the movement in America as exemplifying the truth of the Marxian philosophy.

England seems to be facing one of the worst industrial depressions known for many years. *Justice* says in a late issue:

"Everything, then, betokens a terrible winter in front of us—a winter in which tens of thousands will feel the pinch of want, and when men will return, worn out by a fruitless search for work, only to find, added to the weariness of their bootless tramp, the despairing glances of their wives and families who know far too well by bitter experience what unemployment means to them all. The enormous powers of production handled by the capitalist class for their own profit, to be stopped when the wheels of their machinery no longer turn out profit for them, have brought about one of those depressions in trade which have become periodical under the capitalist system. The South African war, the Russo-Japanese war, and even the fiscal controversy, have added a few finishing touches to the somber and terrible canvas which will be exhibited to the public gaze. Many work houses are crowded to excess and accommodation had to be found for some of the applicants in the corridors."

The S. D. F. is agitating for the calling of a special session of Parliament to legislate on the unemployed question, and is taking advantage of this question to rouse the workers of England.

BOOK REVIEWS

PAGAN VS. CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATIONS. *By S. H. Comings. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Paper, 105 pp., Twenty-five Cents. Cloth, Fifty Cents.*

This pamphlet is more a symptom of things that are doing than an accomplishment in itself. It is one of a class of pamphlets, that in plan and general character should make up a large part of the literature of social evolution during the next few years. The author concerns himself with the one problem of the relation of education to social facts and forces, and the individuals taught. He describes the advantages of combining, doing and learning in the schools, and gives many illustrations of what has already been accomplished in these directions. Yet after all he has failed to understand the real view-point of the "New Education," and especially its social position. To him the possibility of making an educational institution "self-supporting" is put forward as one of the strongest arguments for industrial training in connection with education, whereas every attempt to accomplish this result under capitalism has meant the surrender of the essential principles of freedom in constructive activity, which are fundamental in the "new education." So it is that Armour Institute, Tuskegee and other trade-schools, which are but parodies on the idea after which the author is striving, are praised as examples of its practical working out. However, the book is to be welcomed as a contribution to a field in which there is all too little, and we hope that it will help to suggest that some others follow his example rather than continue to re-write for the thousandth time the whole philosophy of socialism within the compass of a pamphlet.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, *by Karl Marx. Translated by N. I. Stone. International Library Publishing Co. Cloth, 314 pages, \$1.50.*

Four years ago the translation of one of Marx's books would have been hailed as an "epoch" in the socialist movement. Today it passes almost unnoticed in the flood of socialist literature. This work was written in 1859 and is Marx's contribution to the money question. Those of our readers who have been with us from the beginning will remember the articles which appeared in our very first numbers by Comrade Hitch and Comrade Stone on the money question in which both drew their ammunition from this book. Marx begins with an analysis of the process of exchange similar to that found in the first chapter of "Capital." He finally evolves out of this exchange the commodity, money, with its peculiar characteristics. "In the process of exchange all commodities are related to the one excluded commodity as to a simple commodity, one which appears as the embodiment of universal labor-time in a particular use-value." He falls foul of the quantity theory by declaring that it is the rise or fall of prices which determines how much money will be used and not the amount which causes the rise and fall of prices. "If therefore the value of gold—

i. e., the labor-time necessary for its production should rise or fall—the price of commodities will rise or fall in inverse ratio. In inverse ratio or corresponding to that rise or fall of prices, the rapidity of circulation remaining the same, a larger or smaller quantity of gold will be required to keep the same volume of commodities in circulation.” It is manifestly impossible to give within the compass of the space which can be assigned to a book review any adequate idea of Marx’s position. There is no writer who is harder to condense and all attempts which have ever been made at popularization are admitted failures. The latter portion of the work, dealing with the theories of the medium of circulation and of money, gives a most valuable survey of the evolution of monetary doctrines.

Whoever in reading this book omits the preface or the appendix will lose something of very great value. The author’s preface contains the classical statement of the materialistic interpretation of history which has been quoted many times and which was published in an earlier issue of the REVIEW. The appendix consists of a posthumous writing, intended as an introduction to the great work of which “Capital” was really little more than the beginning. We have no hesitation in saying that it is one of the most searching analyses of the field of political economy ever published. To one who is familiar with the economics of our universities at the present time it comes with something of a shock to see in how far Marx had anticipated all that is worth while in these later writers and in many cases how he has gone on beyond even their present position.

The translation is most carefully and thoroughly done.

THE COST OF SOMETHING FOR NOTHING. John P. Altgeld. *The Hammersmark Publishing Company. Cloth, 132 pp. \$1.00.*

We are not sure that Governor Altgeld’s reputation as a social thinker will be particularly strengthened by this book. We are confirmed in this view by the sources in which it has been most highly praised. The very daily papers which hounded him to his death have been profuse in their admiration of the book.

The central thought is that a person who seeks to get something for nothing will thereby injure himself, and that Fate visits a retribution upon those who outrage moral laws. It is hardly fair to Governor Altgeld to state the proposition in quite this bald theological form. Yet this is, after all, the impression which the book gives, and this is so at war with much of what he has said elsewhere that we cannot but feel that had he lived, there would have been some important changes and additions to the work before it reached publication. There is no doubt but that anti-social activity has a psychological reaction injurious to the individual, but to preach this as a means of securing right social actions will in the majority of cases simply cause the plotter of injurious social activity to consider that so indefinite and uncertain a penalty will probably never reach him. Anyhow it is only to be visited on later generations and one can easily say “*apres moi le deluge*” and go on.

This philosophy is applied in a series of short essays to such subjects as Railway Magnates, Standard Oil Company, Newspapers, Bankers, Lawyers, West Point, etc. Perhaps the best of these is the one on newspapers. After showing how the old system of newspaper management produced men of the Greely-Bennett type. He shows how the newspaper ceased to be an individual responsible enterprise and “became a machine, a great entity that had an existence, a voice and an influence separate and apart from the men who made it. By degrees it swallowed the men who fed it.

“From that moment it began to destroy character. It was the newspaper that talked not the man. Instead of developing strong, open-faced men, it tended to develop sneaks. Everything was anonymous. The

writer of an article felt no personal or moral responsibility. All the world despises the writer of an anonymous letter. No honorable man would think of writing one; yet, so far as the writers are concerned, the great newspapers of to-day are mostly a collection of anonymous letters, and the writers are reduced to the low level of anonymity."

Needless to say that the literary style of the book is a model of terse, expressive English. Nothing that Altgeld has ever written has been otherwise.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Future of the International Socialist Review.

In July, 1900, the first number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW was issued. It has long since proved itself an unquestioned success in everything except the financial side. It has, however, from the start been a heavy burden upon the stockholders of the co-operative company. This burden has been carried partly from the small margin of profit on the sales of other literature, partly by using money received from the sale of stock, and partly from direct contributions. The subscription list has increased to some little extent since the magazine was started, but in the effort to secure more subscribers we tried the unsuccessful experiment of allowing stockholders to purchase REVIEW postcards each good for a year's subscription at 50 cents instead of the regular subscription price of \$1.00. The result has been that considerably more than half of our subscriptions have been reduced to the 50-cent rate and thus the income from subscriptions has almost been cut in two. On the other hand, the increase in the number of subscribers has not been sufficient to come anywhere near making up for this loss. The reason undoubtedly is that the number of socialists capable of understanding and appreciating the REVIEW is limited and that, even if we were to reduce the price to 10 cents a year, it would be impossible to secure more than a few thousand readers.

On the other hand, the most active and best informed socialists recognize the REVIEW as absolutely indispensable to the growth and permanence of the socialist movement in the United States. Its mission is to educate the educators; to supply those who already read and talk on socialism with fresh facts and fresh ideas to be put by them into such popular form as their varying circumstances make advisable.

In view of all this, and after consultation with many of our stockholders, it has been decided to make the subscription price of the REVIEW, after December 31, 1904, \$1.00 a year, without discount to any one. It is believed that this will not materially reduce the number of readers, while it will bring financial relief in the way of increasing receipts from subscriptions.

Those stockholders who are anxious to interest a large number of new readers in the REVIEW will still have the opportunity of sending in as many new subscriptions as they choose at 50 cents each before the end of December; after that date the invariable subscription price will be \$1.00 a year to all alike.

Books of Other Publishers.

Our co-operative publishing house has thus far, as its stockholders know, been handicapped by the lack of ready money to an extent that has made it absolutely impossible to do more than a fraction of the educational work that has been needed. What we have accomplished is to put the principal standard works on Socialism within reach of the workers at the lowest possible prices, and to provide in the Pocket Library of Social-

ism a varied assortment of propaganda literature prepared on scientific lines and written in good English. What we have not yet been able to do is to carry an assortment of the books of other publishing houses more or less closely related to Socialism. The obstacle has simply been that to purchase these books in quantities large enough to get wholesale rates, more capital was needed than we have had at our disposal, while to buy the books in small quantities as ordered involves more labor than the margin on such transactions will pay for.

If we carry out our plans for putting the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW on a self-supporting basis, as explained above, and paying off the floating debt, as explained on the last page of this department, we shall for the first time be in a position where we can handle the books of other publishers to advantage. Full announcements will be made when the debt to outsiders is fully provided for.

Meanwhile we have arranged to offer two books as an experiment, and the number of orders received for these will guide us to some extent in arranging for the supply of other outside books.

Mass and Class, a Survey of Social Divisions, by W. J. Ghent, just published by the Macmillan Company of New York and London, is the first work on the class struggle from the viewpoint of International Socialism to appear from the press of a capitalist publishing house in the United States. And it is really a notable book. We will not in this department anticipate the editorial review to appear later; it is enough to say that *Mass and Class* is a new and convincing argument for Socialism, well worth the attention of every Socialist and every investigator. The price is \$1.35 by mail, \$1.25 by express at purchaser's expense, no discount.

Looking Backward, by Edward Bellamy, is a picture of the co-operative commonwealth which has had an enormous sale and is still in active demand. It is not in the least an adequate statement of the ideals of Socialism; the author was quite ignorant of Socialism when he wrote it, and into his picture of a future society he introduced various restraints upon individual liberty which are absolutely foreign to the spirit of modern Socialism. Nevertheless the book is one of immense value in stimulating the imaginations of those who can not conceive the world as being in any way different from what it is today, and it is easy reading for those who have not learned to study, so it has its value. We have made an arrangement by which we can supply the authorized paper edition, handsomely printed in large type, at fifty cents by mail or forty cents when sent with other books by express at expense of purchaser. It may be worth while to add that the Canadian edition, which at one time was advertised at a lower price, can not legally be sold in this country on account of the copyright.

Rebels of the New South.

This new novel by Walter Marion Raymond is published November 10 by our co-operative publishing house, and will be ready for delivery by the time this issue of the REVIEW is in the hands of its readers. It is a Socialist book, but that is not its only recommendation. It is a novel by a novelist who understands his trade. The movement of the story is rapid; there is action, humor, pathos all along, and the careless reader will not lose interest.

Nothing is said of Socialism till the story is far advanced, and thus there is all the better chance of getting the attention of those whose prejudices have kept them from looking into our literature.

Those who have received their impressions of Socialist views of the marriage question from caricatures like that of the Reverend Mr. Dixon will be surprised at the absolutely clean atmosphere of Mr. Raymond's book. Yet there is nothing conventional nor hypocritical about it. Neither is there any preaching; the author is no novice in fiction writing, and he understands his trade too well to let any sermons interfere with the movement of his story. The scene of the novel is in Virginia, and the people

in it are not imaginary products of a future civilization, but live men and women of to-day. It is well worth reading, merely as a story, and it gives a fairly adequate idea of the ideas and feelings of some of our American Socialists.

Mechanically the book is equal to many recent \$1.50 novels. It contains 294 handsomely printed pages, besides five half-tone engravings from original drawings. There is a unique cover design stamped in white leaf, making a most attractive volume. The price, postage included, is \$1.00.

God and My Neighbor.

"Which is worse, to be a Demagogue or an Infidel? I am both. For while many professed Christians contrive to serve both God and Mammon, the depravity of my nature seems to forbid my serving either."

This little taste of Blatchford's book, *God and My Neighbor*, may suggest why the first edition has already been exhausted and another printed. It is not a book on Socialism, but on religion, and it is not an irreligious but a religious book. Some of us may differ with Blatchford in his use of phrases; we might wish he would put a larger meaning into the word God, instead of discarding it; yet thoughts, after all, are more important than words, and Robert Blatchford is a thinker whose help is worth having. The price of this, his latest book, is a dollar in cloth, fifty cents in paper, postage included.

Raising the Debt of the Company.

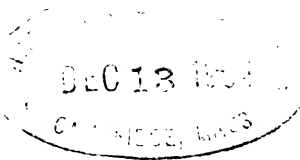
Less progress is reported this month than last, but the reason is obvious. In October the presidential campaign was drawing to a close, and calls for campaign funds were urgent upon the very ones who otherwise would have contributed to the debt fund. The receipts to October 31 have been as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$2,311.74
H. A. Boyce, Oklahoma	10.00
A. Schroeder, Ohio	1.00
Frank Carrier, Missouri	1.00
George D. Sauter, Missouri (additional)	2.00
C. J. Ericsson, Montana (additional) .....	.70
Albert Smith, Maryland (additional)	2.00
Mrs. S. D. Whitney, California (additional)	20.00
L. P. Gage, Washington .....	.50
O. D. Teel, Oregon	5.00
James C. Wood, Illinois (additional)	5.00
T. G. Roberts, Illinois	2.00
Alexander Schablik, Washington (additional)	2.00
L. W. Longmire, Washington (additional) .....	.40
J. Stitt Wilson, California	5.00
Fred. R. Barrett, Maine (additional)	2.00
Dr. H. Gifford, Nebraska (additional)	10.00
C. J. Thorgrinson, Iowa	20.00
James H. Wells, California	4.00
Frank Page, Idaho	2.00
George E. A. Watson, Ontario	1.22
W. S. Burnett, California (additional)	2.00
Philip G. Wright, Illinois	2.00
James Boyd, California	12.00
U. L. Secrist, Georgia (additional)	2.50
T. J. Maxwell, Kansas	2.00
Thusnelda Peemoller, Indiana	2.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois	119.32
Total	\$2,548.38

The offer of Charles H. Kerr to duplicate the contribution of every other stockholder will hold good until December 31. By that time the contributions should be sufficient to cancel the entire floating debt to non-stockholders. Only about 12 per cent of the stockholders have as yet contributed anything, and some of the heaviest contributions thus far have come from those whose ability to pay is far less than that of others who have done little or nothing.

This appeal is no sense a wail of distress. The financial condition of the co-operative company is better than ever before. If it were to discontinue publishing the REVIEW and continue the publication of books on a "business basis," publishing such as would sell most readily instead of such as the Socialist movement most needs, it could undoubtedly "make money." But that is not what it is organized for. The need of good Socialist literature will be more urgent next year than ever before. Our stock of books ought to be correspondingly enlarged. But to do this while carrying a floating debt to non-Socialists would be to give our enemies a chance to wipe the publishing house out of existence. That is why the clearing off of this debt must come before any other advance step. A united effort will accomplish this by the end of December.

How much do you think is your share?



THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. V

DECEMBER, 1904

NO. 6

Socialism and Human Nature; Do They Conflict

THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

SOcialism with its program of social transformation by revolution and its doctrine of the maintenance of a society based on social instead of individual activity, has always appealed to the individualist as being contrary to the nature of things and eminently impracticable. Approach the average man with such a program and philosophy and instinctively the first words that will roll from his mouth are, "It is contrary to human nature; it is impracticable." This is said with a spirit of finality discouraging to the evangelist of the new creed.

This well nigh universal attitude of mind presents a most interesting study and an analysis of its properties and their significance would prove very useful to the socialist propaganda.

Such a study reveals that the attitude of the individualist is not a mere hearsay handed down from the powers that be as a rebuff against the threat of socialism, and perpetuated as an heirloom among the uninformed, but that it is one of the several forms of consciousness the involving mind assumes in the presence of the evolving universe. The individual existed prior to society, and individualism persists long after society and social facts come into existence, by virtue of a vigorous infidelity.

The individual consciousness persists in drawing conclusions from a pre-social world, in the midst of the evolving social life, having failed as yet to awaken to the social fact and the social relation. To the individualist all life is embraced in the individual life, which is creative and casual and is the source of all social conditions, civilizations, systems, governments and institutions.

POSITION OF THE INDIVIDUALIST.

To illustrate the irreconcilable nature of individualism and socialism, we will let the individualist state his position on the question, "The individual is the creative cause of social conditions,

governments, institutions and social changes; the thing created cannot be superior to its creator; governments and institutions can never be better than men, they can only slowly conform to the growth and perfecting of individuals; we will never have perfect institutions until we have perfect men; systems follow, they do not go in advance of men; socialism is impossible because it proposes to perfect men by first perfecting governments and institutions whereas it should seek to perfect governments and institutions by first perfecting men; even if the socialists were to succeed in establishing a perfect system, men as we find them today, would soon mutilate it and drag it down to their level, and would in the end conform it to their natures, as now all institutions conform to contemporaneous man; the system proposed by the socialists presupposes the extinction of selfishness, the dominance of altruism, an overmastering sense of duty, a spirit of concession and self-sacrifice, a surrender of self to others, without which qualities the system would go to pieces in a short time; such qualities can be cultivated in the race only by thousands of years of labor with individuals, and when men reach that perfection, socialism, or at any rate, the perfect system will have already come; socialism rests for its perpetuity on the assumption that men will become so infatuated with the security and joy and peace brought on by the reign of equity and love, that they will voluntarily abandon self-seeking selfishness, cease all scheming for personal aggrandizement, and yield wholly to the welfare of the commonwealth; acquaintance with human nature on the contrary reveals that the dominant passion of all activity is personal self-seeking, that this passion has the force and the persistence of a primordial instinct, that it is the primal source of activity, that it always has and always will, under all conditions, manifest itself, and that the Utopian who fails to include it in his calculations builds upon sand."

A BATTLE OF INDIVIDUALISTS.

When the individual presents this array of arguments to the adherent of the socialist movement who is still an individualist he makes short work of the latter. The socialist who is a socialist in response to a religious prompting for equity and love, but who is still an individualist in mind, falls an easy prey to the individualist reasoning and is dumbfounded and vanquished because he finds himself arrayed against himself; but the fact that he persists in following that which he cannot reconcile with logic is the latest re-vindication of the world-old phenomena—the religious devotee and is one illustration of the vitality of socialism as a religion.

Hence the outer works of socialism are often taken by the individualist foe, and the border warfare presents a chaos of reciprocal rout and confusion and mutual reprisal, but within the

inner defenses, socialism evolved to social consciousness, occupies an impregnable fortress, against which the battling hosts of individualism are sundered and shivered, and which, secure from any danger of capture, is harboring its resources to dominate the world of consciousness.

THE TWO WORLDS OF CONSCIOUSNESS.

This great thought struggle between the individualist and the socialist has a vital significance. It is no less than a struggle of a latter with a more primitive mode of consciousness, and marks an historic metamorphosis in the evolution of intelligence. The emergence of thought from the primal individualist consciousness into social consciousness or the awakening of man from social unconsciousness to the perception of the casual relation of society to the individual, involves a radical transference of the basis of thought—a transference from the consideration of the individual as the unit of life to the consideration of society as the unit and cause of life—a change so thorough that the opposing camps cannot understand each other, and this is why that to the individualist the socialist is a crack brained enthusiast and visionary who expects to transform the world and change men's natures in a day, contrary to all facts; and this is why that to the socialist the individualist is a blind and stubborn reactionary incapable of reading the facts of history or the broad manifestations of development.

THE TWO MODES OF ACTIVITY.

These opposite conceptions of life which go to the bottom of all problems of life and determine all processes of thought have also a paramount practical importance; they are the starting point of all methods of procedure to stamp out vice, abolish social evils, elevate submerged populations and effect the emancipation and the moral regeneration of the race and the individual.

The individualist seeing the individual as the creator and cause of all human institutions and conditions, traces all evils to inherent and unavoidable defects in human nature, and seeks to eliminate these evils by appealing to and reforming the man. The socialist who sees that systems, civilizations and societies set the limitations, fix the conceptions and determine the activities of men and make them what they are, strikes at the evils and imperfections outcropping in men's natures by striking at the defects in systems, civilizations and societies and removing the real cause of the evil. *The socialist is the modern alchemist who handles the moral reagents of the universe as tangible quantities that can be perceived and dealt with at will: he has found the cause of man and slowly he is leading the race up the steeps of achievement to the glories and wonders of a new found-creatorship.*

REFORM AND REVOLUTION.

Socialism rests on the presumption that normal conditions will produce normal beings; that whatever of bad is found in men comes from causes outside of men in the conditions that surround and make them; hence the Socialist's quarrel is not with human nature, but with social conditions: individualism rests upon the presumption that whatever of bad is found in man comes from the inherent badness in human nature, and is reflected in unjust social conditions; hence the quarrel of individualist is not with social conditions, but with human nature. *Socialism, in aiming at civilizations, systems and social conditions, is essential revolution; individualism, in confining its aims to the improvement of individuals, is essential reform.*

OPTIMISM AND DESPAIR.

Socialism is the doctrine of optimism; it holds out the inspiring hope that through revolution any living generation of men may realize its emancipation, by cutting loose from the conditions from which it suffers. Individualism of necessity denies to contemporaneous generations of men all hope to see any changes or transformations of so radical a nature; in other words, it denies to every man all hope of emancipation. It has always been the doctrine which has denied the entire wholesomeness of human nature, and upon this infidelity it has unfurled the flag of despair.

The individualist is the victim of two fundamental misconceptions. This fixed and causal quantity he has conjured up in his imagination and termed "human nature," which is supposed to possess the same properties under all conditions, and to have the power to conform conditions to itself, exists nowhere and has never had a place in history. The real human nature manifested in history has always been an effect and a conformity to conditions and not a cause and conforming force, and it has manifested itself in as many types as there have been social systems.

The insipid and colorless Altrurias, the millenniums and Nirvanas of human brotherhood, of selfless and bloodless commonwealths, where peace is maintained by surrendering individuality, where equity is a gift from the capable to the weak, where justice is charity and all is lovely because the population is made up of a stainless and selfless lot of holy nonentities, such dreams are the revulsions and nothing more of the individualist mind from the horrors of a system where all the opposites are too apparent, just as "heaven" expresses a reaction of the sinner's mind. It is a significant fact that the individualist's, or his modern representative the capitalist's, "socialism," resembles in

almost every detail the sinner's heaven, "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

No such a dream or Utopia has place in the constructive program proposed by socialists. Socialism is a revindication of the healthy old philosophy that might is right, and that equity is another name for contending powers that have reached a balance. Every achievement was won by force. Every victory is a revindication of the fact that one force happened to be stronger than another. Force is the one thing in the universe that is effective. Every right and privilege is held and every status maintained by an equilibrium of battling forces. *Socialism is an absolute committal to the logic of force.*

The origin of force in society is the instinct to preserve one's self against all hostile forces, and the instinct to enhance or aggrandize one's self or secure the rivalry for life. The ultimate force in society is a triumphant combination of the majority of individuals who have been disinherited and dislodged from every point of advantage and security by the triumphant employment of these instincts by the minority. This disinheriting process, which exists in the nature of things, and is now observed to be going on at an unprecedented rate, in the growth of the trusts, the centralization of wealth and the absorption of the public domain by the few, inevitably leads to the predestined historic combination which will capture and dispossess the conquerors of the world. *Socialism is a recognition that combination is the inevitable and conquering form of force.*

This combination of the many against the few will be for the purpose of the self-preservation and the self-aggrandizement of the individual members of the combine, who will comprehend in the concentrated and perfected machinery of production and distribution a short cut to affluence and freedom from drudgery and the feeling of personal security which the instinct of self-preservation demands.

After the world has been captured by the mass, and the few have been absorbed by the many, a disintegration of the combine and a division and redistribution of the spoils will be impossible for these reasons:—

1st. For the first time in the history of the world claimants for division will be too numerous to make division practicable, and,

2nd. For the first time in the history of the world the spoils of conquest will have become indivisible; for the perfecting of machinery and the integration of the productive processes will have made such division destructive, even were it possible.

Robbers may divide jewelry or coin, but conquering democracies cannot divide railroad systems or the inter-linked industries of the great trusts.

After the conquest, the common sense and the common selfishness of each will teach him that it is better to possess an interest in the whole, which will guarantee to him the freedom to employ himself in the gratuitous use of the tools of production, and the power to appropriate the result and hold it out against all others, than to demand a fraction of the whole which would be valueless; and consequently collective or common ownership must of a necessity result.

SELF-INTEREST THE BASIS OF SOCIAL INTEGRITY.

After common ownership has been established, the innate spirit of self-preservation and self-aggrandizement, will rush to the defense of the whole, and will surrender no right it has won in the whole. *The perpetuity of collective ownership will be insured by that selfish and preservative instinct in every man that he will not willingly permit an advantage to another that he cannot claim for himself lest his own interests be undermined thereby.* Under collective ownership this powerful instinct is placed in possession of an effective weapon, the public powers, to enforce this demand, and upon this foundation rests the co-operative commonwealth.

A further elucidation of the principle of social unity as the result of an equilibrium of individual self-centered instincts, may be pardoned.

These two classes of instincts, the one working to preserve self and the other to enhance self, constitute at once the bond and stimuli of the social life.

Self aggrandizement is an anarchistic force forming only into factional combinations for ulterior purposes, which disintegrate when the personal aim is reached: it begins and ends in the life of persons. But it serves a useful purpose in stimulating the dominant instinct of self-preservation to impel men into greater and greater combinations.

Self-preservation is essentially a socialistic force. The moment you threaten the welfare of a certain number of individuals you force them to combine. Combination for self-preservation is the potent fact of history. It is so apparent that in the struggle for existence men have never been able to escape combining for mutual protection, that the case hardly needs arguing. From the tribe to the nation, from the guild to the lodge, from the secret organization of ancient times to the labor union, history has been but a record of combinations for self-preservation.

THE VITAL PRINCIPLE OF THE PUBLIC LIFE.

The latest and most universal expression of the unifying instinct of self-preservation is found in the growing public life and public spirit of modern times. From privatism to publicity is the historic trend in response to the growing power of privatism and

the growing necessity for general self-preservation. The public up to date is a combination of those universal interests outside the private warring interests of individuals; that is, it is the out-working of the desire in every man that he will be protected from the innumerable private interests around him while pursuing his own; that he will be saved from the necessity of descending in the struggle for existence, below the accepted standards of contemporaneous business ethics, to compete with criminals by criminal practices, and that in our highly differentiated society, those persons apart from himself and over whom he has no personal control, who provide things necessary to his social and material wellbeing shall be restrained from working him any great harm or injustice or withholding things needful for his welfare.

ORGANIC HUMANITY.

The coming of the public universal, the elimination of privatism from industry and government, places self-preservation for the first time in history in an impregnable position: all the sources of life will belong to the public, every man will have a vital and direct interest in the universal public possession and to encroach upon this domain is to touch the interests of millions of individuals who have the remedies at hand for recovery and know how to use them.

For the first time in history the spoiler will find that he has worked himself into the dilemma that he cannot plunder anybody without plundering everybody in a most glaringly direct and open manner: hence spoliation will have become impracticable; *in other words the historic victim of spoliation, stimulated to growth and power by the process becomes in the end so huge and powerful and watchful that to plunder him is to invite destruction.*

SOCIAL MATHEMATICS.

The final formula into which society outworks itself, where personal and social interests conflict, is, "all against one:" anarchistic self-seeking through its factional combinations up to the private corporations, or trusts more powerful than governments, following the centering process of selfishness, squeezes out the members of its combinations by a natural process and narrows down at last to its logical formula of one for one, and finds itself arrayed against a universal solidarity, the result of its own pernicious activity. One for one, the finale of personal selfishness, and all for all, the finale of social selfishness express the ultimates of social integration; and one against all expresses the residue of desire which may remain, after the process of social integration will have completed itself, to win every personal advantage possible and to hold every personal advantage possible. But this personal desire, where the weapons of privatism are des-

troyed, will stand alone and unarmed against its perfectly equipped and all powerful opponent, the public.

THE DIVINE CONSTITUTION OF THINGS.

There is something terribly suggestive of an interesting co-incident in the fact that greed is an attenuating process which, disease-like consumes itself, that the victim of spoliation is an avenging Nemesis predestined to devour the despoiler, and that the termination of all purely self-centered activities is in a *cul de sac*. A committal to the doctrine that, "Might is right," is also a committal to the doctrine that, "Right is Might," for the last term of force is morality, and the ultimate form of law is moral law: *for out of the chaos of social forces comes the equilibrium of all forces which is that elemental equity wherein the individual can claim nothing from others which he cannot grant from himself, and need grant nothing to others which he cannot claim for himself.*

Socialism then, is not a gospel of selfless brotherhood, but it is a philosophy which deals with living forces: the co-operative commonwealth will not be maintained by love and duty, but by force—the force of a triumphant and proprietary democracy, in which the irreducible instincts of the proprietor are fully aroused, and the whole flood of the powerful primordial instincts that center around the preservation of self will be poured as life-giving blood into the public life; a force which comprehends that life will depend upon public efficiency and public purity and cannot rest until this condition is enforced. The co-operative commonwealth will not be perpetuated by mutual concession and sacrifice, but it will rest on the economic condition that the process of production and distribution will have reached a stage of indivisibility, that public operation alone is possible; and it will be maintained because the public will be too powerful, too selfish, too watchful to be despoiled with impunity and the individual for the first time in history will stand alone and unequipped to despoil.

SOCIALISM NATURAL AND INDESTRUCTIBLE.

Socialism is another example of the constantly recurring historic fact: the system greater than the individual, and the individual being conformed to the system. Socialism will come because socialism is inherent in the constitution of the race. It will come because the primordial elements of human nature cannot reach any other conclusion. It will come, not through any change in human nature but because human nature is what it is, and it will require no rarer qualities for its establishment than sufficient popular intelligence and popular spirit to comprehend one's own interests.

Socialism has co-existed with the race; it is but the expres-

sion of the growth of society. From the primordial brute world of anarchy to the present time and onward, the vast silent social processes of integration work to the making of man; they alone express the real progress of the race.

PRIMORDIAL ELEMENTS OF HUMAN NATURE.

Now that we have dealt at some length with the current misconception of individualists regarding socialism, let us take a closer view of this "human nature" about which individualists have so much to say.

Every civilization produces its type, every social condition its quality of "Human nature." This is a broad historic manifestation which leads to conclusions radically at variance with individualism and yet broadly and through all history and peoples run certain qualities common to all men we may denominate "human nature," but these qualities possess a certain plasticity and receptivity that annuls the conclusions of individualists.

The two recognizable properties of "human nature" that persevere from the lowest to the highest development and under all conditions are,

1st. That men will struggle to the utmost under any given condition to live, and,

2nd. That man will conform his nature to any condition that is not absolutely destructive, in order to live.

The instinct to struggle for existence, and the capacity to exist by adaptation are the universally observed characteristics of human and animal life, but much greater capacity for adaptation is required in man than in the animal, for in addition to climateric and fauna and floral changes to which animals must conform men must periodically re-create themselves in order to conform to vast and radical social transformations, or they must perish.

The history of society is a history of successive social metamorphoses, and the history of the individual is the history of a succession of individual adaptations enforced by these metamorphoses.

ADAPTATION THE LAW OF LIFE.

The Eskimo with his furs and blubber, the African with his tribal life, the slave with his submissiveness and the criminal of the slum districts with his cunning are adaptations to conditions. Let the Eskimo abandon his furs and blubber, the African his tribe, the slave his submissiveness, the criminal his cunning and destruction will result. Our complex civilization is honey-combed with classes and communities of men that can be readily distinguished by certain manners, apparel, habits, physiognomy, speech, and above all by clearly marked mental and moral characteristics and certain habitual modes of thought and views. These

are products of conditions any one can study in the midst of our twentieth century civilization, and can definitely trace each kind of human product back to his social cause and clearly understand why he is what he is. It is well for the race that human nature can adapt itself and become good or bad, servile or lordly as the condition demands, and, most wonderful of all, will suffer evils far worse than death in order to live; else we would not be here.

THE MAKING OF MEN.

The sweeping social transformations that have marked man's emergence from the primordial brute world, have been characterized by a procession of distinct types of individuals following in the wake of conditions and events. So vital have been the social transformations that they have fixed the views, conceptions, motives of action, traits, habits and to a large extent the physiognomy of the successive types of individuals.

In the brute world, transformations come through age-long geologic processes—the subsidence of continents, the emergence of mountain chains, the changing of ocean and air currents—but in the social world man occupies a sphere of his own whose movements do not depend upon the tardy oscillations of the earth's crust. *Here too, life is the product of condition, but condition is the residue of antecedent life. In our ascent to the moral universe we occupy a half-divine world, and are at once creature and creator.* The products of men's brains lashed into unrelenting activity in the merciless struggle for existence, fix themselves into new conditions; the foundations of society are shaken, institutions and social relations are changed, and man is re-created. The inventors and discoverers, are the unconscious gods of the underworld who literally make and unmake men. The innocent inventor of gunpowder or of the steam engine would be appalled at the types of men they have destroyed and replaced.

THE HISTORIC PROCESSION OF TYPES.

The four dominant types of men whose destiny is to make history are, the tribal type, the military type, the commercial type and the coming type,—the civic type or social type. Add to these the subject types, which began with the slave and end with the wage-worker, and to these the types of retainers who have hung, through all history, close to the master types, and add further the types of the submerged or criminal classes and you may form a picture of the historic procession of types.

In each case the production of a new type is caused by a series of economic developments that change the foundations of society, call for a readjustment of social relations, and re-create the individual.

Increased destructiveness produced the first two dominant types—the warrior and the soldier: increased productiveness, produced the last, the capitalist, and will compel the production of the next, the civic or social type.

THE WARRIOR.

The development of the bow and arrow among the inhabitants of the primeval forest world placed man in an entirely new relation to the terrible beasts around him and to his still more terrible fellow men. The little family group which had been sufficient to protect him against animals no longer sufficed to protect him against the increased destructiveness of man and he was driven into those evergrowing combinations, the tribes—the first social groupings of man, and the nebulae of the moral universe. In the tribe he was changed from a solitary to a communistic creature whose life was of less importance to himself than to the life of the tribe, and whose undying devotion to the tribe and to the tribal honor made him a stoic under the insufferable tortures inflicted by his captors. In the forest he was changed from a victim to a beast of prey which called for a complete re-adjustment of all his instincts and habits—a complete transformation of the man. Never in the history of the world has there been such a perfect development of the sense, such an eye, such an ear, such an instinct for pursuit and retreat, such cunning, such skill in reading the movements and dangers of human and animal foe and prey, such a close touch of sense to the insensate, as there was in the new king of the forest with his bow and arrow.

THE SOLDIER.

The great fact which brought about the conditions that produced the soldier, who from the lordly aristocrat to the private in the ranks dominated the world for several thousand years, is the increased destructiveness of men resulting from the development of metallic offensive and defensive weapons which drove men into those vast aggregations known as nations which insured an armed peace within certain borders and allowed a chance for production and propagation. A series of industrial developments abetted the growth of the military nation and made possible the evolution of the fortified city from the camp. The evolution of slavery, a necessary process for the good of man specialized the soldier's occupation into getting a living solely by the exercise of military prowess.

Here then we have the conditions that re-created dominant man into the soldier type: the forest and the keen life of the animal-man are forced into the background, the traits which had utility in the forest and meant success, no longer have utility and mean destruction in the camp and the walled city. The whole

range of men's senses have deteriorated: the keenness of eye, the sharpness of ear, the cunning of instinct no longer have utility, and the physical man has been transformed. A moral transformation has taken place. Large masses of men must move together in the new business of life, mass-murder, and discipline and subordination, qualities impossible to the savage, have utility and mean success. A vast slave population must be kept in subjection and the domineering character is developed. A radically different being is the creature of the camp from the creature of the forest, but a stranger being still is the creature of the soldier—the slave. Denied the right to adapt himself to any natural environment he adapts himself solely to the wants of his master, eliminating and suppressing for his own safety all the traits of the normal man and cultivating the negative of all healthy characteristics. The slave represents an extreme of adaptation, and the readiness with which a free man can conform his nature, for his personal safety, to the demands of slavery, and transmit his subservient and simulating disposition to posterity, illustrates with what rapidity human nature can be conformed to conditions, where sufficient force is applied.

THE CAPITALIST.

As arms and armor, an inevitable development from savage life, laid the foundation of the military nation and made the soldier; so machinery, a later development, transferred the foundations of social power into new hands and produced the present dominant type, the capitalist. The forest is lost, the camp pushed into the back-ground and the factory and the mart occupy the center of the world's stage. The creature of the forest is forgotten, the creature of the camp is crowded into a secondary place and the creature of the factory and the mart steps into the mastery of the world, a new creation, dominated by motives, conceptions, views, habits, methods of procedure, activities and traits different from his predecessors, and above all with a new weapon of commercial exploitation or finance backed by the armies and navies of the world.

The commercial type is as perfect an adaptation to surroundings as was the savage type in the midst of the native forest. The acquisition and retention of wealth and the maintenance of his position in the midst of hostile forces utilizes a new set of energies. Craft, simulation, calculation, persistent aggressiveness, diplomacy, highly developed acquisitive qualities, readiness to take advantage, coldness, indifference and a disregard for others, are the qualities that insure commercial success and that characterize the commercial type. In the commercial type is restored much of that keenness, cunning, resourcefulness, and initiative of the savage, qualities which are always developed when the individual stands comparatively alone against hostile forces.

THE UTILIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRAITS.

The production of the foregoing dominant types brings out clearly one fact: given social systems have utility for certain personal energies and they use them to the suppression or elimination of all other traits. You have but to know what personal qualities a system or civilization has use for and you may predict its type of individuals. *The strong and successful man of history has always been the man who has adapted himself most completely to the system and the failure has been he who has been unable to so adapt himself. The successful man has not been the good man, in the past, and at present, but he has been the man whom the system has utilized most in conformity with itself.* The savage possessed few traits for which the military system had utility and the knight errant would be a conspicuous failure in the stock exchange.

THE SOCIAL TYPE.

All the foregoing has been said concerning types that it may be understood upon what basis we may predicate what qualities of character will be utilized and what type of man will be produced in the co-operative commonwealth.

What was said prior concerning the inevitability, the overwhelming solidarity and power, and the indestructibility of the social commonwealth, was said for the purpose of fixing the fact in the mind that socialism is not a scheme concocted in the mind of any one, to be attempted and laid aside at will, but a huge insurmountable condition that, whether desirable or not, is coming to take possession of us, and re-create us as systems have done in the past. With the idea firmly fixed in our mind that whatever we may say or do cannot change the enduring fact of socialism, even in its initiatory stages, we are ready to consider what the man will be when adapted to the demands of the proprietary democracy.

The term, social type, is used to bring out the idea that under socialism, the successful man, the dominant type of individual, will be the man in whom, organic society, the property holding democracy, can find the most utility.

What are the conditions under which man finds himself in the co-operative commonwealth?

1st. He finds himself face to face with an all powerful public in possession of the sources of wealth and life—a public which cannot be bribed, tricked or forced.

2nd. He finds he cannot apply himself directly to the means of production nor provide for himself without serving the public and conforming to public regulation, and receiving for his efforts whatever the public has agreed upon.

3d. He finds that he is no longer able to move men and things as formerly, directly by the arbitrary application of his will, but

that he has to bring about things that seem desirable or proper by a new and much slower process, moral suasion, and the application of intelligence.

4th. He finds himself an integral part of the public and discovers that he has a right everywhere and in everything.

THE INDIVIDUALIZING OF THE PUBLIC.

Here then is the situation: the safety of the individual is threatened by this great new power in peaceful possession of the sources of life. How will he wrest from this new power life, freedom, and the joy of life, and cleave out a path for himself as he did in the forest, in the camp and in the centers of commercial civilization? The powerful desires, and terrible fears that rally to the preservation of the individual are as strong and virile as in primeval man, and must find an outlet. The instinct to hew out a path of freedom for himself and live the life of his own, a fundamental instinct which at once proclaims the integrity and the intrinsic worth of the individual allies itself with primordial man and rushes to meet the new power. What will be the grand resultant; what the re-created man?

From the nature of man and his desires, and from the constitution of the public comes this saving fact: *The individual in the co-operative commonwealth is an integral part of the whole public, and such a public has nothing in its constitution except such individual integers.* The public whose integers are classes and private warring factions, is the public which rests on special privileges, it is the tool of the most powerful interest. The power it wields is alien to the constituency and is at the same time malevolent and oppressive. Strip down the public to its individual basis, let its component parts be individuals, for all else is alien, uproot and destroy privatism which diverts and dissipates streams of energy the public should claim, and you have destroyed every oppressive and malevolent feature of public life. In the very nature of things, such a public cannot do otherwise than reflect all the desires of the individual which do not militate against the freedom, happiness and safety of other individuals. Such a public cannot impose onerous regulations, oppressive measures, or unreasonable exactions, because such things are by nature impositions and have always come from without from power holding or alien bodies who were benefited by such tyrannies to the injury of the victims. As well expect an individual without reason or motive to break the first law of life and inflict tortures upon himself as to expect a collectivity to impose upon itself anything undesirable. The insuperable barrier in this case is the fact that any undesirable regulation arising from within a collectivity would have to win the assent of the majority and the majority would be the first to suffer from it. *Undesirable laws always come from*

minorities, and then only when such minorities comprehend that they can evade them. The only assurance there is that no undesirable public regulation will be enacted is a condition wherein majority rule is the natural and logical result of circumstance, as under socialism. Perhaps the only law in the universe which has no exception is this, that the individual will not do a thing undesirable to himself unless for a reason which makes it desirable. Desirability is the basis of all activity and upon this rock rests the guarantee of freedom in public life.

Mistrust of the public is essential anarchy and original infidelity; it strikes at the heart of humanity and undermines the constitution of the race; it is the profoundest and most universal error socialism is called upon to combat.

We have observed before that the public is the expression in society of the spirit of self-preservation: this at once expresses the meaning and scope of the public and fixes its limitations. *Public self-preservation will alone restrain man in the future: class self-preservation oppresses and limits him now.* In those activities only, that militate against the spirit of self-preservation does the individual feel the hand of the public, and then he feels but the just repression of the united hands of other individuals protecting themselves.

In the moral universe of right doing the man and the public part company. Here, only, is the masterless world, where the sovereign lord of the domain appropriates the products of his own creation and lives an unfearing life of freedom and endeavor.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

The trick of history is to so condition the individual that he cannot arrive at himself without traveling the social road. The passage to himself through the social route purifies and regenerates the man; tames and civilizes the wild primitive instincts, rationalizes the mind, intensifies the moral and intellectual being, develops the civic virtues of public spirit, responsibility, deliberation and equipoise, and the social elements of benevolence and love. History turns the trick when she evolves the monster proprietor public and places him in possession of everything.

Here is the individual, face to face with the new big power. To say that he will in some way wrest a living from it and do the best thing possible for himself is but to repeat an historic fact. But cunning, which stood the warrior in such good stead, and brute courage and force, which saved the soldier, and manipulation, which was the salvation of the capitalist, have lost their efficacy, before this new power, and it behooves the individual to bring forth from his infinite energies, new weapons, a new mode of struggling, and new efficacious historic force.

The bow and arrow, the sword and battering ram, and that

weapon of the capitalist the deed and the property law, thinly veiling the bayonet and the cannon, all have become antiquated weapons of past struggles, and the new man faces the new power armed only with his naked abilities and his vote. *History has disarmed the man in the final struggle, of all destructive weapons, equipped him constructively, and pitted him against the most powerful of all forces, compelling him in the last grapples to win his way on his unassisted intellectual and moral merits, thereby lifting him clear out of the material into the moral universe.*

With the possibility of employing only the moral and intellectual powers to win what we merit and hold what we get, in the democratic bodies and assemblages of the future; with only this alternative, comes the civic virtues, and the moral and intellectual intensification of man.

But moral suasion, the new power by which men alone can do, and move things outside themselves, represents but the one side of the individual development: it represents man as the constituency and basis of the democracy; man the master influencing the democracy to his liking. But there is another side of the individual's development—the side expressed by the democracy's preference for the man; the side expressed by the utility of the man for the democracy—the new efficacious historic force to save the man in the presence of the new conditions.

The new force to save the individual will be public efficiency. The big proprietor public can save itself only by utilizing this force of personal character, and the first centuries of the co-operative commonwealth will be marked by an elimination and decadence of those traits which now make men successful and the development of all the traits which constitute public efficiency. Following the simple and universal law of self interest, the constituent democracy with the unerring accuracy of natural law will reward its representatives according in degree to the measure and excellency of their service. Its sensitive and powerful instincts of self-preservation can be depended upon in the long run to bring this about.

Given a proprietor democracy, and a free world upon which to expend its energies, and inevitably, and in the long run, the society learns this wholesome truth: That its greatest possible advantage lies in rewarding its faithful, and according to faithfulness; and inevitably, and in the long run, the individual learns that his greatest possible advantage lies in being absolutely faithful to society. These correlated truths are the bedrock of socialism, or social integrity.

For the first time in the history of the world the eminently sane, moral and benevolent traits of service for the common good will be cashable at their face value and men will go at their social worth. Under such conditions men will cultivate these traits, not

for their intrinsic moral value, as the preacher would have them do, but because they mean life, success, appreciation and love of fellows, material well-being, moral opportunity, emoluments, honor, affluence, joy; and their absence will mean failure, disgrace, suffering. For the first time in the world's history the successful man will be the best man, and the serviceable man will be the man of power.

Society turns the trick on the individual and socializes him, when it cuts off his personal connection with the sources of life, and having equipped him with only the ballot and the civic virtues compels him to travel the social road to find and provide for himself.

MORAL COMPETITION.

Under the conditions just described, there can be no doubt but that there will exist between individuals the most active and universal competition for success the world has ever witnessed. *In a world where only naked merit counts the rise to eminent appreciation impelled by one of the strongest instincts in human nature will be the business of life.* This competition will be unlike any form of competition that has hitherto existed in history—it will be the pitting of purely moral qualities, the matching of worth against worth before the social being which judges and appreciates and selects the best material with the certainty of natural law.

History seems to reveal ascending stages of competition: development seems to lead from military competition to commercial and from commercial to moral competition; from a rivalry which determines who is physically strongest to a rivalry which determines who is mentally strongest, and from a rivalry which determines who is mentally strongest to a rivalry which determines who is morally strongest. All the old forms of competition destroy themselves by engendering combination, but it would hardly seem that this is possible in the matching of worth with worth.

THE RELIGION OF LOVE.

Into what forms and intensifications of moral life this new competition will lead, from that service in the commonwealth, which is simulation, clear up to that service which is religion and which sanctifies every deed done for the common weal, can only be conjectured, but we may catch a gleam from history's pages, that reveals the transcendent capacities of man in this direction by contemplating religions and religious martyrs.

THE SAVING GRACE OF SOCIALISM.

Not in that rigidly mathematical philosophy, which under the name of socialism, promises to abolish poverty by measuring out service in hours and minutes, and rewards service with exact

time values, thereby effecting communistic equality of wealth, lies the saving grace of socialism, but in the fact that in the change to the social life, the rewards of individual efforts no longer flow from personal qualities which center all life into self and measure all values by standards of personal advantage, but because such rewards will flow from a collective and impersonal being, society, which true to a selfish instinct and with the unerring accuracy of natural law, will select the best and eliminate the unfaithful and reward according to that goodness which gives the most freely of self to the social being.

The saving grace of socialism lies in the substitution, as a natural law, of the law of social selection, in which the best survive in place of the law of commercial and military selection, wherein the strongest survive. It is in the fact that it reveals the universe to be moral in constitution and that the purport and intent of evolution is goodness and love.

GOD IN THE MAKING.

Men are made by divine circumstances fixed into economic fact and condition by the forces in and around them. The universe is fundamentally moral and democratic. The perfect democratic constituency is the foundation of the moral universe and lifts man clear out of the material universe into a world where he touches and handles only moral forces and moral values. Toward this condition all life presses. God struggles up into multiplex consciousness, and the trend of the universe is from the single arbitrary will to the multiplex will, which is its own restraint and counterpoise, its own intensification and perfection.

God is in the making, and the will of man, freed out of the elemental reactions of the universe divine, is turning to the making of God.

CONCLUSIONS.

We have observed that the individualist assumption that "socialism is contrary to human nature and is therefore impossible" rests upon an unhistoric conception of human nature and a misunderstanding of socialism. Perhaps if we could convince the individualist that we, being socialists, have a right to say what socialism is, we could force him to a different conclusion, but such a hope is vain. The best that an individualist mind can do is to picture socialism as a perfected individualism where an altruism which is liable to be destroyed at any time by the selfish instincts of men is the only force which holds men together. The consciousness that we are members and not entireties, that our lives, our thoughts, our modes and motives of activity proceed, not from ourselves, but from the social organism, which good or bad abnormal or wholesome, effects us in a like manner, and the consciousness that emancipation and regeneration are social

processes to be attained by social reconstruction, which is essentially the most potent religious conception the world has evolved, and heralds the emergence of man into a higher plain of being—all these elements of social consciousness, are beyond the grasp of the primitive individualist intellect.

But there is hope in the fact that individualism is not a perversity or error of intellect so much as it is a negative, an unconsciousness. A better name for individualism is social unconsciousness. All that is necessary, is to get on the blind side of man and stimulate it into seeing.

The latter centuries of our civilization have evolved wonderfully effective instruments to accomplish this result. Evolution, the most potent thought force of the last century, has revealed above all things, racial integrity, the organic nature of life, and the inconsequence of the individual, it has even stepped beyond socialism in this regard and socialism is the one force which will restore the individual back toward the position from which science has dislodged him. The evolutionary conception of the race-life has penetrated into every department of science, has taken the world of thought by storm and is forcing individualism out of sociology and economics. The agglomerating forces of today, the centralizing processes which are forcing men into mass-activity, and are rendering the isolated individual more and more insufficient, all are leading up to the time when man awakes from the infidelity, the anarchy, and the despair of individualism.

MURRAY E. KING.

Lessons From the Socialist Vote

ALTHOUGH complete returns are not yet obtainable for all the States in the Union, yet sufficient data exists which enable us to give a very close estimate of the vote. Certain general conclusions may be drawn from the facts. In the first place the growth was greatest at this election and has been most regular in the past in those states having a strong party organization, instance, New York, Illinois and Wisconsin. This is also a partial answer to the statement which will be further considered that the socialist vote this year was "protest vote."

Secondly, the socialist vote offers a most striking proof of the truth of the economic interpretation of history and especially of that corollary of it to the effect that the socialist vote is a direct outgrowth of capitalism and develops most rapidly in those localities where capitalism itself reaches its highest point of evolution. For several years the real industrial center of America has been in the Middle West with Chicago at the apex of its development and with one or two Chicago industries at the very tip. What can be more natural then, than that Chicago should have shown the most rapid increase and that the stock yards should have sent two members to the Legislature. Of course this point does not always work out in this same detail. Some portions of the United States are more backward in their socialism than in their industrial development, and the reverse is also occasionally true.

In the third place, the socialist vote has shown the strongest and most persistent growth in those localities where the membership has been most thoroughly trained in the principles of socialism. This is shown positively in the states instanced above and also by the growth in California and the Pacific states. It is also illustrated with still greater emphasis in the reaction which has taken place in Massachusetts. In my trip last spring through Massachusetts, short as it was, I became convinced that it would be impossible to hold the vote in that state unless something was done in the way of education. There is no use in denying the fact that Massachusetts has been one of the most backward states in the union in the thorough training of its membership in the principles of socialism. If the recent reverses will cause the membership in Massachusetts to set about extending the party organization and developing persons who are thoroughly familiar with socialist philosophy, then, the decrease in votes will have been a positive gain.

New York, by its steady, regular growth teaches this same lesson positively and even more emphatically. Whatever criticisms may be made of the New York movement, and no one has

been freer in making such criticisms than I have, it cannot be denied that it has one of, if not the best, party organizations in the United States and a very large percentage of thoroughly trained students of socialism, while the rank and file of membership are always able to give a reason for the faith that is in them.

Another state from which some of the comrades expected much, only to be disappointed, was Colorado. Those who knew the situation best there, however, knew that the vote should be very small. The men at the head of the Western Federation of Miners who had appealed to the workers of the country for support on the ground that they were socialists, and had received it on that ground; the men who had so proudly boasted of their class consciousness, both on the economic and political field, at the time when the battle was raging all along the line and their efforts were needed by the working men of every state, chose to sneak back into the ranks of the enemy and play the political scab. That they may not be judged without an opportunity to state their own case, I insert herewith a quotation from the *Miners' Magazine* of Nov. 17:

"We have received some criticism because the pages of the Magazine did not blaze with editorial appeals to the laboring men and women, to rally to the support of the Socialist party of the state of Colorado.

It is idle and useless to ask men and women to support the doctrines promulgated by the Socialist party, until they understand thoroughly what Socialism means.

The working class of this country are only becoming acquainted with the alphabet of the industrial problem. They are not yet, as a class, readers in economic science.

It is easy for men in another state to make declarations of bravery who have not borne the brunt of battle.

It is easy for some Socialists to criticise the Magazine while they sit at their firesides surrounded by their wives and children.

But we want these critics to place themselves in the shoes of the deported men of Colorado. We want them to draw upon their imagination and imagine themselves torn from the bosom of their families, prodded with bayonets and incarcerated in bull pens, alive with vermin. We want them to see themselves surrounded by a howling military mob that was purchased and hired by corporate money. We want them to feel the lash of the whip and the blows of the club and gun. We want them to hear the cries of agony that burst from the lips of wives, mothers and sisters. We want them to gaze, if they can, upon the pale faces of children as they were deported in cattle trains to be dumped as outcasts and exiles upon barren deserts without food or shelter, and then ask themselves the question, What would they do in order that they might return to their homes

and feel again the fond and loving embrace of wives and children?

Some men are brave at long range. The world is filled with summer patriots and sunshine warriors. The laboring people of the state of Colorado came to the conclusion that law and constitutional government must be restored, and they saw some immediate and temporary relief in the political extermination of James H. Peabody from the gubernatorial chair of Colorado. The campaign of education has only commenced in Colorado. The battle will go on and the march will be continued until the great mass who are now the slaves of wage bondage will break the shackles of serfdom in the destruction of a system that venerates the dollar and degrades the man."

Unfortunately, the editor has mistaken rhetoric for argument and picturesque denunciation for logic. His sneering reference to the Socialists of other states who are "brave at long range," comes with poor grace from men who deserted in the hour of need. He is so blind to the condition in Colorado that he forgets that the sufferings of the working class in any one of the large cities are many times greater than those which have been endured by the miners of Colorado. The latter's sufferings were more dramatic, but any slum can tell tales of disrupted families, starving children and suffering hosts of workers many times greater than those to be found in Colorado. It was these men, women and children whom the brave warriors of Colorado left to fight the battle alone. And what have they gained in return for their foolish treachery? The press reports now agree that Peabody, by the very simple process of ballot-stealing, will probably retain his position. Even if he does not, the election of Adams means simply a changing of masters. There is one sentence, however, in their statement which casts considerable light upon the whole Colorado situation. They say: "It is idle and useless to ask men and women to support the doctrines promulgated by the Socialist party until they understand thoroughly what Socialism means." Had the officers of the W. F. M. remembered this fact at the time they were prating so loudly of having pledged their union to Socialism, the whole matter would have been much clearer. Indeed, that is the time they were to blame even more than in the recent election. "Resoluting" did not make their members socialists. Neither, from some of the things that their leaders have said, did it apparently confer a liberal education upon the writers of the resolution? This also contains a lesson for some socialists who are attempting to push similar resolutions through the A. F. of L. "But that's another story."

The only other locality which did not quite come up to the expectations was the solid south. However, there was really not much reason for the claims which were put forth for this section.

Its economic backwardness, coupled with the wholesale disfranchisement of the working class, makes it certain that our votes will not be large enough in that locality for many years to come. This, however, does not mean that there should be any relaxation in propaganda work in that locality. On the contrary it is absolutely essential that efforts be made to awake the proletariat of the south. We cannot afford to be handicapped by such a dead weight as that section now represents. The few comrades who are struggling so nobly in the southern states should receive every encouragement and assistance from other portions.

Pennsylvania, while not showing a large increase, has done as well as could be expected in view of the inflated anthracite vote with which comparisons are bound to be made. As far as information can be gained on this subject it seems that the increase is largely in the industrial cities, while it is the anthracite communities in which the decreases have been felt. The west has done exceptionally well. I feel that something of an apology is due to Kansas for the somewhat slighting reference made to her last month. It is evident that there is something doing in Kansas in socialist lines.

It is impossible to comment in detail on the work done in the states of the middle west. Suffice to say that the six states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, Michigan and Minnesota now contain over one-third of the Socialist votes of the United States. This fact lends encouragement to the proposal of the comrades of that locality to establish a socialist daily in Chicago, a project which now appears certain of realization within a few months.

The table which follows is as accurate as it is possible to make it with the information at hand at the time we went to press. We claim the right to say "I told you so" and to "point with pride" to the estimate which appeared in the October number. To have estimated the total vote within 16,000 and to have made so few important errors in details is, we claim, a tribute to the knowledge possessed by the various comrades throughout the country of the strength of their movement.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Alabama	2,000	Indiana	12,013
Arizona	3,000	Iowa	14,847
Arkansas	1,816	Kansas	15,494
California	29,535	Kentucky	4,000
Colorado	3,918	Louisiana	995
Connecticut	4,543	Maine	1,960
Delaware	146	Maryland	2,179
Florida	2,337	Massachusetts	12,978
Georgia	600	Michigan	10,000
Idaho	4,200	Minnesota	18,000
Illinois	69,325	Mississippi	482

Missouri	13,003	Pennsylvania	21,863
Montana	8,000	Rhode Island.....	800
Nebraska	7,380	South Carolina.....	22
Nevada	700	South Dakota.....	2,000
New Hampshire....	1,090	Tennessee	1,400
New Jersey	9,587	Texas	8,000
New Mexico Ter..	500	Utah	6,000
New York.....	41,000	Vermont	854
North Carolina....	250	Virginia	500
North Dakota	3,500	Washington	12,000
Ohio	36,123	West Virginia.....	2,000
Oklahoma Territory.	3,500	Wisconsin	28,222
Oregon	11,000	Wyoming	1,200
		<hr/>	
Total		434,572	

! It should in all fairness be noted that nearly every state complains of fraud in the count of Socialist ballots. Specific instances have been proven for Missouri, Colorado and doubtless other states. It is therefore safe to say that the total vote cast for the presidential candidates was close to a half million. On the other hand Comrade Debs ran ahead of his ticket in nearly every state, so that the straight Socialist vote is somewhat less than the number given.

A. M. SIMONS.

The Bohemian Social Democracy

IN the last days of October the Bohemian Social Democracy held its annual congress in Trostějov, one of the industrial centers of Moravia. The secretary of the party submitted to the delegates a report of party activity within the last two years.

The report is an interesting document, especially where it pictures the present chaotic political situation in Austria. The Austrian political balance for the last two years is exceedingly poor. The constant and never abating national strife in Austria fomented by the ruling classes, especially the German bourgeoisie, for their own class interests and in order to divert the attention of the Austrian proletariat from the real issue of the day, that is the labor question, have made impossible the beginning of a new and sound political life in Austria; an empire well deserving to be called "the second sick man of Europe." The last vestige of constitutional rule has disappeared and the remains of constitutional life in this empire of about 20 nationalities have been buried in the grave of paragraph 14 of the Austrian constitution, a paragraph in reality giving the government absolute and unrestricted sway. The situation is well characterized by the Pilsener party organ *Nova Doba*. Without a parliament, and yet according to the law!—without representatives of the people, and yet constitutionally!—that is truly an Austrian curiosity.

Under such circumstances the confidence of the population in the present mode of political life is rapidly disappearing and the masses are beginning to realize that the present intolerable state of affairs must be brought to an end. And this can be achieved only by giving the mass of the Austrian people a voice in the government, by introducing universal and equal suffrage. The Bohemian Social Democracy has over and over again demonstrated for this present cardinal postulate of the Austrian working classes. Especially during sessions of the Austrian parliament (*Reichsrath*) and the different diets (*landtags*) great mass meetings and demonstrations were held. On the seventh day of October, 1904, this led in Brunn, Moravia, to bloodshed. The brutal police attacked a number of our Bohemian comrades and more or less seriously wounded 20 of them.

The Bohemian Social Democrats also continued their struggle for obligatory insurance of old, or injured workingmen and their widows and orphans. This demand under the Austrian economical conditions, is of vital importance to the working classes, and the Bohemian Social Democracy is firmly determined to do its full share in compelling the Austrian government to take the necessary steps in this direction.

In the last two years the party has also achieved notable successes by participating in numerous elections in connection with institutions erected for the benefit of the working class. This is especially true of a great number of institutions insuring the workmen in case of illness (*Krankenkassen*). These institutions are conducted by delegates elected from the rank of the employers and employees. Two thirds of the delegates belong to the employees and one-third to employers. An enormous majority of these institutions are therefore controlled by class-conscious workmen, by social democrats, the only party representing the Bohemian working classes.

The Bohemian Social Democracy has 5 representatives in an institute insuring the workmen of Bohemia against accidents during working hours. These representatives are also chosen by laborers and the Social-Democrats were elected by overwhelming majorities.

The party, acting in this respect on the Belgian plan, gives much attention to organizing youthful workmen and is meeting with success. A substantial proof of this fact is the growth of the Bohemian socialistic turning societies. These are mainly an organization of young Bohemian socialists. Their strength was demonstrated at a convention held at Prague in August, 1903.

The party organization is gaining in strength. In Bohemia, Moravia, Lower Austria, Silesia and Upper Austria there are now 395 Bohemian locals with 12,535 members in good standing.

Besides these locals there are, in the mentioned Austrian provinces the following Bohemian socialistic organizations: Seventy-one political clubs, 433 craft organizations, 235 educational clubs and 51 turning societies, altogether 780 organizations with a membership of about 51,326 persons.

Considering the strength of the party locals and organizations just named, we may safely say the Bohemian army of militant social democrats is at least 60,000 strong.

The Bohemian Social Democratic press is steadily gaining ground. Two Bohemian socialistic daily papers are published, one in Prague and one in Vienna. The party has altogether 14 political papers. Two of these, as already said, are dailies, one is published three times a week, two twice a week, five are weeklies, three are semi-monthlies and one is a monthly.

There are also 24 trade union journals serving the party.

Besides all these already mentioned papers the party publishes a scientific review, an anti-clerical weekly, a satirical weekly and a monthly devoted to art and literature.

The Bohemian Social Democratic party has 42 papers with a total of 12,000,000 numbers yearly.

The report of the delegates to the international congress led to an interesting discussion of revisionism. The debate revealed

an almost complete absence of revisionism among our Bohemian comrades. The convention adopted by an enormous majority a resolution commending the standpoint assumed by the delegates in favor of the Dresden resolution and against revisionistic tendencies.

As far as revisionistic tendencies among the Bohemian Social Democrats are concerned the writer thinks they never will grow to be an important factor. The representatives of revisionism are few in numbers. Their revisionistic leanings are simply due to a misconception of some of the Marxian theories, especially the economic interpretation of history. Besides some of the Bernsteinianists are men belonging to the so-called academic classes in Bohemia, and this undoubtedly also influences their standpoint. They are yet mere reformers and hence their inclination to compromising, etc. But, as far as the writer is acquainted with Bohemian affairs, they never can make much headway. The Marx and Engels and to the motto of that dead social-democratic warrior, William Liebknecht: No compromise, no political trading!

CHARLES PERGLER.

Why I am a Socialist

I have heard the child-slaves weeping when the world was fair and bright,
Heard them begging, begging, begging for the playgrounds and the light!
I have seen the "statesman" holding all save truth a vested right,
And the priest and preacher fighting in the legions of the Night.

I have seen the queens of fashion in their jeweled pride arrayed,
Ruby crowned and splendid—rubies of a baby's life blood made,
Richer than the gems of nature, of a stranger, deeper shade.
On their snow-white bosoms quivered as the dames of fashion prayed.

Then I looked into the dungeons where the brute men cringe and crawl—
Men to every high thought blinded—men who were not men at all—
And my eyes glanced upward to the men whom we "successful" call,
And the Beast was in their foreheads and their thrones about to fall.

And I've seen my father lying on his death-bed like a beast,
In his poverty forsaken, he a Southern soldier priest;
Seen his broken body tremble as the pulse of living ceased,
And his soul go outward, moaning, as the red sun lit the east.

And I've seen my little mother on her death-bed weep and moan
For the babes she was leaving in the great world all alone;
Heard her loving spirit, seeking something to atone—
How she feared the god of hunger! How she feared the heart of stone!

And you talk to me "religion" and "rebellion" you "deplore,"
You whose souls have never anguished at the death watch of the poor!
You who rape the starving millions and yet grasp for more and more,
Can you blame us if we curse you when the beggar's crumbs you throw?

In these wild and frightful moments I have felt my reason reel,
Felt an impulse like the tiger's over all my being steal;
Felt it would not be a murder if my hand the blow could deal
That would brand upon your temple the death angel's mark and seal.

Then I heard a voice crying, "Workers of the world, unite!"
And the vanguard of the Marxians broke upon my hopeless sight.
High above them, proudly waving, streamed the blood-red flag of Right,
As they faced the hosts of Darkness and the high priests of the Night.

Thoughts of murder vanished from me and the anarchy ceased to reign,
For the scheme of life unraveled and, at last, God's work seemed sane,
And I took my place beside them, there upon Truth's battle plain—
And I stand beside them fighting till the world we lose or gain.

—COVINGTON HALL.

The Theory of Business Enterprise*

THE material framework of modern civilization is the industrial system, and the directing force which animates this framework is business enterprise." With this quotation Prof. Thorstein Veblen opens his work on "The Theory of Business Enterprise." We have no hesitation in saying that this work is the most searching analysis of capitalism ever published in the English language. Business enterprise, he tells us, is a very comprehensive term; "the scope of the process is larger than the machine." The two great fundamental facts of the machine process are the inter-relation of the productive process and the standardization of all things connected with it. This standardization begins with weights and measures, and soon extends to tools, materials and products. Next, are included services, and, finally, the entire population tends to be standardized to fit the machine.

"The motive of business is pecuniary gain, the method is essentially purchase and sale. The aim and usual outcome is an accumulation of wealth." To those whose idea of business enterprise is the furthering of production the statement that while "the end is pecuniary gain, the means is disturbance of the industrial system," will come with somewhat of a shock. The reason for this condition is found however in the fact that "The outcome of this management of industrial affairs through pecuniary transactions has been to disassociate the interests of those men who exercise the discretion from the interests of the community." In other words, an antagonism has arisen between the process of production and the interests of those who dominate industrial life. As a consequence he concludes that "The largest and assuredly the securest and most unquestionable service rendered by the great modern captains of industry is the sweeping reduction of business men as a class from service and the definitive cancelment of opportunities for private enterprise." The reason for this, of course, lies in the tremendous wastefulness of modern industry and the fact that things are produced for sale and not for use, and need only to have "a modicum of serviceability in order to be salable." Industry has become so completely depersonalized that there is no personal relation between the buyer and the seller, and consequently, the strongest motive to honesty is removed. However, he thinks that the present system to some degree "makes up for its wastefulness by the added strain which it throws upon those engaged in the productive work." A method

*The Theory of Business Enterprise, by Thorstein Veblen. Scribners. Cloth, 350 pp. \$2.00.

of compensation which does not carry great comfort to the working class.

The foundation of business enterprise is given by the institution of ownership. This idea of ownership has passed through two phases: first, it was supposed to arise from divine right, and this idea occasionally finds utterance to-day in the theories of stewardship of Rockefeller and the statements of such men as Baer. Later, however, this right of ownership, under the influence of the craftsmanship stage of the Middle Ages, came to be founded on production. It rests "in the assumed creative efficiency of a workman." This foundation having also passed away with the passing of the handicraft stage, the idea of ownership to-day rests upon "a habit of thought." Certainly a very unsubstantial foundation for a whole social system. This ownership is always expressed in money values and always with an assumption that the unit of money value does not vary, an assumption, which it is unnecessary to say, Professor Veblin recognizes as contrary to fact. "The all-dominating issue in business is the question of gain and loss. Gain and loss is a question of accounting, and the accounts are kept in terms of the money unit, not in terms of livelihood, nor in terms of the serviceability of the goods, nor in terms of the mechanical efficiency of the industrial or commercial plant.

The base line of every enterprise is the line of capitalization in money value * * * Investments are made for profit, and industrial plants and processes are capitalized on the basis of their profit-yielding capacity." In this capitalization loan credit plays a very great part. The return on any investment depends on the rapidity of the turnover—the turnover equaling the amount of capital multiplied by the length of time in which it is "turned over" in the business. The size of the capital can be increased by the use of credit and thus the product of the turnover be increased. But in a competitive world whatever *can* be done to increase profits *must* be done. Therefore "any concern involved in the open business competition which cannot or does not take recourse to credit to swell its volume of business, will be unable to earn a 'reasonable' rate of profits." Since this matter of loan credit was included in a monograph which was reviewed in an earlier number of this magazine, it will be passed over here with less notice than it really deserves. It is worth while however to notice even at the cost of repetition, the ingenious analysis by which he shows how the modern promoter has been able to "syncopate an industrial crisis" including all the features from the inflation of credit to the final shearing of the lamb, and doing it all at a single business transaction.

He next considers "The Theory of Modern Welfare" and tells us that "Before business principles came to dominate everyday life the common welfare, when it was not a question of peace

and war, turned on the ease and certainty with which enough of the means of life could be supplied. Since business has become the central and controlling interest, the question of welfare has become a question of price. Under the old regime of handicraft and petty trade, dearth (high prices) meant privation and might mean famine and pestilence; under the new regime low prices commonly mean privation and may on occasion mean famine. Under the old regime the question was whether the community work was adequate to supply the community's needs; under the new regime that question is not seriously entertained" "Formerly, therefore, times were good or bad according as the industrial processes yielded a sufficient or an insufficient output of the means of life. Latterly times are good or bad according as the process of business yields an adequate or inadequate rate of profits." He here propounds a theory of crises and makes these spring out of the operation of credit. In our opinion this is the weakest portion of the entire book.

He says, however, that only through monopoly can we escape the coming of crises. Even with these he discovers that: "The great coalitions and the business maneuvers connected with them have the effect of adding to the large fortunes of the greater business men; which adds to the large incomes that cannot be spent in consumptive expenditures; which accelerates the increase of investments; which brings competition if there is a chance for it; which tends to bring on depression, in the manner already indicated. The great coalitions, therefore, seem to carry the seed of this malady of competition, and this evil consequence can accordingly be avoided only on the basis of so comprehensive and rigorous a coalition of business concerns as shall wholly exclude competition, even in the face of any conceivable amount of new capital seeking investment."

Finally, he points out what has never before been noticed in exactly this form, at least by any standard political economist, that the workmen do not and cannot own and direct the industrial equipment and processes so long as private ownership prevails, and industry has to be managed on business principles. "The labor supply, or the working population, can therefore not be included in the ideally complete coalition suggested above * * * So that when the last step in business coalition has been taken, there remains the competitive friction between the combined business capital and the combined workmen."

He then proceeds to the chapter on "Business in Law and Politics" in which he informs us that: "Modern (civilized) institutions rest in great part on business principles." He finds naturally that America carries this principle farther than anywhere else. "Here, as nowhere else do obligations and claims of the most diverse kinds, domestic, social, and civil, tend to take the

pecuniary form and admit of being discharged on a monetary valuation." This grew out of the fact that for many years industrial relations in America were on the small capitalist basis and affected a large number of persons. The foundation of business principles is the freedom of contract, but while it is noticed that "physical impossibility may be pleaded as invalidating the terms of the contract * * * The material necessities of a group of workmen or consumers, enforced by the specialization and concatenation of industrial processes, is, therefore, not competent to set aside, or indeed to qualify, the natural freedom of the owners of these processes to let work go on or not, as the outlook for profits may decide. Profits is a business proposition and livelihood is not." The courts naturally derive their ideas from business principles, interpreting freedom of contract in accord with these principles. And the higher courts being more closely in touch with these principles apply them with a surer and firmer touch. The workers sometimes do not see the full justice of this, but as he says: "This extreme consequence of the principle of natural liberty has at times roused indignation in the vulgar, but their grasp of legal principles is at fault."

"Government at one time was an organization for the control of affairs in the interest of princely or dynastic ends, but since the advent of constitutional government and parliamentary representation, business ends have taken the place of dynastic ends in statecraft. * * * The constitutional government is a business government * * * And representative government must generally be representative of business interests."

The ground of sentiment on which rests the popular approval of a government for business ends may be summed up under two heads: "Patriotism and property. * * * Patriotism arises from a happy knack of clannish fancy by which the common man is enabled to feel that he has some sort of metaphysical share in the gains that accrue to the business men who are citizens of the same 'commonwealth.' In the same way the working man's idea of property is as an outgrowth of the discipline of the past." This idea of property in itself has had an important change. Instead of resting on production it has come to rest on possession, or as Professor Veblen states it "acquisition of property" has been considered "to mean production of wealth; so that a business man is looked upon as the putative producer of whatever wealth he acquires. By force of this sophistication the acquisition of property by any person is held to be, not only expedient for the owner, but meritorious as an action serving the common good." Business interests affect the governmental policy in various ways, one of the most striking of which is in the pressure for expansion or imperialism. "Armaments serve trade not only in the making of general terms of purchase and sale between the business men of

civilized countries, but they are similarly useful in extending and maintaining business enterprise and privileges in the outlying regions of the earth. * * * There is commonly a handsome margin of profit in doing business with these, pecuniarily unregenerate populations, particularly when the traffic is adequately backed with force. But, also commonly, these peoples do not enter willingly into lasting business relations with civilized mankind. It is therefore necessary, for the purposes of trade and culture, that they be firmly held up to such civilized rules of conduct as will make trade easy and lucrative. To this end armament is indispensable."

Perhaps one of the most striking chapters in the whole work is one on "The Cultural Incidence of the Machine Process." This is a study of the different ways in which the machine process affects various social factors. The workman is made into a machine so that the final form of his habitual thinking is mechanical efficiency. The machine process however divides society into two classes one of which is exclusively interested in "the work of purchase and sale and of husbanding a store of accumulated values." "The other," he tells us with fine sarcasm, "have been relieved of the cares of business and have with increasing specialization given their attention to the mechanical processes involved in production for the market." He shows how with the workers all possible exercise of the pecuniary or accumulative spirit has been abolished since, even in the purchase of their daily necessities prices are fixed by forces outside their control. As a result, one class thinks only in terms of property and profit, the other in terms of production and use. So that the two classes come to have an increasing difficulty in understanding one another. The business classes do their thinking on the basis of natural rights in property while the working classes are "habitually occupied with matters of casual sequence, and with hard matter of fact things which make it impossible for them to appreciate the conventional idea of property rights. As a result the working class come to have less and less faith in the action of governmental institutions dominated by property ideas. Finally, we are told, that when "distrust of business principles rises to such a pitch as to become intolerant of all pecuniary institutions, and leads to a demand for the abrogation of property rights rather than a limitation of them, it is spoken of as 'socialism' or 'anarchism.' This socialistic disaffection is widespread among the advanced industrial peoples. No other cultural phenomenon is so threatening to the received economic and political structure; none is so unprecedented or so perplexing for practical men of affairs to deal with. The immediate point of danger in the socialistic disaffection is a growing disloyalty to the natural-rights institution of property, but this is backed by a similar failure of regard for other articles of the

institutional furniture handed down from the past. The classes affected with socialistic vagaries protest against the existing economic organization, but they are not necessarily averse to a somewhat rigorous economic organization on new lines of their own choosing. They demand an organization on industrial as contrasted with business lines. Their sense of economic solidarity does not seem to be defective, indeed it seems to many of their critics to be unnecessarily pronounced; but it runs on lines of industrial coherence and mechanical constraint, not on lines given by pecuniary conjunctures and conventional principles of economic right and wrong." The fine sarcasm of this statement has few equals in economic literature. He tells us that the socialists do not look "to the redistribution of property or a re-organization of ownership" but rather "to the disappearance of property rights." While socialists agree with this, there is a note on this page stating that this was not the position of the "scientific socialism" of Marx and Engels. We are not exactly sure whether this is intended to be another joke for the purpose of throwing his orthodox readers off the track or not, but the statement is certainly not true, as Marx and Engels had as little sympathy with the cry of the "right to the full product of labor" as do the modern socialists. If any one doubts this let him read Lafargue's "Right to be Lazy" and probably few would deny Lafargue's right to speak authoritatively on Marxian socialism.

With two such opposing mental make-ups as that of the capitalist and the working class, there can be no reconciliation. "With the socialistic element the question is not what shall be done in the way of readjustment of property claims, but what is to be done to abolish them?" * * * "In this differential rate of movement the departure from the ancient landmarks has now gone so far (or is reaching such a point) among the socialistic vulgar as to place their thinking substantially on a plane of material matter of fact, particularly as regards economic institutions. The respectable classes will not, owing to their retention of the conventional property ideas reach 'a mature revolutionary frame of mind' consequently, the socialists maintain that their movement must be a proletarian movement in which the 'respectable,' that is to say, the pecuniarily competent, classes can have no organic part even if they try. * * * Instead of contrasting the well-to-do with the indigent, the line of demarcation between those available for the socialist propaganda and those not so available is rather to be drawn between the classes employed in the industrial and those employed in the pecuniary occupations. It is a question not so much of possessions as of employments; not of relative wealth, but of work. It is a question of work because it is a question of habits of thought, and work shapes the habits of thought."

In a note he has this peculiarly shrewd observance concerning another class which often hangs on the fringe of the socialist movement. "The unpropertied classes employed in business do not take to socialistic vagaries with such alacrity as should inspire a confident hope in the advocates of socialism or a serious apprehension to those who stand for law and order. This peculiarly disfranchised business population, in its revulsion against unasimilated facts, turns rather to some excursion into pragmatic romance such as Social Settlements, Prohibition, Clean Politics, Single Tax, Arts and Crafts, Neighborhood Guilds, Institutional Churches, Christian Science, New Thought, or some such cultural thimblery."

There is little tendency among the workers to substitute "new myths or conventions" in place of the old. They tend constantly to deal with hard, material matter-of-fact things and their effects on our social institutions.

His final chapter on "The Natural Decay of Business Enterprise" would in itself make a most excellent socialist propaganda leaflet for use among those who have learned to think in the economic jargon that is taught in the average capitalist university. He shows how absolutely hopeless is any effort to retain the body of thought and institutions built upon an industrial basis. The periodical press and standard literature has become so permeated with the insincerity of capitalism that it has really over-reached itself and today probably has less effect than is commonly thought. "The literary output issued under the surveillance of the advertising office is excellent in workmanship and deficient in intelligence and substantial originality. What is encouraged and cultivated is adroitness of style and a piquant presentation of commonplaces. Harmlessness, not to say pointlessness, and an edifying-gossipy optimism are the substantial characteristics, which persist through all ephemeral mutation of style, manner, and subject matter."

With fine sarcasm he suggests that the only possible way of maintaining our present society is by the introduction of a military discipline in that "there can, indeed, be no serious question but that a consistent return to the ancient virtues of allegiance, piety, servility, graded dignity, class prerogative, and prescriptive authority would greatly conduce to popular content and to the facile management of affairs. * * * "If national ambitions and warlike aims, achievements, spectacles, and discipline be given a large place in the community's life, together with the concomitant coercive police surveillance, then there is a fair hope that the disintegrating trend of the machine discipline may be corrected. The regime of status, fealty, prerogative, and arbitrary command would guide the institutional growth back into the archaic conventional ways and give the cultural structure something of that secure dignity and stability which it had before the times, not only of

socialistic vapors, but of natural rights as well. Then, too, the rest of the spiritual furniture of the ancient regime shall presumably be reinstated; materialistic skepticism may yield the ground to a romantic philosophy, and the populace and the scientists alike may regain something of that devoutness and faith in preternatural agencies which they have recently been losing. As the discipline of prowess comes to its own, conviction and contentment with whatever is authentic may return to distracted Christendom, and may once more give something of a sacramental serenity to men's outlook on the present and the future."

However, he concludes with: "It seems possible to say this much, that the full dominion of business enterprise is necessarily a transitory dominion. It stands to lose in the end whether the one or the other of the two divergent cultural tendencies wins, because it is incompatible with the ascendancy of either." To the socialist this conclusion is all that he could ask for. He has full faith that the proletariat will see to it that no military regime perpetuates business enterprise or supplants the ruling capitalism.

The question which comes up to the reader of the work is largely one of whether this sarcastic, cynical style is really one capable of producing results. To a large degree the book is unintelligible to one who has not swallowed the scholastic jargon of conventional economics. We cannot understand however how any follower of Laughlin, Sumner, or the standard capitalist economists can read this book and not become, if not a socialist, at least thoroughly convinced of the uselessness of his professionally acquired knowledge.

A. M. SIMONS.

A New Messiah

IN the November issue of the *International Socialist Review*, Mr. Franklin, the author of *The Socialization of Humanity*, complains that my article in the September number of this magazine is not an adequate review of his book. In order to show me how the job should be done, he seeks shelter behind Herbert Spencer and writes his own review.

Spencer was a great man. All great men have something small about them. Spencer's closing years were marred by what the Yankees very picturesquely call the "swelled head." This accounts for his bad taste in posing as his own reviewer on the rather modest ground that none of his critics had brains enough to understand him. Mr. Franklin begins his literary career by imitating the senile weakness of the great man. The reader may guess the rest.

My purpose was to write, not a mere review, but a critique, and thus to give simultaneously a glimpse of the drift of Mr. Franklin's book and a comparison of his so-called monism with my conception of materialist monism as I see it in the light of the socialist philosophy.

Mr. Franklin does not like this method. He grieves especially over my unkindness in drawing the veil from his contradictory style and presentation. He does not realize that the style is the man, and that the first requirement of a writer on monism is to solve the contradictions of traditional modes of thought and to demonstrate the consistency of his monism by the elimination of purely ideological contradictions and by the reconciliation of such apparent contradictions as are inherent in the evolution of things. So long as the student of his book is stopped in his advance by the rocks and shallows of contradictions, instead of being borne along smoothly on the resistless current of clear thought, just so long is there something wrong with the monism of the writer. A contradictory style is an evidence of contradictory thought. A consistent monist must rise above that level.

However, Mr. Franklin does not care to rise. So he continues the contradiction by giving the reader a contradictory summary of his contradictory book and by changing my statements into their contradictory opposite, in order to be able to contradict me and remain in his element. Thus he learns nothing and also misleads those who might be inclined to follow him. Luckily their number will not be alarming.

He admits that he is not familiar with the literature of socialism, yet he has the presumption to sit in judgment over the philosophy of our movement and to take his objections, all of which

bear the imprint of the tyro, from bourgeois literature. Even when he assumes to instruct me on one of the fundamentals of socialist thought, the materialist conception of history, he dips his knowledge from a bourgeois writer like Seligman, instead of going straight to the original sources. And he cannot plead as an excuse his inability to read foreign languages, for there is an abundance of translations in his own language by which to familiarize himself with the spirit of our movement.

He complains about my narrow interpretation of historical materialism and speaks of Marx's "doctrine of economic determinism," which, he says, has received a far too narrow interpretation. Yet his whole book is an evidence of his ignorance of the meaning of historical materialism as enunciated by Marx. The founder of scientific socialism has never given us any "doctrine of economic determinism." The quotation from Seligman, which is a translation of a statement made by Engels, shows that the materialist conception of history is not a narrow doctrine of economic determinism. And this quotation appeared for the first time in the English literature of this country in the first volume of the *International Socialist Review*, in an article entitled "Mind and Socialism." This article was written by none other than myself, and from this article Seligman, who is a reader of this magazine, very likely either copied this quotation or derived his impulse to study the German original. Mills then copied this quotation from Seligman, and Franklin copied it from Mills, for the purpose of quoting it against me and showing his superior knowledge of historical materialism. The joke is on Franklin.

If my opponent had taken the pains to familiarize himself with my position, as he should have done before entering into a controversy with me, he would have found that I have made a specialty of pointing out that the Marxian method of historical research is not a dogma, but the pilot to a new world philosophy. For obvious reasons I cannot quote my own articles and leaflets, but if Mr. Franklin is really interested in this subject, he can easily find out what I have written on this question. The merit of this historical method consists precisely in having demonstrated the absurdity of those social quacks who "hail their nostrums to the world" as the great panacea, or to speak with Mr. Franklin, the great "dynamic," which will change human nature. At its very birth, the socialist philosophy announced the bankruptcy of those philosophers who, like Feuerbach, and in this instance Franklin, are in accord with progressive thought so far as the past is concerned, but want none of it for the further evolution. Feuerbach said that "backward he was a materialist, forward he was an idealist." Franklin might say that backward he is a monist, but forward he doesn't know what he is. For he offers as the latest improvement of the socialist philosophy the very idea which

the founders of scientific socialism made the dividing line between bourgeois and proletarian thinkers. Marx and Engels, after going through the evolution from Kantian metaphysics, Hegelian idealism, and Feuerbachian semi-materialism, arrived at a scientific materialist and evolutionary materialism, which was further elaborated by Joseph Dietzgen into a proletarian world philosophy embracing the whole sweep of cosmic evolution, including the evolution of human societies and of the individual "soul." And in complete harmony with these teachers of mine, I have defined mind as the sum of physical and chemical qualities by which the evolution of the universe expresses itself in all phenomena, whether they take place in the mineral, the vegetable, or the animal kingdom. My conception of mind, then, is plainly a logical materialist and monist one.

For this reason I can afford to pass without further comment all the longwinded excuses for argument by which Mr. Franklin implies that I believe in a metaphysical mind back of nature, that my idea of co-operation is that of Manchestrian *laissez faire*, and that I am thinking of the "reminiscences of my childhood" when I refuse his anthropocentric idea of waste. By this method of argument, Mr. Franklin shows himself indeed as a reasoner who has not yet outgrown the controversial habits of his childhood days, and who will have to improve a great deal before he will be regarded as a mature thinker.

One illustration of his specious reasoning will suffice to illustrate all his objections. He says on page 276:

Mr. Untermann seems to think that the chief function of the critics is to point out contradictions, and wherever I have used a word in two different senses, for example, the use of the word nature, when I say: "Life and mind are developed in spite of nature, with its assistance;" and "It is the nature of matter and energy to develop life, mind and human society, as it is for them to manifest themselves in any other way," he notes the seeming contradiction. Any one ought to see that nature is personified in the first sentence, whereas in the following, it is not; that the two sentences contrast naturalism with supernaturalism. Mr. Untermann follows this plan of criticism throughout, often criticising the nonsense he sees in one sentence through misunderstanding with the sense he really understands in another.

A few sentences before he takes me to task for personifying mind, which, by the way, I have not done. He says this would lead to "mysticism, metaphysics, and superstition." And so it would, if I regarded mind as a metaphysical entity. But if mind is regarded as part and parcel of matter, there is no more danger in personifying mind than there is in Mr. Franklin's personifying of nature. For mind is then a part of nature. But he thinks that he has made a crushing argument, when he makes a verbalist distinction between nature in one sentence and nature in the other. I think I am expressing myself clearly enough, even for Mr. Franklin, when I reply that, according to materialist monism, the

nature of nature is the same as the nature of a part of nature. The reader may judge for himself, then, who has written "nonsense."

Mr. Franklin claims to have appreciated the function of class struggles and stated it plainly, although in different language from myself; that he has arrived at his conception of class-consciousness by a study of all nature; and that in his opinion the socialization of humanity will be brought about by the unconscious forces of nature. If that means anything, it means that the elements of nature will make the proletariat class-conscious. Very well, I am willing to admit that they will. But who will recognize the historical function of the proletarian class struggle in this wishy-washy statement?

It is precisely here where the socialist philosophy asserts itself. Our conception of historical materialism, is indeed, as Mr. Franklin understands, in its application to social evolution, a part of the philosophy of monism in general. According to our conception, men, the products of the evolution of the elements of nature, are compelled to produce food, clothing and shelter. In so doing they produce tools and by their help modify their mode of production, the nature of food, clothing, and shelter, their environment, and their own nature, including the sum of those physical activities known by the name of mind or soul. For several thousand years, the social environment of man, and thus his nature, has been modified by the existence and development of economic classes with antagonistic interests. Further essential changes in human nature will only follow when these class distinctions are eliminated from human environment. And this elimination will inevitably follow as the outgrowth of economic and political class struggles. These class struggles cannot be abolished by any philosophical, religious, or moral recipes. They can be abolished by no scheme grown in the individual brain of any single thinker. Their abolition must and will be the outcome of the entire human development. So long as human society lives in two different social environments, it is futile to brew ideological remedies which are supposed to apply to all of society regardless of class environment. Each class can only be moral and philosophical according to its historical condition. All other morality and philosophy has but a paper life. Hence each class must become conscious of its historical place and function, and use its strength, its enthusiasm, its ideologies for the evolutionary development of its own historical function. The socialist party thus becomes the historical product of a definite stage of human, and in a wider sense, of cosmic development. It does not owe its existence to one thinker, but to the fact that one or more thinkers were compelled by their environment to enunciate certain thoughts which correspond to the environment of a certain class. To attempt to think anything

else would mean to think something which would find no response in the minds of those who are compelled, by their historical condition, to act in a certain way. For this reason, bourgeois thinkers have no message for the class-conscious proletariat.

But the socialist philosophy, just because it is a logical part of materialist monism, does not stop at the historical function of class struggles. Just as astronomers are enabled to discover new stars by a computation of the elements of known stars, so the socialist thinker can foretell the course of human evolution after the abolition of class struggles by an analysis of the movements of present day evolution. Hence we arrive at a monistic world philosophy and recognize that the next stage of society, collectivism, will produce such changes in the social and natural environment of man, that human nature will be changed to an extent of which few are today aware. We can even trace the outline of the physical evolution and indicate what parts of the human mechanism will be changed by the environment of collectivism. But this would lead me too far for the requirements of this article. Enough, by the help of the socialist philosophy, we are enabled to foresee that man as we know him today will not be the last link in the evolution of vertebrates, and that the environment of the higher vertebrate will be as different from ours as ours is from that of the cave dwellers.

But at the clear enunciation of the class struggle and of its function, Mr. Franklin's bourgeois mind balks. The inconsistent character of his monism is clearly revealed by his endorsement and acceptance of the imbecile objection that socialism cannot come unless we first change human nature. He makes this objection the starting point of his whole book, the inspiration which prompts him to retire into the solitude and find a "new dynamic" which, according to him, the socialist movement lacks. And thus he arrives at his "new religion," and after he has found it, he "hails it to the world," and all the world has to do now in order to be saved is to accept his religion and be blessed for ever more. He writes a hundred pages to show that material evolution produces man and his ideas, and yet he is blind to the fact that fifty years of proletarian evolution would surely have produced that "new dynamic religion" long before the illustrious Franklin retired to discover it, if in the dialectic of things such a religion were the logical outcome of the historical environment of the proletariat. With over seven million socialists clasping hands around the world, this philosophical Rip Van Winkle speaks of socialism as the "choice and watched doctrine of a band of persecuted spirits crowded in some garret to starve and dream." With the entire bourgeois world scurrying under cover to escape the searching light of this new world philosophy of millions, he says socialism will not amount to anything, unless it becomes "a

philosophy of existence, a system of living, a religion that will take the place of christianity." This is what socialism has already done for millions, and what it will do for the entire human race, and no one has declared this so often and so strenuously as the scientific socialist. But we are not in love with the term "religion." We know that religion has come to be historically connected with dualist metaphysics, and therefore, as consistent materialist monists, we reject the term and prefer to call our philosophy the science of life. But we are well aware that this science, this living "religion" is a thing of the future, which has very little chance to find expression in anything but thought so long as capitalist environment lasts. And though we are trying to live it as well as this environment will permit us, we are daily reminded in our own bodies of the impossibility of living an angel's life in a devil's environment. Therefore the socialist party, instead of "hailing a new religion to the world," occupies itself with the task of the present, the fulfillment of the historical mission of the proletarian class struggle, building that better foundation on which the higher race of the future will rise.

Not so Mr. Franklin. Unless we accept his religion, the socialist movement will be powerless. His "religion" is indeed materialistic enough. But nevertheless it will not be the dynamic of the socialist movement. Our dynamic is the class struggle, and our philosophy cannot find any other living expression until this struggle is over. At any rate, if we were inclined to adopt the term religion and define its meaning, we should not accept the following definition of Mr. Franklin:

"Religion is the ultimate development of the primitive internal energy constituting matter, which causes it during the universal process of adjustment and readjustment of external radiant energy and internal gravitant energy, to unite into higher and higher organizations, beginning with molecular compounds and ending with humanity. Religion is the ultimate form of internal energy of matter which binds all organizations together. It begins with chemism in chemical combinations, then extends to living compounds. * * * In a still more differentiated form it unites the sexes in love. In its highest differentiated form, it begins by binding animals into species, men into clans, tribes into nations, and finally as religion, it will unite humanity into one great organism. Religion is the energy of society, as feeling is the energy of the individual, and chemism is the energy of chemical compounds."

There is a whole lot of binding in this definition, but it takes little account of the negative forces in the cosmic evolution. If binding is the essence of religion, then paste is crystallized religion and the binding business a type of the true practice of religion. Then commerce is a religion and Adam Smith is right.

Then the "callous cash nexus" is the religious nerve which now binds man to man, and capitalism is the true religion of the ideal man, as the bourgeois sees him. You can justify anything with such a definition of religion.

The proletariat is just emerging out of the darkness of the metaphysical religions. By its very historical birth and development, the philosophy of the proletariat is arrayed against any and all metaphysical humbug. If any one wishes to retain the old term and read a new meaning into it, that is his personal privilege to which no one can seriously object. But to hail this purely individual and by no means new conception as a new evolutionary force for a movement which has already fully evolved its own independent philosophy and is conquering the world through it, that is an acrobatic feat which I gladly leave to Mr. Franklin, the Messiah of the "new dynamic."

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Apocatastasis

A youth ambitious sought a hermit gray,
With, "Sire, I seek for fame, show me the way!"
A smile of scorn crept o'er the aged lips,
But Pity put it in complete eclipse.
"The way is long," said he, "as human breath,
And every day holds up the stones of Death.
These fall at last, nothing for aye endures;
Be wise and good, all else are fleeting lures!"

He clasped his hands, and shook his snowy hairs,
Grown calm by many years of weary cares.
"Nay, sire," the youth exclaimed, "I'll make my way—
And plant in steel and granite things to stay!"
"What lives within the hearts of men as truth
Alone are worth your care, oh, virile youth!
Bear these—some granite pebbles, rods of steel—
At every step, as victor, in your zeal.

"Thrust down a rod. But when, alas, you fall,
Drop there a pebble through your coat of mail."
So passed the twain; the one to final rest,
The other bearing still his living quest.
Long ages after one pale student read
This legend from the tender hermit dead,
Who wrote "That way he went among the hills."
"Now," said the student, "this my wishes fills.

"I'll trace his path, and read his story through."
His dreary way no steel nor granite knew!
The air corrosive, turned the steel to rust—
And rain had solved the granite down to dust.
There as of old the cruel "trust" arose,
Built high its ill-got gains thro' Labor's woes,
Whose wives and children flood the age in tears,
While ill-got wealth is yet the sport of years!

The pyramids decay—Mongolian walls—
And every work of man to ruin falls.
They only mark Ambition's tears and blood
Forced from the toilers in an endless flood.
Only the thought that leads to joy survives,
For happiness belongs to human lives.
And greed alone is from the Demon race,
Whose acts must perish in profound disgrace.

—JAMES A. RICE.

Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer

LETTER NO. VI.

Chicago, Ill., May 8, 190--.

My Dearest Katy:

IT is Saturday evening, and almost 12 o'clock, and I am in my little ten by ten room, very cosy and comfortable, determined to have a long, uninterrupted talk to you; for this is the season in the week when I am pleased to fancy myself a young woman with leisure for thinking, with the open sesame to hear good music; with a library, and nothing to do but enjoy it; with frocks in my closet and money in the bank; when Teddy takes me to the concert, or the theater, and we have a supper at the Bismarck, and I sit up very late writing to my friend with the delightful prospect of sleeping till nine in the morning; when I forget my troubles at the packing house, and the discouragements of doctor bills; when I scorn my type-writer, and mock at the common-place—when I pretend that I am free, and dream dreams! And O the luxury of a Sunday morning, when I waken at the usual hour to realize the joy of being able to turn over and go to sleep again! When I bribe the chamber-maid to bring up a cup of coffee, and a bit of toast, which I eat in the abandonment of laziness, in my robe de nuit! And then to snuggle back into my pillow for another half hour, believing, with utter content, that all good things must come, if I but work and wait! Were I an infidel, I think I could never wholly scorn a religion that has given to the workers one day of rest!

Teddy and I have been down to McVicker's to see "The Land of Dixie." We were too late to get tickets at Powers', and having heard some one say (we can neither of us remember on whom to fasten the blame) that the play was "clever," we dropped in. We enjoyed ourselves, as usual, for it would take a pretty big cloud to darken our sky on Saturday night. The play was so very bad it was almost good, and so copiously did the ladies about us weep at the thrilling parts and the "Elizabeth crossing the ice music" that we were unable to control our risibilities.

It was truly a wonderful play! A knock-down and drag-out in the first act, the youthful Hero overcoming the mighty Villian—A robbery and murder in Act II, when the Hero appeared, unfortunately, just in time to be *suspected*, but a Little Girl, out in the storm (nobody knew why), witnessed the bloody deed, and when the Common Herd growled at the Hero at the close of the third act, and the Villain hissed, "And WHO can PROVE that YOU did not MURDER Gerald Bovowsky!" this dear Little Girl runs in, bawling, "I can!" She seems not to do it, however, because the

World believes the word of the drunken Villain (who has led a wholly disreputable life) against the spirited assertions of the Hero (who was the Choirmaster in the Village Church), and He talks to the Heroine about the Past in the fourth act, with the blood-hounds poking their noses through the cracks in the sides of the barn; but just as the Sheriff and his Posse begin to batter down the barn door, she gives the Hero her horse, and he escapes in spite of shot and hound.

If anything could possibly be more exhilarating than Act IV, it was Act V, because all the clouds were dispelled, and the Sun shone so brightly that it lighted the whole theater. The Villain was dragged to the front of the stage bleeding copiously, and snarled and growled and finally confessed that the Little Girl, who had grown to be a charming young Lady during the Play, was the daughter of an Earl, and that he, and not the Hero, had committed the awful deed. Then the Aged Father wept bitterly because he had "fostered such base suspicions against his noble Boy," and the Widow mourned because her husband had never returned from the War; and the Heroine wailed because the Hero was "Out in the World alone." But finally the Villain was hauled off the stage—to prison and the rope, and the Hero and the Widow's Husband came stealing in "at the Garden Gate," and the old Earl, by some fortunate chance, ran into the arms of his long-lost daughter. And the curtain went down with the Widow fainting on the breast of her spouse; the Hero gazing into the starry eyes of the Heroine, and the old Earl, showering upon his newly found child the wealth of his stored-up affection.

It reminded me very much of "The Duke's Secret" we heard when we were little girls in the sixth grade, and "Prizes were presented to every Lady holding a Reserved Seat."

But the American Drama has evolved a step or two since those days, and is really on a much higher plane than American Literature. An interesting little French Professor has been added to the list of Mrs. Crosby's guests, and we are favored in having him sit at our table. He was simply charmed with my views on French Literature, and I thought he would embrace me on the spot on learning that Balzac, Victor Hugo, de Maupassant, George Sand, Dumas, Rousseau, and his adored Emil Zola were among my favorites! He was so pleased and grateful indeed, that he hunted about in his memory for an American novelist, whom he could justly praise, but failing, the gallant little man apologized because he "knew so little about our great writers." I made as much as I could of Hawthorne, and Washington Irving, and a few of our moderns like Mary E. Wilkins, and turned the conversation into an essay channel and dragged in Emerson and Thoreau, and finally—Walt Whitman—and I confess—I thanked the gods from the bottom of my heart—that this glorious singer was an American.

Mrs. K., a dear, foolish, useless little woman, who sat opposite, and considers herself a "great reader," suggested "The Days of Chivalry," "Lady Dorcas," and "A Love Story of the French Revolution," but I blushed to introduce him to historical novels, whose only local color consists in a few "Mahaps, Methinks," and an old-fashioned gown or two. I wanted to suggest George Ade, which, had he been long among us, any Frenchman would delight in; but Mrs. K. said, that "Mr. Ah'day was funny; but not DEEP!" Mrs. K. is a "Parlor Intellectual," and "deep" things are her strong suit.

Sometimes I think it odd that so few of our artists have appreciated the choicest bits of coloring, the truest picture, the greatest sacrifice, the deepest pain, here in America, and that nearly all of them have had to dig in the far-away-ages of the Past, in order to find romance, interest, plot and tragedy.

Was there ever a Mistress of Kings who commanded more servants, wore costlier jewels, finer gowns, or who ruled over more establishments than do our American heiresses to-day! Or King more potent than our monied masters, who own the things on which our lives depend! Or slave more bound than we, who bargain with them for a chance to work and live! Is there any tragedy, I wonder, to equal the life of a young girl, whose wages are four, and whose expenses six dollars a week!

If I had the tongue of angels, I would sing the story of the Working People!

I note, by your letter, how much you like Prof. Hadley's course on the Trusts, and I have read, with a great deal of interest, your brief review of his viewpoint. And, as far as he goes, I most emphatically agree with him. What IS the use of having ten factories when two will accomplish the necessary work, or a Middle-man, when it is a saving of labor to do away with the Middle-man. Combination certainly DOES do away with the useless—useless labor, useless establishments, useless waste, useless everything, save the profit-drawing, useless Sylvias. Trusts do also regulate the supply. They produce all that is necessary and no more—which is another sensible feature.

But here is where your University Professor stops, and here is just where I go on. He may SEE further, but selfpreservation probably dictates that he say nothing to offend the so-called University Benefactors. There was once a University Professor who taught the truth, and offended the man who held the pocket-book; and he lost his job. Perhaps he stands as an example to those who remain.

If, instead of the present form of the private Trust, all the working-men of the world united to do the necessary work of the world in the best possible manner, in the least possible time, each worker to receive the fruits of his individual effort, I think this form of combination would be beneficial to everybody. It

seems to me, that if Justice prevailed in a land of "Over-production," everybody who worked would have enough.

But the Trusts, as they exist to-day, are not formed for the purpose of lowering the market price of any commodity, nor for shortening the working hours of labor, or raising the wages of labor. They are formed for the purpose of cutting down the "cost of production;" gaining control of the market, and finally—and entirely—for making larger profits for the benefit of a Few.

And I want to say right here that there is only one item that can possibly enter into the "cost of production," and that this item is Labor. Labor, from the miners, who wrest the treasures from the earth, and gave them value, from the Lumbermen, who fell the trees, from the men who build, run (and do NOT own) the Railroads, on through the factory, where other bands of workers mold the metal, or carve the timber, or dress the cattle, for the use of the World. It is Labor only that produces wealth, and the "cost of production" is the wages paid to Labor for the wealth it has produced. The cost of production (wages paid to Labor) plus the profits, equals the market price of a commodity.

Profits are what a man's employes earn, and do not receive; or what his customers purchase, and do not procure. If the employer rendered unto his customers the full value of their money, or unto his employes the full value of their work, he would have no profits, and the world would be minus its millionaire Sylvias.

When a customer pays my employer \$5.00 for work that I have done, and for which I have received only \$1.00, it is obvious that either the customer is being cheated, or else, I am.

We know very well that the Trusts of to-day, having secured control of the market, make their own prices. And we see the price of all Trust-made commodities going steadily skyward, in spite of the fact that the cost of production has greatly decreased.

Take the Beef Trust for an example. We represent the only market in which the farmer and stockman can dispose of their produce, cattle and hogs. We represent the only market on which the People can buy. A few representatives of the Trust convene every morning to decide upon the market price of the cattle we *buy*, and the market price of the beef we *sell*. And I only ask you to note, that cattle were never so low, nor beef so high.

We read a lot in the papers about the prosperity of the working-man, about his glorious increase in wages, and his enviable condition all around; but we forget that during the past five years, the cost of living has almost doubled, and that a man's wage is not the amount of money he receives, but what that money will

buy. It takes nearly two dollars to-day to buy what one dollar would have bought a few years ago.

I think our "understanding about prices" with former competitors, is another of Pierpont's innings, and that he tipped it off to Papa Graham that while it did pay better to advertise than to keep expensive salesmen on the road, it would pay still better to join hands with the big four and control the market. And so Old John is able to "milk the critter coming and going, and milk her DRY," as he wrote Pierpont, in those letters, he wanted to do. And the critter, of course, is the Public.

It seems to me that combination is only another step in the evolution of society; but I believe that the benefits should be reaped by you and me, and all the workers, as well as Sylvia, or by you and me rather than Sylvia, because we are useful, while she is merely an ornamental, member of society.

The Packing Company contracted for a new sausage machine to-day, which will enable them to turn off half the men employed in that department. It will—in the usual way—materially lessen the cost of production, but having a monopoly, they will not need to lower their selling prices.

After all, what benefit has Labor ever received from the "labor saving" inventions? I cannot recall a single instance where the full benefit has not been reaped by the drones alone.

That disagreeable Mr. Edison has invented another labor-displacing machine! This time it is an automatic type-writer that will accomplish the work of ten stenographers. I would enjoy seeing one of them write Mr. King's dictation, and I would love to see the Branch House Managers trying to make out what Mr. King was talking about. It takes a clairvoyant to be able to please Mr. King.

If Mr. Edison lives long enough, it will only be a question of years until all the unpleasant drudgery of the world's work can be done by machinery, and we, useful people, will be minus our jobs. The country is ever, by the aid of these new inventions, growing more productive. By and by, I suppose, a few over-worked workmen, with the aid of these machines, will be able to produce enough to supply the whole world, and the condition of the working man and woman will be much worse than it is now, because the total wages paid to them for producing all the wealth of the world will be so low that they will be able to buy back only a very small percentage of their product; and society will be in a constant state of panic.

We boast about our scientific age, and strut about telling of our wonderful machinery, and brag about the productiveness of America, but I wish we could have a chance to be proud because every citizen of America—and every citizen of the world—owned his own home, was sure of his job, and had plenty to eat and wear. The prosperity of a country does not depend upon the

goods we export; nor the size of our standing army, nor the millionaires to whom we pay tribute, but upon the wealth that is produced, and the justice with which it is distributed among the workers who have produced it.

In another ten years, I suppose the Packing Company will have overhead chutes from Texas to Chicago, into which steers as tough as cactus roots can be stimulated to march northward by the aid of gently administered electric shocks, being fed on the way by the farmer's latest harvest, so that by the time they have walked to the Packing House, they will be corn-fed, and ready to be killed.

Transportation can be saved on the corn and on the cattle. A man will sit upon the top of the Packing House and watch the process through a telescope, and guide the feeding of nations by the pressing of a button—or, very likely, they will have a little boy, or even a little girl, the younger, the cheaper. Automatic type-writers and accountants will be in use. A man in Georgia will drop a five dollar bill in a slot when he wants a porterhouse steak, which will be shot to him through a compressed air tube from Chicago—and we—where will we be!

I have been helping out on some special work in the Fertilizer Department to-day. When I found their attitude toward their customers promissory, solicitous, and concillating, I knew there was a reason, and a good reason for this unusual courtesy on the part of the Packing Company, but I think you will agree with me that the reason is obvious. Fertilizer is not a necessity, and meat is. You have to have your meat, and so you come to the only people who have it, but it is an altogether different proposition when we come to unload our fertilizer on a customer.

Not so very many years ago, what we now use for fertilizer was thrown away, but we have learned to make all things result in the glory and profit of Graham & Company. A very little labor spent upon a former waste, nets us many thousands of dollars yearly. A land-owning farmer is always good, so we unload our fertilizer on him in the fall, and take his notes, payable the following autumn, at 8 per cent, and 8 per cent upon refuse that nobody else wants, is a pretty good investment, and we always get our money in the end.

I wrote a letter for Mr. Diedrich, head of the Fertilizer Department, to-day, extending the time on half a dozen farmers' notes 30 days, in answer to a letter from one of our Agents, advising us that these farmers had not made enough on their wheat crop to pay for the fertilizer, and wanted a little more time to fatten, and bring their hogs to market.

The clock is just striking two, and I must say Goodnight. Write often, and tell me all about your studies, and don't neglect to say what impression Charlie Watson has succeeded in producing upon a certain stony-hearted little chit at the University.

Take my advice, Katherine, and guide your affections into a feathered nest. Since you are still fancy free, seek to rivet your happiness by falling in love with a man who has a reasonable bank account, and a possible future. Steer clear of the rock on which your Mary fell, for Teddy hasn't the slightest prospects of ever earning more than \$65.00 a month. And little Teddies, and little Marys, on \$65.00 a month, is too much for your worldly-wise Mary. And who can tell! Though her heart has stranded, her wits have not, and she proposes to hope on, and work on, until book-keepers become scarce, or employers just—or Utopia arrives, and young men earn enough to get married on. So I am cautioning my Kate to beware of hidden shoals before it is too late. Love is a very beautiful thing; but love united with comfort, and a few of the other pleasures of life, is a much more substantial and enduring emotion.

But whatever may be your lot, dear, I can never wish you greater happiness than to find such a friend as Teddy has been, as, step by step, he has guided my feet in the paths of intellectual progress, with broadening horizon, and an endless road.

Goodnight again, and pleasant dreams, to my dearest friend,

From her own

MARY.

EDITORIAL

Is a Radical Capitalist Party Possible in America?

In view of the tremendous growth of the Socialist vote at the last election the frightened capitalists of America are agreeing that the only thing that can save plutocracy is a radical pseudo-socialistic party. The unanimity with which both Democratic and Republican writers have accepted this point of view is interesting.

The desire for such a party is undoubtedly here, but is its formation a possibility? Do the industrial elements exist upon which it can rest? A brief historical survey of industrial and political conditions will help us on this point. In the crisis of 1893 and 1894 the small capitalist class of America was crushed. So far as constituting an important factor in industrial life in America is concerned they were wiped off the map. Nevertheless they persisted as individuals clinging on to the exploiting system and thoroughly impregnated with the competitive bourgeois point of view. The great trusts had risen to industrial and political domination. They demanded world markets, imperialism, a great navy and all the other policies consonant with their industrial position. The little competitive capitalists who had ruled this Government under various political names since the Civil War did not wish to give up without a struggle. They rallied under Bryan in a demand for a set of reactionary measures. They could not enter into the foreign markets in competition with the great trusts; therefore they opposed imperialism. They could not exist in the domestic market alongside these powerful competitors; therefore they cried out for anti-trust legislation. They were largely a debtor class; therefore they wanted a depreciated currency. They went down to absolute defeat in two campaigns.

By this time they had grown too weak to control either of the great political parties. Therefore they were logically kicked out of control of the Democratic party and both parties were ruled by the great capitalists. Now the great trusts have shown that they still have more faith in the Republican than the Democratic machine and once more democracy has gone down. Now the cry comes that again democracy shall be reorganized or else that a new party shall appear that shall once more represent this now extinct class of petty parasites who seek for a return to Jeffersonian democracy and pre-monopolistic industrial conditions.

When we come to examine our present society, however, we find that

there is no place for such a party. The industrial foundation upon which all political organization must rest shows but one sharp line of cleavage; that between capitalists on one hand and the producers of wealth upon the other. Within both of these classes, however, there are slight differences. Slight at least in comparison with the great basic cleavage. Within the capitalist class we still have the division between competitive and non-competitive capitalists; between the great trusts and the non-monopolized but still powerful industries. However, these two classes are so strongly united in their antagonism to the great producing class that there is little reason to believe that this second line of cleavage will become of great political importance. Within the producing class there is also two quite important divisions having somewhat different interests. Again trifling in comparison to their great fundamental antagonism to their common exploiters. This division is that between the farmers and the wage workers.

In both classes, however, there is one wing which, because of the advanced industrial position it occupies, is capable of setting the pace, of determining the motion of the whole class to which it belongs. Within the capitalist class it is the great concentrated industries which are able to control directly or indirectly the fortunes and policies of the entire capitalist class. We therefore can safely say that one great political party will represent their interests and that all those who desire the preservation of the principle of private property in capitalized wealth will follow their lead. They must do this or lose all. Among the producing class the wage working division occupies a similar point of vantage. It represents the industrially most advanced wing, and therefore the one which, by virtue of the laws of evolution, marks the path which others must follow. The wage workers are located in the great cities, from which radiate industrial, political and psychological impulses, and therefore their interests will dominate. Moreover, it has been shown over and over again that at bottom the interests of farmer and wage worker are identical. The farmer is beginning to realize this identity of interest, at least to the extent of a common antagonism to the industrial capitalist. The industrial conditions then foretell the formation of political parties along the lines of the great class struggle between the idle capitalist and the producing proletariat.

Turn now to the field of actual political events and see how far our philosophy is being justified. Any radical party must simply rest upon a general alliance of the discontented, and as we believe, the ignorantly discontented, since if they were intelligently discontented they would realize the truth of the socialist philosophy. But a discontented class made up of the elements to which such a party would appeal has the most contradictory interests, excepting on the one point of antagonism to the capitalist system, and this is the one point which it is supposed to ignore; consequently it would inevitably contain within itself all the elements of its own disintegration. The three great leaders (and the fact that it looks to leaders is but a sign of its reactionary unintelligent character) to whom it looks for salvation are Watson, Bryan and Hearst. The

first two of these are distinctly reactionary in all points and the last is so much of a mountebank and so shifting in his policy that it is difficult to classify him anywhere. He pretends to stand for the wage workers and union labor, and did he really do so he would be the strongest element in the combination. As a matter of fact, the only thing that he ever stands for is the selling of Hearst newspapers. It must be admitted that this is rather a shaky foundation upon which to build a political party.

Before analyzing these elements further, however, it is well to ask what it is that these gentlemen propose to reorganize and whether its reorganization is at their disposal. We remember the old recipe for cooking a hare was, "First catch your hare," and up until the present moment the Democratic party seems to be still safely in the control of Gorman, Hill, Cleveland, Belmont & Co.

Passing over for a moment, however, this rather important question about how a body of men who are not controlling a party are going to reorganize it, let us consider again the elements out of which they propose to effect their reorganization. First and foremost, any party which is to gain the backing of any large percentage of the Democratic party must rest upon the "solid South." But the "solid South" is the most reactionary portion of the United States. Indeed, it is far more reactionary than almost any other country calling itself civilized. It is specially backward in its relation to the labor question. Its notorious lack of child labor legislation, its disfranchisement of the entire working class population, both white and black, its medieval race hatred, all combine to make it the worst possible sort of a foundation on which to build a radical labor party. It would be a strange reversal of social laws if the most backward portion of the country were to lead in the organization of a radical party.

Another phase to be considered is the existence of reactionary radicalism within the Republican party. What reason is there to hope that they will leave that vigorous organization at a time when the spoils of office are most rich to go seeking the uncertain fortunes of a new party. For it must always be remembered that the only party that can live as a losing party and maintain its existence with no spoils of office is the Socialist party, because it, like its proletarian membership, has nothing to lose.

So much for the negative side of the question. These are the obstacles which stand in the way of the formation of a radical party, but there is one obstacle much more powerful than any of these, which is ordinarily overlooked. This is the Socialist party. This party has the overwhelming advantage in this case of being a vital moving element. It is doing something, whereas all of the other elements which have been considered are merely considering what they can do to keep themselves alive. No party can hope to become a great radical party unless it can displace the Socialist party.

Let us then consider whether the Socialist party is capable of fulfilling its historical function and incarnating the revolutionary forces of our present society. It has the advantage of having already taken the

initiative. It has also the much more important and more fundamental advantage of representing the only revolutionary advanced portion of modern society—the proletariat. Its organization, while not so numerous as the political machines of the other parties, is many fold more numerous than a party which is yet to be created. Neither is a membership of between thirty and forty thousand, which is rapidly increasing, to be despised by mere virtue of its numerical strength. But the Socialist party organization, as we all know, is many fold stronger than any organization which could be formed in the defense of capitalism. It is compact, disciplined, unified in its principles and purpose and is organized for work. It is located in those nerve centers of our industrial and political life—the great cities—and is therefore able to control the very source from which must spring any great political movement. It is in close connection with the great trade union movement, the control of which is absolutely essential to any even radical movement. The last election has shown that the Socialists within the trade unions are much more numerous than the adherents of the radical leaders before mentioned. The Socialist party has a press which, although far inferior to that of the great capitalist parties, is nevertheless of considerable importance, and is rapidly increasing in strength. It has a corps of trained speakers which will compare favorably, at least for proletarian audiences, with any that can be organized by a conglomerated radical party. It has its international connections, which are growing of very great importance in view of the increasing emigration. Most important of all perhaps, next to its position as a representative of the only historically revolutionary class of today, is the fact that it alone is able to carry on its campaign all year round, and that on a national scale. During the next three years it will be impossible for the elements of radicalism to create any national organization. Any party which still clings to capitalism must depend upon the spoils of office as an incentive to organization. These spoils will not be at stake nationally until the next presidential election. The Socialist party, on the other hand, occupies the entire national field continuously. Even municipal and state campaigns will be fought by the Socialists as a part of a great national and international struggle and all organization will be as a part of a national political party.

For all these reasons therefore—because of the irreconcilable contradictions within the small anti-monopolistic classes, and its dependence upon the reactionary solid South, and because of the positive organization of the Socialist party representing the only revolutionary class in modern society, and corresponding to the only essential class division within capitalism, carrying on a campaign along national lines all year round, in close touch with all phases of the labor movement, and having its forces in the great industrial nerve centers of our society—because of all these reasons we believe that the organization of a capitalist radical party of any importance is impossible and that the Socialist party is destined before many years to confront the party of monopolistic plutocracy in a final death grapple for supremacy.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Probably the most uninteresting convention ever held by the American Federation of Labor occurred in San Francisco during the past month. Excepting the statistical report on organization and financial standing and a short debate upon the political question, which began in tolerance and good spirit and wound up in unnecessary personalities, nothing happened that could be considered above the line of mediocrity and perfunctory routine. Not even the jurisdiction tangles between various national unions which have heretofore been given much attention in the conventions, seemed to have the effect of arousing the delegates from their lethargy. There was a general air of indifference displayed by the organizations that are parties to controversies regarding the attitude of the Federation as a body toward the disputants.

To begin at the beginning: The annual address of President Samuel Gompers did not differ in substance from the speeches from the throne at former conventions. Mr. Gompers delights to dally with synonyms and to string them together in generalities of sometimes doubtful meaning. The president points with pride to the fact that dues-paying membership in the Federation has increased from 1,465,000 to 1,676,000 during the past year, which gain may or may not be due to Mr. Gompers' executive ability, or perhaps the direction of officers of national unions, or it is barely possible that some of the voluntary and obscure organizers had something to do with the result. But the world always gives the general all the credit for certain accomplishments while the corporals and the awkward squad are usually ignored. The increase in membership was very gratifying considering the antagonism that was manifest throughout the year, but the financial condition is not quite so satisfactory. President Gompers views with alarm the preparations of our capitalistic brethren who refuse to be conciliated and are adopting the policy of smash all along the line. Naturally after listening to the tales of woe of our worthy president—how Congress ping-ponged the eight-hour and anti-injunction bills into pigeon-holes and how various combines of capitalists insist upon hammering down wages, raising prices and forcing the shop open—one looks for some note of encouragement to labor to use the ballot intelligently and class-consciously to safeguard its interests and protect the people from the encroachments of capitalism by taking control of the governing powers and enact and administer the laws. But President Gompers' ponderous document contains no such hint. On the contrary, the Gompersonian policy, which has predominated for a generation, is reaffirmed and for another generation (or perhaps two or three if some of our so-called leaders have their way) the labor army of about two million men will be marched up the hill and then marched down again, and when they are up they are up, and when they are down they are down, and when they are in the middle they are in the middle, and are neither up or down.

There was hardly an organization represented at San Francisco

that is not confronted by some sort of menacing capitalistic combination. Yet the captains of the labor regiments sat around and smoked and looked wise and appeared supremely contented with the situation. In fact, the ultra-conservatives seemed more or less bored at the bare suggestion that "new occasions teach new duties and make ancient good uncouth, and that he must ever up and onward who would keep abreast of truth," or something like that. Mr. Gompers especially becomes very irritable when the old policy of pitting the stomach of labor against the money bags of capital and its political power is questioned. Several times, at the slightest provocation, he flew into a rage and charged those who criticized his tactics fairly with slandering and abusing him and with being in league with all sorts of evil spirits. Indeed, the Socialists who dare to question the infallibility of our most exalted chieftain would probably be excommunicated if he had the power to post a little list. While Gompers will mediate, conciliate, arbitrate and compromise with the capitalists, he shouts at the Socialists, bitterly and in words of thunder (which are quickly reproduced in 48-point gothic headlines in the daily capitalist papers): "You need expect no quarter from me; I will give you none!" So through the Gompers spectacles the Socialists are several degrees worse than the capitalists. But the Socialists need not fear decapitation at once—even a cat can look at a king, you know,—and such outbreaks of passion really cause no serious injury and are bound to have an opposite effect than that intended. There was no subject so generally discussed privately among the delegates as the large vote polled by the Socialist party last month, and they now understand that their actions in "smashing socialism" in the conventions of the past few years were boomerangs. Whether the "leaders" like it or not, the rank and file are moving, and some of the former will have to hurry to keep up with the procession before long.

There was no Socialist resolution introduced in the convention. It was unnecessary. Socialism is receiving plenty of notice at present—as much as is necessary to insure solid and substantial growth. Such was not the case formerly. But now the new recruits must be educated drilled, and absorbed, as a stampede of confused and unclear heads would prove a calamity. That was the principal reason for the presentation of a proposition by those delegates who believe in socialism recommending that affiliated organizations throw open their doors to the discussion of economic conditions, to have lectures upon these subjects in their lodge rooms and at the meetings set apart for this purpose, and to do everything in their power for the enlightenment and intellectual advancement of the proletariat. This resolution was adopted, the few votes recorded against it being cast by delegates who insisted that the Socialists would make political capital out of the action and claim their party had been endorsed. Despite this result the plutocratic press announced in sensational headlines that the "Socialists were routed," "Socialism was smashed" again, etc., etc.

As stated, the debate was good natured and fairly interesting for a brief period until the washing of dirty linen began. While, as in former conventions, the Socialists confined themselves strictly to the discussion of economic facts and political principles, their opponents frankly admitted that they would not discuss the principle of socialism, whose advocates were assailed as dreamers, union wreckers, liars, traitors, soap-box orators, afflicted with a disease, compared to opium eaters and smokers, and held up generally as all around villains. If any privately owned Socialist paper, anywhere in the country, attacks an officer the whole Socialist party is immediately held responsible, but never a word of condemnation is uttered against some of the sheets that hide under the cloak of trade unionism and brazenly garble the

truth and graft upon politicians and aim to sell labor votes to the highest bidder. Of course, no Socialist paper can benefit the movement by making unwarranted attacks upon anyone, and unless absolute proof can be produced to demonstrate the corruption of individuals, whether they be in or out of unions, such methods should never be resorted to.

At the close of the debate (?) Mr. Gompers—and he always closes the debate—in referring to as many crimes as he could remember of which the Socialists are guilty, mentioned the article I wrote for the October REVIEW regarding prospective changes in the A. F. of L. executive council and worked the sympathy game, as only Gompers can, by claiming that I had “denounced” him. But he did not deny that he was a candidate for United States commissioner of labor to succeed Carroll D. Wright, and that the powers that be favorably considered the idea of appointing him to the position, or that he attended a conference to discuss the matter. It is possible that I may have been misinformed, but the “tip” came direct from Washington, and some of Gompers’ own friends admitted in San Francisco that “the old man can have the job.” Let us wait for further developments.

The jurisdiction questions are just where they were before the convention assembled. The brewers are once more commanded to allow themselves to be dismembered or stand expelled in six months. As the brewers are not Chinese they will not obey the order with alacrity. The carpenters are also threatened with expulsion unless they let go of the woodworkers. “But,” said one of the brotherhood officials, sarcastically, “there is no date set when we are to be fired out.” The longshoremen defiantly announce that they will organize and better the conditions of all workers upon or along the waters no matter what the seamen think or say. The bridge and structural iron workers refuse to keep off the preserves of the boilermakes, and so the contentions continue all down the line. A resolution went through making it mandatory upon city central bodies to expel local unions not affiliated with the Federation, and thus if the brewery workers are really dumped overboard by the executive council the fight will be transferred to the floor of nearly every city central body in the country, and it requires no extraordinary foresight to understand that a great deal of trouble will take place.

The most practical thing that was done throughout the sitting of the convention was to levy an assessment upon the membership to support the striking and half-starved textile workers at Fall River, Mass., about 28,000 of whom have been battling against a reduction of wages below the dead line since last July. About \$75,000 was raised on the spot, and the struggling men, women and children were given new hope to continue the unequal fight against pauperdom and helpless wage-slavery.

Little else of general importance was accomplished. The convention was a transcontinental junket and cost the unionists of North America \$150,000 at the most conservative estimate. No wonder the initiative and referendum is growing in popularity among the rank and file.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

France

From France comes most encouraging news. The long fratricidal strife between rival socialist parties seems at last to be approaching an end. A committee of five has been appointed by the *Parti Socialiste de France* and the *Parti Socialiste Français* (The Jaureists and Guesdists) which includes an overwhelming majority of the socialists. The joint committee has already met and has decided to leave all question of disagreement to the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels. Under those conditions it seems certain that by our next issue, we shall be able to announce that the French Socialist movement once more presents a united front to the forces of capitalism.

A new semi-monthly magazine has just appeared, *La Vie Socialiste*. Its editor in chief is Francis de Pressense, a member of the chamber of deputies, and among its editors we note Comrade Jean Longuet, whose name is well known to the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. In a private letter to us he informs us that this publication will make one of its main objects the unifying of French Socialist parties. The editor in chief concludes an article in the first number on the "Congress of Amsterdam on Socialist Unity in France" as follows: That which is desired, that which must be obtained, and that which was happily prepared for under the auspices of the vote of the Amsterdam congress; the disappearance of factions, the end of a fratricidal struggle and the ardent co-operation of all the Socialists of France in the name of a common principle, if by various roads, to the realization of their ideal of justice in a collectivist society."

Norway

During a debate in the Storting the Minister of State denounced Comrade Eriksen, a well known evangelical minister, and declared that it was "nothing less than horrible that men whose life work it is to preach the evangel of love and peace are seen acting as leaders in extending the gospel of class hatred."

Comrade Eriksen replied to this and in the course of his reply gave utterance to the following which may well be recommended to the perusal of some members of his profession in this country: "It seems to have been somewhat displeasing to the Minister of State that I have preached the class struggle, when my work is supposed to consist of preaching the gospel of peace. I am well aware of the philosophy, Mr. President, which holds that the ministers should bless the rulers of society, and that Christianity should be used as a cloak for everything existing, and that the ministers of the gospel should teach the poor to say that it is God's will that they should live in

the situation in which they now are and should be satisfied and contented. The ministry has certainly done this hitherto and it is comprehensible that the wrath of the conservatives is roused when one of us breaks with this custom and will have nothing more to do with it. I am glad, as a Danish Social Democrat has once said, that my hand has been raised against the most disreputable of all politics, the politics which consist in deceiving mankind in order to make it possible for the strong to set their feet upon the necks of the most miserable."

Germany

The *Volksstimme* of Magdeburg tells of a recent Agrarian congress which was held in that city to discuss the question of forming a land-owners' chamber as a part of the legislative machinery of Saxony. In the midst of their discussion some one raised the question about the number of Social Democrats who might be land owners. One member declared that every land-owner who had less than one acre was also an industrial worker and was sure to be a Socialist. Another speaker declared that all those who owned less than eight acres were exclusively Social Democrats and unless the line was drawn above this point there would surely be Socialists in their new legislative chamber. Finally one member suggested that ten acres be made the limit as that would exclude most of the Social Democrats. To their horror, however, they found this would also exclude two members of the Agrarian party for whose benefit this legislative chamber was largely to be erected. Under these conditions it was finally decided to set the limit at one acre and the delegates consoled themselves with the hope that they might be able to convince the Social Democrat land-owners of the error of their ways.

The question of the relation of the trade unions to the Socialist party in Germany is again up and it now seems certain that all official connection between the two will be dissolved. Bebel has been advocating this for many years. It is worthy of note in this connection that a similar movement is starting even in Belgium, a country of the closest identity to the trade unions and Socialist movement.

Italy

The Associated Press has been filled with stories of the crushing of Socialism in Italy. Long editorials have even been written full of sage advice and warning to American working men based upon the "overwhelming defeat" of the Socialists in Italy. Now that the news has finally arrived through Socialist mediums it is discovered that this crushing defeat was in increase, according to first returns, from 162,000 votes at the last election to 301,000 at the present. This does not include Milan and several other cities in which the Socialists were strong. The total Socialist vote for all of Italy in 1900 was 215,841. If the cities not yet heard from give a proportionate increase the total vote will be fully double that of four years ago. It is doubtful, however, if the number of deputies which was 33 in 1900 has increased. Twenty-six were elected, however, at the first ballot and the Socialists took part in 29 of the second elections, but in every case there was a complete coalition of all parties against them. Nevertheless they were successful in at least two of these, giving them a total of 28 votes. In order to thoroughly understand what this means some little knowledge of the facts put forth by the reaction to stem the Socialist movement is necessary. The government itself took most

active measures to prevent Socialists from voting. Sixty-nine thousand troops were ordered under arms during the elections. All of these were thereby disfranchised. Then for the first time the clericals rushed to the rescue of the Italian government. In the first election this was done secretly and the pope still retained, so far as any public announcement was concerned, his traditional position of the "prisoner of the vatican," having no part in Italian government. In the second election, however, priests and monks were ordered to attend the polls dressed in their religious garb and this was done by thousands everywhere. Moreover the whole force of government was used to terrorize intending Socialist voters. In Ferri's district, for instance, the polling places swarmed with soldiers and policemen who did everything possible to intimidate those who intended to vote for him. All effort was in vain as Ferri was elected in three districts, from two of which he of course resigned, permitting a second election. Great sums of money were contributed by the capitalists; one single manufacturer, Count Raggio, having given three hundred thousand liras. That in the face of all this the Socialists were able to more than double their vote is most significant.

England

The recent municipal elections in England have seen a considerable increase in the number of Socialist representatives. The S. D. F. elected 11 out of 32 candidates nominated and the I. L. P. 43 out of 89. The S. D. F. candidates all ran as Socialists, while those of the I. L. P. ran partly as members of their party and partly as independent Socialists, and some simply as labor candidates. Altogether 95 labor and Socialist candidates were elected, a gain of 52 over the previous election.

Press dispatches bring word that the unemployed problem is growing constantly worse in England and that hunger riots are prevalent in many cities.

Switzerland

At a recent meeting of the executive committee of the Social Democratic party of Switzerland the question of the party platform came up for discussion. A committee was appointed to formulate the party's position on the Agrarian question. Another point over which there has been much discussion has been the relation of the Socialists to the militia system. The following resolution was adopted:

"The Social Democratic party rejects every proposition for legislation relating to military organization in which the use of troops against strikers is not forbidden."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIEF, by Edward T. Devine, Macmillan, Cloth, 495 pp., \$2.00.

For the man condemned to become a professional worker in philanthropy, this is a most valuable work. It is written wholly from that point of view and is a model of condensed, yet adequate treatment of just the things which such a worker needs to know. So thoroughly is it adjusted to the wants and capacities of this class that it carefully omits a number of things which really belong under the subject treated, but which might have disturbed the equanimity of such a worker. The writer makes no suggestion of the possibility of doing away with a condition of society in which relief will not be a necessity (if we except a most indefinite paragraph on page 181), and tells us that "Relief may eventually come to be recognized as equally entitled to serious consideration" with "business, domestic life, religion and education." A very consoling observation for the professional salaried philanthropist! The work is divided into three parts. The first, "Principles of Relief," consists largely of practical suggestions for charity officials, together with some chapters on the causes of distress. These chapters are most ridiculously inadequate. The one on "Industrial Displacement" is especially striking for what it does not contain. Although this purports to cover the subject of unemployment, and although the statistics of the charity organization societies show that fully forty per cent of all distress is due to this cause (and this in spite of the fact that every possible excuse is sought by the average professional philanthropist to avoid assigning this as a cause), still this chapter is one of the shortest in the book and is most meaningless in its conclusions and analysis. He admits that "it is true there are instances in which the most desperate efforts to find employment are unsuccessful," yet does not seem to see that this fact (which instead of being exceptional and occasional, is chronic and omnipresent, as is proven by every strike), vitiates all his reasoning about "finding employment" and improving producers so as to make them efficient. If there are really more men than "jobs," then all that a charity organization, friendly visitor, employment bureau, or philanthropist can do is to decide which applicant shall have the job. By making certain individuals more efficient competitors, by giving them the assistance of the superior competing power of some benefactor, it is possible to decide which person shall have the job, but this does not make any more jobs. Right here we are very close to the heart of the whole "scientific charity" idea. When it is carefully analyzed it will be found that every single one of its principles are formulated with the definite, if often unconscious, object of increasing the number of active competitors and intensifying the competitive struggle for employment, thereby reducing the price of efficient labor power. The "able bodied beggar" who will not compete is the particular bete noir of Charity Organization Societies. The friendly visitor and

the whole system of continuous attention tends only to perfect the wage-earner as a competitor in the labor market. Sewing-rooms, "work tests," employment bureaus, etc., all work to the same end. Use this principle as a guide and the whole tangled maze of "scientific charity," with its apparent contradictions becomes clear as a mid-day sun.

The second part of the book is given up to "Typical Relief Problems." This too is of little interest save to the professional charity worker, and hence can be passed over in a review for readers who are little interested in this line. The third part deals with an "Historical Survey" of charity poor relief. The author points out, what should have been recognized long ago, that the English Poor Law had much less to do with the creation of pauperism than it has ordinarily been credited with. One would have thought that his recognition of this fact would have prevented his acceptance in the very next chapter of the equally fallacious statement that public outdoor relief in America is responsible for poverty. Sometime it may be hoped that mankind will come to generally recognize that no form of philanthropy has much of anything to do with increasing or decreasing distress. The historical portion of the work however is of distinct value to all students of social problems. It is interesting to note that the problem of charity arose in this country simultaneous with the introduction of the machine methods of production, the wage system and capitalism.

The fourth part deals with "Relief in Disasters," and points out the methods which have been used to meet such great calamities as the Chicago fire, the Johnstown flood, etc. Persons who are more familiar with the actual work of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society would modify his wholesale praise of the work of that organization.

LA SOCIOLOGIE ECONOMIQUE, by Guilaunme de Greef. Paper, 250 pp. 3 fr. 75. Felix Alcan, editor.

All over the world social and economic writers are working upon the basis of historic materialism. This work is by the well known Belgian socialist and sociologist and is an important contribution to this topic. It consists of a series of somewhat disconnected essays. The first deals with definitions and considers the historical evolution of the idea of what he calls social economics. The fourth chapter dealing with the history of social economics and the fifth on historic evolution, are of the most interest to socialist students. The Marxian point of view is elaborated at considerable length and criticized by the author from a scholastic and popular point of view that has grown decidedly trite in these days. Economic materialism is true with some modifications, he says. We cannot see that the modifications suggested by the author are especially valid or vital to the matter under discussion. For those who read French however this work must make up an essential part of any bibliography upon historic materialism.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Rebels of the New South.

This socialist novel by Comrade Walter Marion Raymond is now ready, and the many advance orders for it have been filled. In outward appearance it is one of the handsomest books our co-operative publishing house has thus far brought out, and it may safely be called the best novel of a distinctively socialist character that has yet appeared.

The entire profits of this book have been contributed by the author toward extending the work of our co-operative publishing house, so that every socialist who assists in circulating it will be doing a double service to the movement, first, in the propaganda work that every copy of "*Rebels of the New South*" will do among the non-socialists who read it, and second, in helping provide the means for publishing other literature.

As a rule, the first edition of a book does not pay for the printing, not to speak of the advertising, and the general expenses of the business must be earned out of the sales of subsequent editions. It is, therefore, encouraging that we can announce several new editions which the increasing demand for socialist books has made necessary within a month.

Love's Coming of Age.

This book of essays by Edward Carpenter (the third American edition of which has just been published) is the most successful attempt yet made to apply the socialist philosophy to the love-relations of men and women in this transitional stage through which society is now passing and to make some forecast of what these relations will be in the co-operative commonwealth. It need hardly be said that this book is in no way an authoritative expression of opinion. It binds no one but the author, and not even him if he has changed his mind since he wrote it; yet it is a work of more than ordinary thoughtfulness and suggestiveness, while it is a model of English style, and well worth reading for its literary form, quite apart from the opinions expressed. It treats the most delicate of questions without prudery and without vulgarity; its ethics are far removed from the codes of bourgeois society, but equally removed from the short-sighted egoism that considers only present gratification. In short, it is a book that no thoughtful socialist will willingly miss reading. (Cloth, \$1.)

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.

Ernest Untermann's translation of this classic work by Frederick Engels has been reprinted within a month, and is now in its second edition. This great work was never accessible to American readers until brought out by our co-operative publishing house in 1902. It gives in condensed yet not difficult style the scientific data regarding the early evolution of human society which are absolutely essential to a clear understanding of the socialist philosophy. Engels has here digested the voluminous details

of Morgan's "Ancient Society," retaining the facts that are of importance to the student and discarding useless trivialities, so that by reading "*The Origin of the Family*" it is possible to get a working knowledge of Morgan's discoveries at a small fraction of the cost in time and money that a study of Morgan's book involves. But Engels has not merely summarized Morgan; that writer confined his researches almost entirely to the Iroquois Indians, while Engels has in "*The Origin of the Family*" added a study of the parallel conditions in the corresponding stages of growth through which European nations have passed. "*The Origin of the Family*" is the fifth volume in the Standard Socialist Series, and retails for fifty cents.

God and My Neighbor.

Robert Blatchford's latest and best book has been heartily welcomed both inside and outside the socialist movement, and the second American edition is now ready. "*God and My Neighbor*" is not a book on socialism, but on religion. It summarizes the objections to orthodox theology with the most admirable good-temper and the most delicious literary style, and the chapter on free will *versus* determinism is a fine application of the fundamental principles of socialism. The second edition, like the first, is daintily printed on paper of extra quality, and will make a suitable gift-book for any one not irrevocably committed to orthodoxy. (Cloth, \$1, paper 50 cents, postpaid.)

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

Five years ago our co-operative company brought out the first complete American edition of this masterpiece of Frederick Engels. Our fourth edition of it has just been printed, making sixteen thousand copies within five years. The price of our paper edition, containing 127 pages on fine book paper, has been fixed at ten cents, with the special rate to stockholders of five cents by mail or four cents by express. Previous to our issuing this edition, complete copies could only be had in the imported London edition at a dollar each. As this is one of the few books that are absolutely indispensable to any one desiring to understand international socialism, the importance of this service of our co-operative company can hardly be over-estimated.

Increase in Number of Stockholders.

There has been a steady increase in the number of co-operative stockholders. When the booklet "*A Socialist Publishing House*" was printed last March, the number was 815. As the December REVIEW goes to press, it is 1,007. There are probably a thousand readers of the REVIEW who expect some time to become stockholders. Why not now? A share of stock costs ten dollars; it may be paid for at the rate of a dollar a month if preferred. It gives the privilege of buying our socialist books at cost (price list and scale of discounts sent on application).

It may be urged that capitalist publishers will soon begin to publish socialist books. This is true. The Macmillan Company, of New York and London, has lately published two excellent books, "*Mass and Class*," by W. J. Ghent, price by mail, \$1.35, and "*Poverty*," by Robert Hunter, price by mail, \$1.62. We recommend these books and can supply them to any one who can afford to pay the prices fixed by the publishers; we are not allowed to sell at a discount. But the former of these books contains less matter, and the latter only a trifle more matter, than Ladoff's "*American Pauperism*," which we publish in cloth binding at fifty cents mailed to any address, or thirty cents including postage to our stockholders.

On a Cash Basis.

The debt of the co-operative company to non-stockholders is now nearly paid, the only obligation apart from the cost of books recently printed being a note of eight hundred dollars to a Wisconsin bank, on which seven per

cent interest is paid. There is also a note of sixteen hundred dollars, bearing six per cent interest, to a stockholder who would like to be repaid as soon as possible.

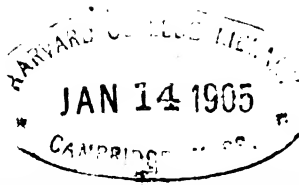
The offer of Charles H. Kerr, made last June, that he would duplicate out of the balance due him from the company every contribution made by others for the sake of clearing off the company's debt will hold good until the end of the year 1904. The payments thus far made on this offer are as follows:

Previously acknowledged.....	\$2,348.88
J. O. Duckett, South Carolina (additional).....	2.00
Wm. English Walling, New York (additional).....	50.00
Franklin McCluskey, Illinois.....	5.00
H. B. Asbury, Kentucky (additional).....	2.60
Rev. Aaron Noll, Pennsylvania.....	1.00
L. W. Lang, Iowa.....	.25
James Howarth, Massachusetts.....	1.00
A. Schroeder, Ohio (additional).....	1.00
Elgin Branch of Local Kane County Socialist Party of Illinois...	10.00
L. E. Seney, British Columbia.....	1.00
Joseph Weiss, New York.....	3.00
P. R. Skinner, Oregon (additional).....	15.00
F. R. Barrett, Maine.....	2.00
A. Schablik, Washington (additional).....	2.00
C., Illinois.....	1.00
F. M. Landis, Kansas.....	2.50
Local Dayton Socialist Party, Ohio.....	2.00
W. A. Cole, Texas.....	.50
J. J. Hamilton, Iowa.....	20.00
H. H. Lang, Oregon.....	12.00
J. W. Judah, Minnesota.....	1.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois (additional).....	134.85
Total	\$2,618.08

It is of the utmost importance that the remaining debt to non-stockholders be wiped out at once, and that the debt on which six per cent is paid be either entirely liquidated or refunded at a lower interest rate. Several stockholders have lent various sums of money at five per cent, and the company could use about two thousand dollars to advantage at this rate for a year or two, after which time it is hoped and believed that the voluntary contributions and sales of stock will relieve us of the necessity of paying interest at all.

Satisfactory evidence as to the sound condition of the company will be given to any one considering the question of making a five per cent loan, and additional security will be given if desired.

Meanwhile every one interested in the work of the company is urged to help make up the fund for paying off the floating debt, under the offer which expires Dec. 31. Understand that this is not making up a "deficit." There is no deficit. The company is not running behind, but is paying expenses. It has however, from the start been running without sufficient capital, and consequently has had to run in debt to publish the books that were needed. This contribution is being made to supply the needed capital, and to stop the yearly outlay for interest, so that all money received in future can be used to increase the output of socialist literature. The contributions thus far made have come not so much from those best able to help as from those most willing to do more than their share. Is your name in the list of acknowledgments? If not, may we not put it there in the January issue of the REVIEW?



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Woman Suffrage Observed by a Socialist.

SOCIALISTS as a matter of course believe in woman's enfranchisement. Their philosophy recognizes political power as a thing to be desired by all members of the working class. Accordingly a socialist will always be found supporting any further extension of political democracy when this can be done without retarding or sidetracking the direct movement for industrial democracy.

If social evolution is always proceeded according to the principles of academic logic, political democracy would have to be perfected before the industrial freedom could be expected. Hence women's suffrage, direct legislation and all phases of political power would have to be achieved before socialism could be hoped for. Evolution does not however, proceed according to syllogisms and, just as many remnants of Feudalism remained when Republican principles took possession of the historical stage, so the last steps in political democracy will not be taken until after the Socialist revolution. At the present time, Socialists see that industrial development has reached a point where it is folly to wait to catch up loose ends in earlier phases of evolution but that it is now time to plunge directly toward the next goal—the emancipation of the workers. This is not only the procedure which will achieve the industrial purpose most economically in time and energy, but is the most sure and rapid way to make existing nominal political powers genuine and to enlarge them to a complete democracy.

If this be doubted as a working plan by women who are seeking the ballot first and economic ends thereafter, or by direct legislation enthusiasts, an experience in states where either of these goods things have been attained will convince them that nothing is worth great effort at the present time but the working-class revolution.

Colorado has been a severe trial to life-long woman suffra-

gists, little as they are willing to admit the fact. Rose colored claims were made as to the purity of the politics if woman held her legislative place in the elective machinery. Yet after ten years of woman's enfranchisement, Colorado enjoys the distinction of being the scene of more varieties of artistic electoral corruption than any other of the many states eligible for competition in this interesting contest.

At the very time Colorado speakers were expatiating last winter in Washington on the results attained by ten years of woman's political power, John Shafroth, Congressman from Denver, resigned because convinced that the vote which elected him was hopelessly intricate from fraud committed and hence that the ballot of a number of wards was worthless. Since without these wards, he had not a majority, he got down and out.

Colorado women made the best of a bad bargain. We asked whether the ten years did not amply justify themselves when they had brought to the surface a Congressman of such phenomenal honesty. Yet, nevertheless, the situation was pathetic!

Women "repeaters" and corrupt women judges are few compared with men of this order no doubt, but woman's vote is as powerless against corrupt politics as the clinched fist of a newborn babe or the frantic expostulation of clergymen with "civic conscience."

Capitalistic appetites are quite as rapacious in Colorado as in New York and capitalistic barrels are as efficacious in keeping political wires in working order the year round. This barrel appeals to the hungry stomach of a woman precinct worker quite as effectual as to the male ward heeler.

This is not a proof of woman's moral laxity. If the President of the United States, the delight of the college presidents and religious leaders, can accept for his campaign with a clear conscience millions from the Trusts he pretends to be fighting, just why should not pious women in Colorado accept day's wages for hard work from this or similar funds to help save the country in the way their particular party machine says is the only way?

As reasonably expect water to run up hill as to fancy that under a system of capitalists, wage slaves and unemployed that capitalism will not control the governments, national and local, by fair means or by foul.

When the citizenship is unusually progressive and presumes to control the sway of the capitalist in some measure, then it is more necessary to use foul means.

That is the secret of all Colorado's sensational Peabodyism and corruption. The reformers, men and women, really tried to accomplish something a few years ago and actually got some laws and constitutional amendments which aimed to curtail capitalistic sway. The result has been a perfect carnival of lawless-

ness made necessary in order to overthrow or circumvent the plans of the reformers.

Peabodyism is only one among scores of illustrations of a class rule made insanely despotic and undisguised because the foolish people had attempted to check capitalism without the strength to complete it. With child-like *naïveté*, the populist reformers attempted seriously to interfere with the capitalistic regime by petty reforms in governmental institutions, guilelessly and serenely unconscious of what they were up against.

The buzz saw got in its work, yet still the reformers talk of step at a time measures. The money tribes are slow to learn.

But this opens up a phase of the Colorado situation which must wait for future discussion. It touches this question only from the fact that women were active in securing the "advanced legislation" of 1901. All the men pushing the "Bucklin" (high tax), the "Rush" (Home-rule and direct legislation for Denver), and the Eight-Hour Amendments acknowledged gratefully the help that women, as individuals and in organizations, were to them. Women have helped to make Colorado what it has been—the most advanced state politically in the Union from the reform standpoint. Their efforts have been as fruitless as that of other reformers—as fruitless as such efforts are bound to be always.

The capitalist class will not yield their political dominance until forced to do so by a class equally determined and overwhelmingly stronger in numbers and uncompromising in purpose.

With or without the ballot, women may help to awaken the instinct of self-preservation in the conscious laborers of society and arouse a consciousness of their class relations in those now hypnotized with capitalistic sympathies, but reform efforts are worse than wasted.

Nevertheless, in spite of their inevitable failure to achieve great specific results, Colorado women are glad with a deep gladness that they have the ballot.

While political function will never be other than largely nominal for men or women until economic democracy is gained, the ballot has in it an educational potency, direct and indirect which is an excellent factor in society and the source of immense satisfaction to the individual.

Even Socialists need the education which the enfranchisement of women gives. In Colorado, women are quite as active as officers, committee members and lay workers in Socialist locals as men. This should be the case in every local in any state, but so far as reports reach us this is not the case. In so far as women consent to separate organizations or men hesitate to accept women in full and active comradeship, they are allowing themselves to be influenced by the arbitrary conditions of capitalistic society

and this is unworthy of enlightened Socialists. Women, in states where they have no voice politically, should do their utmost to overcome this factor in their environment and insist upon taking their part in the regular party movement, encouraging no separated activity.

One element of success for the woman voter of Colorado should be noted. The state now leads in all laws that have reference to delinquent children. A group of laws centering about a well constituted Juvenile Court have achieved world-wide fame.

The woman constituency has achieved this without question and although unpopular with the politicians of all parties, the judge who has pushed these measures and now presides over the Juvenile Court, has twice had the distinction of being nominated by all parties (except the Socialist of course). This has been due to the fact that the politicians dared not defy the wishes of the peculiar constituency, the woman voter had made possible—a constituency not of women alone, but of men as well, aroused by the active interest of the women.

To one who realizes that even measures good as this will be vitiated by economic conditions and that criminals will be manufactured faster under capitalism than any humane efforts can counteract, even this clear achievement for childhood is pathetic in its futility.

It must be confessed that women find it no easier than men to free themselves from the subtle chains which bind to the capitalist regime. While a larger number proportionately accept the idealistic Socialist program, they do not more readily enter the ranks of class-conscious political Socialism.

During the campaign of 1900, of the ten most prominent Democratic women speakers in Colorado, all but one were avowed Socialists of the "nationalist," "Bellamyite" type. As the political party of Socialism came to the front, making a clear-cleavage necessary, but one of these joined forces with the party, while several of the most pronounced heretofore are now bitterly antagonizing, not only the Socialist party, but the working-class movement in all of its effective phases.

The actual workings of woman's suffrage, therefore, but serves as another proof that there is nothing at this time worthy of serious effort but the political organization of the workers. While women have accomplished something as voters, their best apparent achievements have only forced capitalism to be more unscrupulous and tyrannical. Actual results in economic or political benefits have been nullified as was inevitable.

However, the individual and social education has been great and woman's emancipation is worthy of every effort except such as interferes with putting the fullest possible energy into the industrial emancipation of both men and women.

MILA TUPPER MAYNARD.

Negro Locals.

SO far as I am informed, every local in the State of Louisiana is composed exclusively of white members, excepting one at the little town of Lutchter which, as I understand, is composed exclusively of negroes. The facts thus far obtaining, considered in connection with well known conditions and sentiments in this section, make it clear to my mind that every local hereafter organized in this State will be composed, in the first instance, exclusively of white members. Concerning the composition of the membership elsewhere, I am not informed, but have every reason to believe that what is true of Louisiana will be found applicable to every other State south of Mason and Dixon's line. The question therefore naturally presents itself: shall the negroes be taken into the same locals with the whites, or shall they be required or permitted to organize into separate locals?

That the negroes should be organized as fast and as far as possible, is the universal conviction and the universal desire. Every one appreciates how suicidal it would be for the Party to ignore entirely the presence of eight million men, women and children in our midst. From a military standpoint alone, if from no other, every one feels the importance, in our own self-interest, of obtaining the good will and co-operation of eight million people. Nor is there any lack among the Southern comrades of that fine sense of justice and those broad principles of humanity which animate the true socialist in every spot on the globe.

Still the matter is not without its difficulties. The stand taken by the National Committee in at first refusing a charter to the Party of Louisiana, on account of a plank in its original platform calling for a separation of the races, has left the impression, in this locality at least, that the organization of the negroes into separate locals would be discountenanced by the National Party; notwithstanding the fact that there is no constitutional prohibition against separate locals, and that every State Party is given the power under the National Constitution to regulate its membership in any manner not inconsistent with that organic instrument. But at the same time, there is a formidable sentiment among the comrades, particularly those of the gentler sex, against the idea of having negro members in the locals to which they belong.

I have had occasion to discuss the question with many of the New Orleans comrades, some of the most active among whom are of the fairer sex, and I have found them full of declamation against racial discriminations; but I have yet to meet any one who is outspoken in favor of soliciting the membership of negroes into his or her local, and the fact remains that in the State

organization, which is now two years old, the negroes are conspicuous almost entirely by their absence.

That the sentiment against the commingling of the two races in the same locals is not a mere southern prejudice, is seen from the fact that every little town in the State which has been built up of recent years largely by immigrants from the North, has a separate quarter for the negro race. That it is not confined exclusively to the white comrades, is seen from the fact that the black comrades are not any more active in seeking membership into white locals, than the white comrades are inactive in soliciting the membership of black comrades. An instance illustrating one phase of this sentiment is furnished by the fact that when Comrade Goebel, National Organizer, went to Litcher some time ago, for the purpose of delivering a lecture before the local at that point, composed as aforesaid exclusively of negroes, he was asked by the members not to deliver his lecture, lest it should injure the cause by identifying it too closely in the minds of the natives with the idea of social equality and fraternization between the races. But aside from the outside effect of promiscuous locals, which is not without its danger to the comrades, there is, as previously stated, a dominating sentiment within the ranks of the faithful themselves, both white and black, which is sufficient to exclude them from participation in the same locals; and, in the meantime, the negroes remain unorganized, untrained and to a large extent uneducated.

I am not one of those who take the view that the organization of separate locals must necessarily violate the national constitution or that it is essentially opposed to the socialist philosophy. But in view of the general character of constitutional provisions, and the still more general character of philosophical principles, I believe it would be wise to have some specific declaration, from a national source, on this question. Hence I suggest for consideration the idea of what might be called "optional" locals: by which I mean that, in those localities where there is a large negro element, the black comrades should be allowed, at their discretion, to organize themselves into separate locals or sub-locals. This would not obviate the commingling of the races in a representative capacity, but it would remove the necessity of having them in the same locals or sub-locals.

I might say that of late there seems to be a growing disposition on the part of some among the comrades, to cut the gordian knot which the question apparently presents to their mind, by what must be considered as an underhand or surreptitious organization of separate locals; the members assuming that this is the only course by which they can escape from falling into the Scylla of promiscuous locals on one side, and the Charybdis of the national discountenance expected for an open party declaration on the other side. But there is something so cowardly in such a pro-

ceeding; it is so repugnant to every principle of common honesty and so hypocritical in character; that as a remedy for the situation it must, in my estimation, be considered worse than the disease. Besides serving as an apple of discord among the comrades themselves, it must place a powerful weapon in the hands of our opponents, and tend to alienate instead of conciliating or drawing the black comrades into the movement. Besides, I do not see how the National Party could consistently with its self-respect, allow itself to connive at such a proceeding should it involve a violation of the national constitution.

But, on the other hand, I consider separate locals as the only method by which the black comrades can be assimilated into the movement, to any considerable extent in the South.

I believe a national attempt to coerce the admission of negroes into white locals would result in a disastrous failure. In the first place, I do not believe the black comrades themselves could be prevailed upon to obtrude their presence into unwelcome locals. And in the second place if they made the attempt, I believe they would be black-balled; but if they were not black-balled, I believe their admission into white locals would tend to weaken and stunt if not even to disrupt the movement entirely among the white element in many localities.

I have no doubt that official sanction for the creation of separate locals would be hailed by the comrades of both races with a feeling of welcome and relief; and that it would greatly facilitate and accelerate the organization of the negroes by directing it along the line of least resistance.

Such a step need not carry violence to any of those necessary regulations of a territorial or other character without which it would not be possible to carry on the proceedings of the Party. And instead of denying any rights to the negroes, it would in fact be securing to them the exercise of a right from which they are now largely debarred by the sentiment hereinabove considered.

If we are going to have negro locals, it may be asked, why, then, not also have Jewish locals, Italian locals, German locals, or locals for all the different races of this country? And in answer to this objection, I can only repeat why not? Why should we not have Italian locals, for instance?

In some quarters of our big cities, the population is composed almost entirely of Italians who do not understand and cannot speak English language. Is there not something unjust in expecting such people to become members of the regular locals without being able to participate in the deliberations or to vote intelligently on the questions that come up for consideration? Is it not evidently to the interest of the movement that such people should be encouraged to join the party by the creation of locals in which the official proceedings would be carried on in a language which they can speak and understand? Would not this be

the shortest, quickest and most efficacious method of securing those equal political and economic rights for which the Socialist Republic stands? And can there be anything repugnant to the true tactics of the party or the principles of the Socialist Philosophy in anything which will hasten the advent of Socialism itself?

In New Orleans, we have an Italian local holding a charter, not from the National Party of the United States or the State Party of Louisiana, but from the Socialist Party of Italy. Many of its members are citizens, but as they do not understand the English language, they prefer to have their own "academic" local, rather than constitute but so many figureheads in the English speaking locals; and, therefore they do not take any active part in the internal affairs of the movement of this country. I believe such locals should be taken into our own movement.

Now, if the obstacle of language may properly be removed by the creation of special locals, why not also the obstacle of color or race, or any other obstacle which can be removed better by exceptional than by the regular locals?

That fatal economism or economic determinism which we are told levels down all racial barriers, has it thrown down the barriers between the Gentile and Jewish races? The Jewish race contributes its share to the economic rulers and the proletariat of every country; it forms a component part of every nation in the civilized world, and furnishes as many national types as there are different nations: yet it preserves and maintains its racial integrity everywhere. If the principle of economic determinism applies to the Jews, then they have maintained their racial integrity for the promotion of their economic advantages, and consequently also of their political rights, thereby exhibiting a method of promoting their economic and political objects diametrically opposed to that which the gentiles among themselves have followed every since the dissolution of primitive trival society.

May it not be, therefore, that the economic advantages and political rights of the negroes could be secured to them better by a method which would tend to preserve or maintain their integrity as a race, than otherwise?

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that so far as the organization of the party is concerned, the creation of optional locals for the negroes would be conducive to the advancement of the movement, by securing to them a means of exercising their right to participate in the party, from which they are now deprived, and as such I should like to have it specifically sanctioned by a national expression.

New Orleans, La. ,

ERASTE VIDRINE.

"Poverty."—A Review.*

MR. ROBERT HUNTER, of New York, has just produced a work which I have no hesitation in pronouncing the greatest contribution to sociological literature that has appeared during the past year, and this year has been a year fruitful of works in this field. Many reviewers attempt to compare it with such works as that of Charles Booth in London. In reality, its field is so utterly different as to afford no ground for a fair comparison. Booth's work is that of the patient investigator, this, of the thinker who correlates facts in order to show their effects and relations. To be sure this book contains the results of much direct investigation, and Booth's contains valuable generalizations. Yet the line between the two classes of work is fairly distinct.

Mr. Hunter's work is a study of those who in a land of plenty must live below the standard of animal comfort. In order to arrive at the number of those who constitute the subject matter of his work, he approaches the subject from various points of view. The number of evictions, of cases of tuberculosis, of pauper burials, of dispensary patients, of accidents to workers, are used as checks against estimates founded on more direct studies of poverty. And he finally comes to the conclusion, which is certainly extremely conservative when considered in connection with the facts that he presents, that at least *ten million people* are to be considered as living in *chronic poverty*. Those who are distinctly paupers and in whom the desire to escape from that condition has been crushed, are differentiated from the workman who lives and *works* and *produces wealth in constant poverty*.

Still the line between the two is a never shifting one. The unemployed working man must sooner or later become a pauper unless he possesses unusual strength of character. His comments on the unemployed are well worth quoting at length:—

"It reflects very grievously upon the justice of our social system that so many men, willing to work, should be unable to find work to do. The history of the world has perhaps never shown more abject victims of chance than the modern propertyless workman. A man possessing his own tools or land may always employ himself, and, although it may at times be necessary for him to sell his products for a very low price, he need not, except in extraordinary times, become dependent upon others for relief. The tools of the modern workman are the machine; both it and the land are owned by others. He

*Poverty. Robert Hunter. The Macmillan Company. Cloth. 382 pp. \$1.50 net.

cannot work on the land or at the machine except by permission of another. If the owner does not find it profitable to employ him, the workman must remain idle. At certain seasons of the year this idleness is compulsory to workmen by the tens of thousands, and at times of business depression by the hundreds of thousands. Without savings adequate to supply his needs, and with his income wholly dependent upon an intermittent demand for his labor, circumstances are apt to arise sooner or later that will force him either to commit crime against property or to depend upon public relief for sustenance. If the state of dependence continues long, habitual pauperism or vagrancy is quite likely to result. In other words, these outcasts from industry have before them the choice of three evils—starvation, crime or relief by charity."

It is useless, as he points out, to advise the workman to save against the coming of the inevitable rainy day, since he can only do this at the expense of present suffering for himself and family. This is especially true in America, where the tremendous pressure of modern industry compels that the human machine be well fed if it is to be run at all.

In the chapter on "The Vagrant" he is not satisfied with any of the superficial reasonings of the Wyckoff's, Riis' and the charity organization workers. He sees plainly that "even if these vagrants could be forced back into the working class they would only augment the distress in the mass which makes up the reserve of labor."

One of the great causes of poverty is sickness. But sickness is both a cause and an effect of poverty. It is always with the poor, and the pictures which he draws of sickness in the tenements have a literary power in vivid painting of facts that should stir the soul of every reader to an endeavor to abolish the social conditions which make such things necessary. Yet the poor are compelled to live in tenements with death rates two and three times as great as exist in more favorable localities. We are ordinarily inclined to boast of the superiority of American conditions in these respects. Yet Mr. Hunter says: "I dare say that no other nation has so many needless deaths or so many cases of illness wholly due to preventable industrial causes as the United States of America. . . . "There was once a Great Black Plague. It was the consternation of the people of the time when it grew and flourished. Those who were able to do so fled from the cities which it ravaged. It lived a year and caused the death of two or three million people. It was probably the result of filthy, undrained streets and vile tenements. 'The Great White Plague' has lived for centuries and centuries; it was known before the time of Christ. It has caused the death of millions and millions of people; it will this year cause the death of over one million more. One hun-

dred and fifty thousand people in the United States alone will this year die of the disease. Within the next twelve months not less than fifteen thousand of the people of New York City, some of whom will be our neighbors, friends, and even perhaps our relatives, will bow down before the Great White Plague. It is a needless plague, a preventable plague. It is one of the results of our inhuman tenements; it follows in the train of our inhuman sweatshops; it fastens itself upon children and young people because we forget that they need playgrounds and because we are selfish and niggardly in providing breathing spaces; it comes where the hours of labor are long and the wages small; it afflicts the first joys of married life and bringing into the world their little ones; the plague goes to meet them. It is a brother to the anguish of poverty, and wherever food is scant and bodies half clothed and rooms dark this hard and relentless brother of poverty finds a victim. It is more kind to the old, who have every reason for dying, than it is to the young, who have no reason for dying. It takes, as it were, an especial delight in mowing down the bread-winners of wage-earning families at the sweetest and most treasured period of their lives—at the time when they are having the first joys of married life and bringing into the world their little ones. More than one-third of all deaths that occur between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five are due to the Great White Plague. It is a waste of youth prepared for life and labor, cut off by needless death as life and labor begin, for it is a wholly needless and preventable cause of death and of inestimable mourning and anguish among the widows and the fatherless.

“The extent of the White Plague is one of the best tests of a high or low state of society; in many ways it is the truest and most accurate of social tests. The number of its victims will indicate the districts in which sweatshops flourish, and the streets in which the double-decker tenement, the scourge of New York, is most often found. Where the death rate from the Plague is greatest there ignorance prevails; drunkenness is rife; poverty, hunger, and cold are the common misfortune.”

Yet all of this suffering is unnecessary. “The following measures, if carried out in every part of this country, would stamp out the Plague in twenty years. First, the disease should be declared in all states and in all cities ‘infectious.’ Second, there should be compulsory notification of all cases of tuberculosis. Third, the advanced cases should be given care in institutions suited to their need. Fourth, the establishment and maintenance of sufficient sanatoria and dispensaries for the treatment in the earlier stages of every case of consumption. Fifth, careful and complete disinfection of all houses and rooms in which consumptives have died and from which consumptives have been removed. Sixth, the construction of decent tenements, and the destruction,

or satisfactory renovation, of every house known to be a source of infection, the demolition of 'Lung Blocks' and the establishment of breathing spaces in the poorer districts of the cities. Seventh, a crusade of hygienic education among all people and the punishment of promiscuous spitting.

"The Great White Plague' is the result of our weakness, our ignorance, our selfishness, and our vices; there is no more need of its existence on the earth than of the existence of the Great Black Plague, the plague of typhus fever, the plague of dysentery, the plague of Asiatic cholera, the plague of leprosy, or the plague of smallpox. . . . It will be stamped out when the humane work of the Tenement House Department and the Health Department of this city, is victorious over opponents; when there is established in the mind of every one that vital principle of an advanced civilization, namely, that the profits of individuals are second in importance to the life, welfare and prosperity of the great masses of people.

"The entire matter sums itself up very easily. In the first place, we put property before human life; we unconsciously estimate it more highly and foster it more tenderly; we do it as individuals and we do it collectively."

The chapter on "The Child" is one over which it is difficult not to grow enthusiastic. In its analysis of social fundamentals, in its literary make-up, in its logical massing of facts and conclusions, I know of but few pieces of work in the whole realm of sociological literature that are entitled to rank with it. "Poverty degrades all men who struggle under its yoke, but the poverty which oppresses childhood is a monstrous and unnatural thing, for it denies the child growth, development, strength; it robs the child of the present and curses the man of the future. . . . It seems to me sometimes that all children from the tenements, and even from many apartment houses, should be classed in poverty, not because they are underfed, underclothed, or badly housed, for the majority are not, but because they have been forgotten, their play-space has been taken up, and no excuse made, nor has any substitute been supplied. When the city came to be the abode of men, the child was given the common to replace the fields; as the city grew in size the child was pushed from the common into the small yard, and from the yard he has been turned into the street. . . .

"By far the largest part, 80 per cent at least, of crimes against property and against the person are perpetrated by individuals who have either lost connection with home life, or never had any, or whose homes have ceased to be sufficiently separate, decent and desirable to afford what was regarded as ordinary wholesome influences of home and family."

But it is almost impossible to quote, or rather to choose what not to quote. The study of the effect of industrial evolution on the child is so good that it should be given entire, but space forbids. After showing how, two or three generations ago in the old days of home industry, the family worked, lived, grew and developed with their work,—learning, playing and producing at the same time,—he goes on to show the terrible effect of the introduction of capitalism on this condition. "When this industrial revolution brought into the world the large cities and a new industrial life, it at the same time destroyed what has been described as the home. In our large cities this home no longer exists, the economic development of the last hundred years has destroyed it and left in its stead a mere shadow of what has been the source of all influences essential to the world." Our systems of education too have reflected the industrialism under which they have grown until they have lost all pliability and are completely out of touch with real social problems. "There are probably no other people in the country, of equal importance to the country, who as a class need to be brought back to the people so much as do the teachers."

But it is not simply that negatively society has taken away from the child his playground and his home, it has brought in the new and terrible evil of child labor. "I do not mean, of course, that children never worked before the factory made child labor an evil. Children have always worked; but their labor was not an evil, but rather it was a good thing, in the earlier days. When the race was young and the battle of life was directly with nature; when the world was poor and the securing of even the most meager livelihood meant constant struggle; when there was no other method of doing the world's work but by hand and with the aid of the simplest instruments,—inexorable necessity forced man, woman, and child to labor in order that life might be maintained. There was then need for child labor, a valid excuse for its existence. And even more than that,—for even extreme want would not have excused the child labor of that time if it had meant the ruin of the child,—the labor of the children in the days of the craftsman and artisan was educative, and the processes of learning how to weave, spin, and brew, to do the work in the fields or home, were not such as to overburden and break down the little workers. With the advent of the machine this period of harmless child labor passed away. And now in this day of steam and electrical power, when the mere force of one's hands is the most insignificant part of production, and when numberless machines are able to turn out a hundred and thousand fold more than it was possible for men to do when aided only by the simple hand-tools, child labor has become an evil—superfluous and

wicked—a shame to our civilization and an inexpiable crime against humanity.”

Both on the side of play and on the side of work then capitalism has brought only evil to the child. “To think of this problem in part is to fall into error. When one has only in mind the working child, one’s first thought is—he should be at play; when one has only the playing child in mind, the first thought is—he should have some occupation. But the dilemma is only a present one. We are in a transitional period in which the old individualistic ideas are still strong and the social ones are yet vague and groping.”

The chapter on “The Immigrant” presents in new and stronger form much that has often been said before together, with considerably new material. He shows how the immigrant has been brought to this country by those who are interested in the cheapest possible labor power and how those brought have simply contributed to their own misery and to that of those that have gone before as well as the native born. Neither does this mean that the population of America has been increased above what it would normally have been if there had never been any immigrants. The coming of those who were willing to live on a lower economic plane has simply reduced the birth rate among those who felt the pressure growing greater. The population has actually grown the slowest in just those years in which immigration was greatest.

While the work in no place sums up for socialism, yet no one can read it without realizing that the writer recognizes the fact of there being no other escape. With or without the label, this is a work which will always stand as a part of the great literature of socialism.

A. M. SIMONS.

The Recent Canadian Elections.

OBSCURED by the attention attracted by the recent historical campaign conducted by the Socialist Party in the United States, a campaign of lesser importance but of equal historical significance was conducted in Canada in October and November last. Canada, greater in area than the United States, is less advanced commercially and its vast tracts of undeveloped farm lands offer a haven for the surplus population of Europe and the overcrowded districts in America, the tide of emigration which is now flowing towards the Canadian Northwest being likely to continue in increasing numbers for the next two decades at least.

The great issue in the recent contest was the building of a new transcontinental railway across Canada to open up the districts north of the height of land from which the waters flow into the great lakes. This will mean that the fertile lands in the districts drained by the rivers emptying into Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean will be settled by emigrants in the next few years—the building of the railroad having been decided upon.

The Liberal party, in control of the Government, favored the building of the road on the private ownership basis—the people to build the road and the capitalists to own it—while the Conservative party, for election purposes, declared in favor of public ownership. The Liberal party had the largest campaign fund and won the election.

The historical phase of the campaign was the entry of the Socialist Party into the national elections. The election deposit law, requiring a deposit of \$200 in cash by each candidate, this to be forfeited if less than one-half the vote polled by the winning candidate is secured, is aimed to prevent the working class from securing representation in the halls of parliament. An additional requirement is a nomination paper signed by 20 voters in the district contested. These obstacles prevented the nomination of Socialist Party candidates in 210 of the 215 constituencies, but in five British Columbia districts the Socialist Party was represented and made a most creditable showing, saving the deposit in the Nanaimo district, where the Socialists carried all the mining districts and were only defeated by the farmers' votes. The vote cast in the five districts was as follows:

	Liberal	Conservative	Socialist
Nanaimo	1,509	1,122	784
Vancouver City.....	2,939	2,081	752
Kootenay	2,204	1,595	602
Yale Cariboo.....	1,380	1,323	393
Victoria City.....	1,692	1,192	336

The five districts constitute about three-quarters of the province and the socialist vote in these is about 15 per cent of the total. A provincial election took place in October, 1903, but the geography of the districts is so different that it is difficult to make a comparison. In one or two towns a decreased vote is shown for the socialists but the old parties' votes show a like discrepancy, the districts evidently being apportioned differently. In Vancouver and Victoria cities the vote in 1903 was double that secured in 1904, but the 1904 vote is a class conscious vote, while the 1903 vote was not, each voter then having several votes, enabling him to split his ballot between two or three parties. On the whole the 1904 election provides a fairer opportunity to estimate the Socialist strength than the 1903 campaign and the result is most encouraging. The following table shows the comparative strength of the three parties in some of the British Columbia mining camps:

	Liberal.	Conservative.	Socialist.
Nanaimo City	382	248	377
Ladysmith	220	185	243
Northfield	15	11	53
Greenwood	126	78	116
Phoenix	41	54	116
Slocan	37	32	44
Sandon	28	23	60
Ferguson	11	11	32
Fernietown	161	81	30
Michel	15	8	20
Fairview	57	28	28

Outside of British Columbia the only action taken by Socialists was the issuance of a circular by Local Toronto, calling upon all Socialists to write "Socialism" across the face of their ballots, the Socialists being unable to nominate candidates to stand for the election.

In three of the districts candidates were nominated, all losing their deposits. The only Socialist candidate was A. W. Puttee, of Winnipeg, who had served two terms in Parliament as a labor member. In 1900 he polled 3,441 votes, 1,183 more than his capitalist opponent. This year he secured 1,277 votes, while the two capitalist nominees polled 4,252 and 4,006 respectively. While in Parliament Puttee kept his hands clean although he straddled the fence with one leg on the capitalist governmental side and the other on the side of "independence"—whatever that term means. He voted for a large money appropriation to send Canadian soldiers to South Africa to do the bidding of the Cecil Rhodes bunch of German-Jewish mine owners, and in other respects he aped the doings of his capitalist co-legislators. The result of the election shows that Winnipeg workingmen pre-

ferred an avowed capitalist representative to a spineless laborite who was "putty" in the hands of capitalist politicians.

A revolutionary Socialist movement is now springing up, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia all having locals which stand clear for the abolition of the wage system, and it is proposed to unite these bodies into a Canadian Socialist Party with headquarters in Vancouver, B. C. About three years ago there were about 60 Socialist "leagues" in the various Canadian provinces, but they were based on sentimentalism and probably three-quarters have passed out of existence. Some, however, have read other literature than the *Appeal to Reason* and have, in line with evolution, advanced in thought and formed militant working class political organizations out of the sentimental "leagues."

The Ontario Socialist Party has adopted the platform of the British Columbia Socialist Party and the locals at Winnipeg, Man., and Glace Bay, N. S., are expected to follow this lead, thus uniting the movement upon a common declaration of principles. Two Socialist papers, the *Clarion*, of Vancouver, B. C., and the *Standard*, of Port Arthur, Ont., will aid in educating the wage-workers to their class interests and in building up a strong movement from the splendid nucleus which now exists.

The capture of the Democratic party by the capitalist class and the control of the two great parties by the gigantic corporations is duplicated in Canadian politics. The Liberal Party formerly represented the dying middle class, but it is now an ultra-capitalist organization and the field is clearing preparatory to a straight fight between the capitalists and wage-workers. The taking up of the public ownership cry by the Conservatives will not result in their reorganization as a political factor with the rural element behind them. The two old parties are recognized as avowedly capitalistic and no third party is likely to arise to befog the issue, the Socialist party thus having a clear field to combat organized capital in Canadian politics.

Toronto, Ontario.

WESTON WRIGLEY.

Factors in Social Progress.

IT is estimated that there are, in the world today, somewhere between thirty and fifty millions of people who believe in the principles of Socialism, and those of the number who have the privilege of voting, cast their ballots for our cause. We are firmly convinced that sooner or later Socialism will be adopted by mankind throughout the whole world and become the ladder upon which the race shall climb to such heights of intellectual and moral greatness as no man has as yet deemed possible.

We are told by the masters of our science, and even by such opponents as Herbert Spencer, that some form of Collectivism is inevitable, that it cannot be much longer delayed, and that when it does come it will profoundly affect the whole industrial and economic status of mankind. As a direct consequence the whole fabric of modern civilization will undergo a radical change of such proportions and value that nothing which has preceded it during the whole course of history will be at all comparable to it. Such an uplift will be given the entire human family as will, for the first time, so adjust the relations of men to one another that the state in which they live may justly be termed civilized.

The picture drawn of the future of the human race by such idealists as More, Bellamy and others is so beautiful and alluring to the victims of our present state of savage strife and merciless competition that by comparison it seems like heaven and there can be no doubt that many thousands date their conversion from the time they read those writers' works.

Perhaps no phase of socialistic thought is more fascinating to the enthusiast than a study of the causes which are operating to bring about the coming revolution and speculations as to its probable time of arrival. In a general way that indefatigable student and profound philosopher, Karl Marx, set forth with remarkable accuracy the direction and results of capitalistic evolution and subsequent events have more than confirmed his predictions.

It is now generally recognized that we are rapidly approaching the critical period when the "entire fabric of human civilization will be thrown into the melting pot and recast, to emerge from the trial by fire purified, glorious and beautiful," and those of us who have been permitted to gaze in dreams upon the noble structure destined to arise upon the ruins of the present crumbling atrocity believe that when the time arrives life upon this planet will really be worth living. Marx pointed out that the institutions, habits of thought and customs of any people are largely the result of the means whereby they gain their livelihood, and that any change in the methods by which they accomplish this neces-

sarily involves corresponding changes in all those things enumerated. We have now entered upon the age of the machine; a new slave has been found, tireless, of unlimited strength and possibilities, infinitely better adapted to supply the material wants of mankind than the human slaves heretofore depended upon to perform the work of the world, and abundantly able to lift from the weary backs of toilers the crushing load they have for ages carried. The forces of nature have been harnessed to the machine and man's control over his new and wonderful servants becomes daily more pronounced and effective. It is to the utilization of these forces and the evolution of the simple hand tool into its present complicated and almost human perfection, in fact, that socialism has come to be regarded as desirable and inevitable, for it has already brought the socialization of production in many forms of human activity and the substitution of scientific machine production on a larger scale for the crude methods of individual hand production proceeds with ever increasing acceleration.

What is to be the outcome of the immense activity of the inventors and workers along the various lines of scientific research during the next few years? And in what manner and to what extent will it affect the movement of the working class looking toward the ownership of this new slave of iron and steam by the human slaves now obliged to compete with it? Prophecy is a dangerous pastime no doubt, but it is certainly a most fascinating one; and this article is an attempt to outline, with such accuracy as may be, along what lines progress may be expected, although the problem is too complicated and any one man's knowledge too limited to make pretense that any considerable weight should be attached to what follows.

There are so many factors to be considered and they are all so intimately related to one another that it is extremely difficult to single out those of most importance in the present discussion, but let us assume that those of immediate concern may be grouped as follows:

Improvements and inventions of a mechanical character.

Discoveries and new applications in the domain of chemistry.

Extension of our knowledge in the control and possibilities of electricity, together with a determination of what electricity really is.

It will be readily seen that in an article of this sort only the briefest mention can be made of the most important developments in these three fields and attention directed to their probable effects.

In the first division more has been accomplished of late in the way of perfecting the machinery used by the various "Christian" nations to destroy each other than in any other, and further progress may be looked for in that direction, especially in submarine vessels and aerial crafts of either the airship or aeroplane

variety. True, the aeroplane is not necessarily an implement of war, but in view of its almost unlimited possibilities when used for that purpose, all the governments of the western hemisphere and also Japan are devoting a great deal of money toward solving the problem of aerial flight. So important is the part likely to be played in human affairs by a successful flying machine that too much stress cannot be laid upon its consideration. That it will even put a stop to the whole business of organized murder which we call "war" is not too much to expect, for naturally the first place of attack with such machines would be the capitols and persons of the rulers, and no human precaution would avail against the frightful effects of a thousand pounds of high explosive dropped upon St. Petersburg or Tokyo from above. With a knowledge that the enemy possessed vessels capable of sustained flight and of carrying capacity sufficient to drop a half ton of dynamite on their heads within twelve hours after hostilities began, it is highly probable that wars would immediately become most unpopular with the only class who are now sufficiently interested to instigate them. With the power with which even the weakest nation would possess to kill off the rulers of any country, it would seem that permanent peace between all and a reference of disputes to some sort of international peace tribunal must be simply a matter of the conquest of the air. Recent developments indicate that a mechanism entirely capable of performing all the functions of a successful flying machine is even now possible, but it may be some years before all the details are worked out, and even then the greatest problem will come in the attempt to navigate it.

The submarine boat, in the opinion of many present-day experts, already bids fair to make the huge navies of the world useless for anything except junk, and the great nations are bending every energy toward adding large numbers of these small and comparatively inexpensive crafts to their equipment. At present their range of action is slight and their speed limited, but from the fact of their entire submergence in the water the ordinary means of attack and defense are useless. Cannons have been improved to the point where some are capable of throwing a projectile fifteen or twenty miles and the American government fills its shells with a new explosive called maxinite, which is so insensitive to shock that it may be fired from a cannon and even forced through armor plate without detonation. The time fuses used in connection with this shell, however, are so arranged as to explode it immediately after penetrating the interior of the enemy's ship, and the destruction it might cause under those circumstances is more to be imagined than described. Small arms are being improved constantly, and altogether war has become too horrible to be contemplated with anything but loathing and disgust.

Turning now to the arts of peace we find that one of the most recent and promising innovations is the development of the gas engine as a source of power in large units. It has been recognized for some years that this form of motor is capable of realizing in the shape of power a larger percentage of the theoretical energy of the fuel than any other motor known, but it is only during the last few years that the machine has been adapted to the use of a crude gas made by merely blowing air through a mass of incandescent carbon. Gas engines utilizing this product are said to save two-thirds of the fuel cost as compared with the best modern steam engines, and if such is the case it can be but a short time before it displaces all other sources of power, at least where large units are employed.

Another source of power of great and constantly increasing importance is the tremendous energy of falling water, and because of the ease and economy with which electric power may now be transmitted to any reasonable distance, thousands of water powers hitherto undeveloped are sure to be harnessed to the use of man in the immediate future. While there is nothing particularly new in the method by which the energy of the water is transformed into mechanical power, nor is anything more economical than the modern turbine and impact wheel likely to appear, special types are being perfected and details improved. It may be remarked that if all the water powers in the country are fully utilized the aggregate energy will be many thousands of times that obtained in all the steam and other engines now in use. The quantity is sufficient, in the opinion of experts, to furnish all the power, light and heat for the entire country several times over, and with the progressive exhaustion of our coal and other fuels must receive a correspondingly greater degree of attention.

In other lines of mechanical progress the most notable achievement of recent years is the automobile, which within a decade has reached a state of perfection and usefulness almost undreamed of. True, its price is still altogether out of proportion to its cost, and it may still be regarded as the rich man's toy, but with the standardizing of its various parts and increased facilities for manufacture its history will undoubtedly be similar to that of the bicycle, except that there is no reason why it should ever decline in popularity. With hard, level roads, such as those gridironing Europe, the automobile would prove a dangerous rival to the railroad by virtue of its great speed, unlimited range of action, ease and cheapness of operation and adaptability to all sorts of uses. That the automobile, by enlisting the aid of wealthy city residents, will bring an immediate improvement of the public wagon roads of the country there can be little doubt. Considerable has already been accomplished in this direction in various parts of the country and the national government has done and is doing a great deal of good in educating the farmers by spreading literature and the

maintenance of a corps of experts who travel about building short stretches of first-class roadway. With a universal system of good roads many hundreds of millions of dollars will be saved to the nation annually, although of course as long as the competitive system endures the benefits will be largely appropriated by the capitalist class.

In railroad practice the tendency is toward larger and larger units in locomotives and freight cars and somewhat higher speed in passenger traffic. Locomotives have now about reached the limit of weight and power possible with the present standard gage of track; and, although freight cars are now built to carry three times as much as those in use twenty years ago, further increase to a limited degree may be expected. With the same number of men it is now possible to run trains carrying three to ten times as much freight as at the period mentioned, especially when the "double header" plan is used. It may be that at some time in the future it will be deemed advisable in the interest of economy to broaden the gage of railroads in America to six feet, as was attempted many years ago, but such a suggestion would receive no consideration at present.

Almost any amount of space might be given to further discussion of the mechanical factors thus briefly touched upon, but we must pass on to a field of infinitely more importance—electricity and chemistry—for these two sciences are so intimately associated that it is quite impossible to separate them.

So important has the science of chemistry become during the last few years that almost every industrial establishment, no matter what its business, maintains at least one and frequently a whole staff of experts fully equipped with elaborate apparatus for the investigation of all technical problems connected with their particular manufacture. Independently of these are hundreds of men of world-wide reputation, many connected with great institutions of learning, all engaged in probing into the secrets of nature and continually making new discoveries of the most revolutionary character and greatest possible importance to the human race. What the future holds for us through the efforts of these men can scarcely be conjectured. As a rule they scorn to withhold from the world the results of their studies, but give out, freely and without any hope of reward other than the honor of their fellow men, processes and methods from which they might, if so minded, realize millions. The X-rays of Prof. Roentgen, the discovery and investigation of the wonderful new metal, radium, by the Curies, are cases in point. So far reaching is this latter addition to our knowledge of the elements indeed that it bids fair to effect a complete transformation of the whole theory of matter and its attributes. The phenomena of radio-activity, as exemplified by radium, uranium and a few of the other so-called elements, can be accounted for by no property heretofore known to be possessed

by them, and the whole chemical world is today bewildered and asking "where are we at?"

For some years there has been a growing tendency on the part of the great workers in this field toward acceptance of the theory that all of the so-called elements are in reality but different forms of the one real element, which many believe to be hydrogen; and now comes Sir Oliver Lodge with the startling hypothesis that all matter is nothing more than electricity, which, he suggests, may be a material substance instead of merely a force. His arguments are of an entirely too technical a character for reproduction here, but, coming from a man of his eminence, cannot fail to attract an enormous amount of attention. One thing may be regarded as established, and that is the fact that radium, besides possessing the power of giving off light and heat in quantities and ways altogether irreconcilable with hitherto accepted laws, is eventually resolved into helium, thus lending weight to the dreams of the alchemists of old in their search for means to transmute baser metals into gold.

What will be the outcome of all the study and attention now being directed toward the new problems presented by these later discoveries it is impossible to say, but that we are on the eve of developments of almost unthinkable importance is quite certain.

One of the questions which has engaged some of the chemists for many years, especially those in the employ of the government, has been the devising of some plan for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen in such form as to make it available for the use of growing plants. It has long been known that it is largely due to the loss of this element that soils become impoverished or "worn out," and until recently no other method for replacing it was known than a resort to mineral nitrates, such as those brought in large quantities from Chile, or the planting of certain species of leguminous vegetables—clover, alfalfa, etc. Recently it has been discovered that these plants obtain their nitrogen from the operations of a minute organism which is found in multitudes of tubercles attached to the roots. Patient study of the life and functions of this species of bacteria has been rewarded with most gratifying results, and they are now propagated artificially, dried, and distributed broadcast to all applicants by the government. By placing small quantities of the dried material in a barrel of water and spraying this over almost any sort of crop, the soil may be impregnated with countless billions of this most beneficial organism and the most phenomenal yield obtained from land thought to be valueless.

An electrical process has also come lately to the front by which it is possible to obtain a compound of nitrogen and oxygen directly from the air, which forms with water nitric acid, but whether this can be utilized commercially is at present undecided. The importance of all this can hardly be overestimated, as it solves the

problem of an adequate food supply for an indefinite period, once agriculture shall be placed in the hands of experts and conducted by the community instead of being intrusted to a lot of ignorant, independent, intensely exploited small producers.

In other branches of chemical science much activity is observable, especially in organic and synthetic directions. Many substances formerly obtained only from the vegetable and animal kingdoms are now produced artificially, notably indigo, camphor, etc. Although nature produces an almost infinite number of what are known as organic compounds—that is, those containing carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen—no method of combining these substances in any form on a commercial scale was known prior to the discovery of the now common substance called “calcium carbide.” From this, by merely dropping it into water, is obtained acetylene gas, composed of hydrogen and carbon in equal quantities. Aside from its great value as an illuminant, this gas serves as a starting point for the manufacture of an almost endless array of alcohols, ethers, oils of various sorts, and it may be possible before many years to produce synthetically in this manner almost anything wanted of those articles, unless in some cases the increased cost shall prevent.

Of such hopeless complexity are some of the most common and valuable organic compounds, as, for example, sugar, starch, cellulose and rubber, that but little is actually known of their structure, but a vast amount of research is being given to their consideration and something of importance may be looked for at any time. To make glucose from corn starch is a simple matter, but glucose, although identically the same as cane sugar, so far as chemical analysis indicates, is of only one-half its sweetening power. Some method to change its molecular form, thus imparting to it all the qualities of its sweeter other self, would be of such value to human-kind that its discoverer could obtain almost any price for his secret. In almost as great a degree would some one profit from a process of artificially producing rubber, the supply of which seems to be lessening, while the demand grows with leaps and bounds. Yet all these things contain nothing whatever but carbon, oxygen and hydrogen and it is hard to believe that chemistry, which has solved many problems apparently much more intricate, shall long prove impotent to cope with these, in view of the possible rewards.

Any number of pages might be profitably devoted to this one subject of chemistry, but with a final mention of one other point we must hurry on. If there is one thing more than another which has been dangled before the longing eyes of workers in this most fascinating field for hundreds of years, that thing is the possibility of making glass malleable. The material par excellence for a multitude of uses, because of its cheapness, hardness, transparency, resistance to weather, chemicals, water, and in fact

pretty nearly everything else, it is yet unfitted for most of those uses by its extreme brittleness. A means to impart to glass that one quality of malleability would furnish us with the ideal material for building purposes, an unlimited number of articles for household use, tools, implements, machinery, ties, probably rails, and a host of other things now made of the various metals and woods. Tradition has it that an ancient Roman workman was possessed of the secret and made goblets which would merely bend when dropped on the floor, but he is said to have been beheaded by the emperor, who feared that all of the then existing glasses in the world would become valueless should the secret be made known.

It is electricity, however, which has been and is dazzling the world with its apparently unlimited possibilities. So much has been accomplished in the way of enslaving to the uses of man this mystic force or element, whichever it may be, that the world is prepared to accept almost anything from that source. Beginning, not so many years ago, with the telegraph, the invention of the dynamo-electric machine, driven by a steam engine or other prime mover, afforded a base for the present gigantic expansion of the science as applied industrially. With an unlimited source of electric power we now have a bewildering network of telegraph, telephone, power, and rail lines all over the country, while Tesla and Marconi even promise to perform all of the functions of the wires by electrical vibrations traversing merely the ether. There is no place here to enumerate all of the uses to which electricity has recently been applied, and we must be content with a few of the most important.

The next few years are likely to witness a remarkable development of the various systems of wireless telegraphy, and it is reasonable to expect that it will be possible to communicate between any two points on the globe by that method, although whether the apparatus for the purpose can be made portable and usable without interference by other similar plants at the same time is still uncertain. Probably this difficulty will be overcome, although at present it prevents good results in places where the systems are most used, as in the seat of the far eastern war.

As a means for the utilization of water power hitherto entirely wasted, the electric current is attaining vast importance. It is said in Buffalo no stationary steam plant is now in use, all of the power used in that city for any purpose whatsoever coming from the great generating plant at Niagara Falls. In California power is carried from the fastnesses of the mountains to distances of more than three hundred miles to centers like San Francisco, Los Angeles and many minor points with but a slight loss. By means of the alternating current and "step-up" transformers the only difficulty in the way of carrying the power for any distance is the proper insulation of the wires. In dry weather this may be ac-

complished, even with pressures as high as those used in California (50,000 to 80,000 volts), but when bad weather supervenes the problem is sadly complicated. Then there is the danger inseparable from the handling of currents of such intensity, although most people are today wise enough to shun wires known to be carrying power. It seems probable that most of the water powers anywhere near centers of population in this country are likely to be brought into requisition very shortly, and electricity, on account of its wonderful adaptability to so many different uses, is sure to have an enormously greater field than at present. For one thing, it is unquestionable that the time is not far distant when electricity will largely or altogether supplant steam as a motive power on all lines of railroads, thus making possible the operation of single cars as units, after the manner of present trolley lines. By the use of the single-phase system of transmission the cost of operation should be considerably reduced and recent trials in Germany indicate that the speed limit under proper conditions may be safely raised to ninety or one hundred miles per hour.

When coal is burned under a steam boiler and the power thus generated used to turn a dynamo, the energy actually realized in the shape of electric current is only a small part of that theoretically possible, but no practicable means has yet been discovered of transforming heat directly into electricity on a commercial scale, although it may be done experimentally by the thermopile or the carbon-potash primary battery. The former offers possibilities which are receiving due consideration from present-day experts, and it will eventually be possible, in the writer's opinion at least, to obtain a far larger output of current by some such means than by the present roundabout and excessively wasteful method.

Another source of this kind of power which should not be overlooked is the energy of the wind. In some districts, particularly on the great plains between the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains, where the atmosphere is rarely quiet, there is absolutely no limit to the amount of power which might be generated electrically, using large windwheels geared to dynamos, these in turn to effect the charging of storage batteries. On account of the uncertainty and variability of the wind it may not be possible to use the current direct, but the storage cell has reached a high state of efficiency already and is likely to undergo still greater improvement.

We now come to the domain of electro-chemistry, in which some of the most spectacular discoveries of recent years have been made, and which is today receiving more attention than any other field of scientific inquiry. The invention of the electric furnace, and the use of that wonderful appliance made possible by the harnessing of the almost infinite power of streams like Niagara, has placed in the hands of science one of its most, if not

the most, effective tool known to man. Grouped around the great falls in easy reach of the huge generators now driven by a minute portion of the water diverted from its original leap, are growing up great plants for the manufacture of calcium carbide, barium carbide, carborundum, alundum, aluminum, caustic soda, nitric acid and many other valuable products hitherto made by other processes or not at all. Some of these processes employ the electric furnace, and others, such as the caustic soda plant, simply use the current to effect decomposition of certain mineral compounds, which in this case is a common salt, the chlorine passing off as a gas, to be combined with slaked lime to form bleaching powder, while the metallic sodium immediately decomposes the water present to form caustic soda and hydrogen gas, the latter being, of course, used as a by-product.

It is difficult to prevent waxing entirely too enthusiastic over the possibilities of electro-chemistry, for it offers opportunities for profitable study and large reward to a greater degree than almost any other branch of science. If there are any limitations to the field in which these methods may be applied to the discovery of new and the cheapening of known substances, it is not apparent, and it is easier to interest moneyed men in this direction than almost any other.

To sum up, it may be said that in spite of all the marvelous inventions and discoveries in so many different lines during the last century, all that has gone before will be as nothing compared with what the next hundred years will bring forth. Let us give the devil his due and cheerfully admit that capitalism, whatever may be its shortcomings, has shown us the way by which we can forever free the human race from want or the fear of want by having solved the problem of production for many times the number of people now living on this globe. It has also added innumerable comforts and conveniences which, although enjoyed at present by but a few, will be participated in by all, once we have thrown down the barriers of private ownership in the means by which they are produced.

In these, the final years of capitalism, the process of concentration in all the various lines of industry will proceed with ever increasing rapidity, the plants will decrease in number as they increase in size, new and improved methods will be constantly introduced, there will be greater and greater tendency toward standardization with the monopolization of all industries and scientific methods and processes will bring order into the chaos hitherto existing in all of our industrial affairs—so far as may be consistent with the perpetuation of the capitalist system. With the continual improvement of the machine toward the capitalist ideal, where human labor will be no longer required and production entirely automatic, there must necessarily result a continual increase in the army of unemployed and a greater intensifi-

cation of their present miseries. Eventually the capitalist system must break down, because of its utter inability to provide the barest necessities of life for its millions of famishing wage-slaves, and when it shall have given place to a rational and just system of co-operation, such a flood of scientific and inventive talent will be let loose that progress, from that time forth, will date its real inception from the Socialistic revolution. At present we have only touched upon the outer edge of the vast sea of knowledge, owing to the fact that men have always occupied themselves in fighting each other instead of directing their attention toward more rational employment. There are thousands of potential Kelvins, Edisons, Curies and Pasteurs in our midst today engaged in following the plow or delving in the mines, who, under Socialism, would find opportunities to develop their latent genius and confer untold benefits upon mankind.

CHARLES ELWOOD RANDALL.

Concentred.

Children, twenty thousand, slaughtered in the "Concentration" camps!
On with sackcloth and with ashes—in the Temples, out with lamps.
Hush the voice of supplication; for its season long has past,
For the blood of breathless children stirs Omnipotence—at last.

Twenty thousand tongues—though silenced—sentence ye: accept your fate.
What a word is this, Repentance? but your penitence comes late.
Much too late to make the Mothers bless, instead of curse the land.
Much too late—the earth is trembling. Can ye now not understand?

Curst forever by the Mothers of these martyred infants! Say,
Did ye count the cost of conflict when the sword was raised to slay?
Did ye think to stifle curses that must rise to Mothers' lips
At the sight—forever present—of the child Starvation grips?

Oh ye Mothers who are mourning son or husband lost in war,
Time shall touch your lips to singing; Time shall close the open sore.
But the breasts of famished Mothers of these twenty thousand slain
Shall the deathly pain be aching; shall forevermore complain.

Mute the lips; nor conscious cursing in the cowed, rebellious lives;
But remembrance speaks forever—and the bitterness survives,
In the silence of the night time comes the vision—faces blanch;
And a cry to God for vengeance, that shall loose the avalanche.

Twenty thousand? Twenty thousand must be many multiplied,
For the cities of all Nations have their slaughtered babes supplied.
Children in the slums concentrated, starving children everywhere.
Wring with anguish hearts of Mothers—till they curse in wild despair.

Curst. Accumulated curses have concentrated on our heads.
Curst. And cool contempt for others sends us crassly to our beds;
While a multitude of Mothers by their slaughtered children weep,
We—concentred all in "Profits"—think the victory was cheap.
—EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTE.

The Italian Elections.

The socialist reviews are by no means entirely agreed as to the general effect of the recent elections in Italy. The new publication *La Vie Socialiste* has an article by A. Tisbo from which we take the following extracts:

"The verdict of the country is known, but is it truly the country which has elected the deputies? We may doubt this, not alone because of the great majority of illiterates and indifferent persons who have not been included in the electoral lists, but also because an important fraction of the electors have been prevented from voting either by the recall to active service of the reserves of 1880-81 and by the official orders given to State employes, and because furthermore in very many places the police and the troops terrorized citizens and prevented them from exercising the right.

"The governmental coalition does not appear to be firmly established. Rumors are already current of an inevitable division, and it is easy to foresee that the Cabinet will soon be compelled to choose between its electoral supporters, its moderate proteges, and its clerical adherents. When the time comes that it is compelled to make this choice it will find itself embarrassed and very much menaced.

"But it is not alone because of these things that the joy of the official journals is very much restricted. The evident hope of the Ministry was the complete annihilation of the power of the extreme Right and the extreme Left. Now, however, it is evident that the Chamber of tomorrow will resemble at nearly all points that of yesterday. Upon the one side the friends of M. Sonnio have slipped themselves into a majority, and on the other hand the extreme left with its most combative fraction, republicans and democrats, has not been diminished as much as they have hoped.

"Indeed, what few radicals have disappeared are just those radicals which solicit governmental support. Those who are elected are nearly all those who offered open battle to the Ministry. On the other hand, the republicans in spite of their strong attitude have lost two or three seats and the Socialists have maintained their positions. They have indeed 29 deputies of which three have been elected in two districts. This success, however apparently small, is in reality a great victory.

"The result of the election of 1900 gave us but 28 delegates and this result was obtained through a union with the democratic and republican party. Our candidates supported by all those popular forces then obtained only 164,976 votes

in the entire peninsula. This time they were practically alone and in spite of the defection of certain elements eliminated by the general strike and the conflict which has divided our party, we have received nearly 320,000 votes.

"It is necessary to note that the reverses which we have met are largely due to the intervention of a new force in the struggle, that of the clericals. All of the clericals have voted at either the first or the second election.

"For ten years they have held over our heads this threat of clerical intervention. Now, it has come to pass and our party comes forth stronger than ever."

Perhaps the most remarkable comment on the election is that which proceeds from the opportunist point of view. Leonida Bissolati, who was formerly the opportunist editor of *Avanti* from which position he was deposed by the party to make room for Ferri has an article on the result of the Italian election in the December number of Bernstein's *Monatshefte* which is remarkable for its frank statement of the reformist position. To him it is a source of sorrow "that the electoral battle did not turn on any parliamentary question such as the railroad or tariff question, but was a battle in which the parties were forced to align themselves according to their fundamental differences, and especially in relation to the labor movement in its most universal and complex manifestation, of which the general strike was the most significant expression. In my opinion it is a proof of the backwardness of political life when the battle of individual parties turns on their fundamental tendencies instead of on individual questions which spring from the reality of daily life. It is certainly true, however, that an election which was brought about by a general strike could have taken no other character."

To the socialist who has always supposed that it was a fundamental principle of socialist doctrine that every election should turn on just these fundamental questions such talk sounds strange. But there are further surprises. "The extreme left lost in the neighborhood of 15 seats in the Chamber. To be sure, the Socialist Party can boast of doubling its vote in comparison with the election of 1900, but the number of their representatives in parliament is somewhat reduced. To be sure the reduction is very insignificant—we had 33 and we will henceforth have 32 representatives—so that when we consider the great efforts that were made to crush the Socialist Party we can say that it has almost maintained its previous position. It would, however, be foolish boasting to talk about a victory. * * * Let us turn for a moment from the number of socialist votes and socialist representatives to

other considerations. I have already remarked that the slight reduction of a fraction may perhaps be considered as offset by the increase in votes. Nevertheless it may easily be maintained that such an equivalent does not exist, but that on the contrary the loss of even one seat as opposed to the increase of votes can injuriously affect the activity of the party, limit its strength and injure it in just those directions wherein the main point of the struggle consists: the advance and conquest of parliamentary position. But let us leave these considerations to one side. The gains and losses that a party receives in electoral battle arise not alone from the number of its representatives in elections, but much more from the favorable or unfavorable situation in which it finds itself after the battle and as a result of the struggle. From the point of view of the party and proletarian interests the situation is undoubtedly worse. The socialists, both in parliament and outside see themselves opposed by a union of their opponents such as has never confronted them before. The conservative capitalist parties have, to our disadvantage, drawn nearer to each other, so that from now on the tactics that have previously served us, based upon the rivalries which weaken the camp of the enemy, will be continuously more difficult. At the same time the powers upon which we could count, in certain moments, either for the advance of liberty or the conquest of better positions for the proletariat, have grown weaker. I refer to the decrease in the strength of the extreme left. So it comes about that our relations to the capitalist democracy have become very cool, and in just the degree that the feeling of the little merchant and little bourgeoisie which were once openly sympathetic to us and are now, even if not in direct enmity, at least envious, mistrustful and angry, toward us."

Oda Oldbert, the Italian correspondent of the *Neue Zeit*, also writes of the Italian elections in a recent number. Quotations from this article give a very different idea from that of our opportunist comrade. "In 1897 under the ministry of Rudini the Italian Socialist Party cast 108,086 votes and captured sixteen seats. There has not been a universal election since that time and until the 6th of November of this year there has not been any opportunity for socialists to obtain a clear view of the strength which they possessed for the conquest of political power. This last election has given us this view and the party received over 300,000 votes or one-fifth of all cast, and captured 29 seats. In spite of this advance which, to be sure, indicates a normal development of a sound healthy party organization in a favorable social environment discussions have constantly arisen, both at home and abroad as to whether it indicated a step in advance or a

retarding of the socialist movement. This is partly because of recognized official falsification and partly because of the ignorance or false interpretation of early party history. These conclusions are based upon the fact that the election of 1897 was followed by that of Pelloux in which 32 socialist seats were gained and forgets that this election turned on definite objects for which the socialist party united with the radicals and the republicans."

"In the chamber which has just been dissolved there were 32 socialists, not counting Barbatto, who although elected in a republican district, had declared himself a socialist. Of the 32 socialists 28 belonged to the socialist party, three to an autonomous group and one was unattached. In the new Chamber there are also 32 socialists, 29 belong to the party organization, one to an autonomous group and two are unattached.

"The party therefore has one more member than in the previous Chamber. To be sure the party has suffered losses, *but it has not lost a single seat that it won by its own strength unaided by an alliance with any other party.* * * To be sure, of the 30 second elections only four went favorable to us, because the government brought to bear all possible influence upon the election and practically no support was received from the republicans and radicals.

"Our tremendous increase of votes along the whole line is the best security for the future, and the party will certainly not allow itself to be discouraged because it has been swindled out of a few seats. It must be remembered that the election followed the general strike and according to the representation of the government is to be considered as the judgment of the people upon that event. Although every effort was used to repress the vote of the country, yet through the clashing of arms and the rolling of the gold pieces, the voices of over 300,000 voters was heard, who on the morrow of the general strike, on the morrow also of the revolutionary movement that has cost tremendous material sacrifice without bringing anything but idealistic advantages, stood for the party and its programme. Such votes cannot be lightly under-estimated. * * *

"The party had in no way sought to avoid the responsibility for the strike. On the contrary its central organ had openly and expressly declared the strike to be in full accord with the socialist methods and positions as an expression of a proletarian party resting upon the class struggle, that it could and would repeat if necessary. So it was that the question to which the socialist voter gave an affirmative answer was not as formerly: do you wish to stand with a party that

strived for this or that humanitarian ideal, or for this or that present programme, with a host of modifications and restrictions?

"Such questions have been previously answered in the affirmative by many recent transient adherents simply because they wished to follow a part of the programme. The storm of the general strike scattered this sort of forces. From such a position to the acceptance of responsibility for the general strike is a long stride, that only those will take who are convinced of the historical necessity of our movement, of the inevitability of a violent conclusion and of the extent of the sacrifice demanded, whether they proceed upon the ground of theoretical convictions or of personal class interests. The general strike has thus become a powerful touchstone with which to separate the vague socialistic feeling from the socialism of the class struggle.

"Further the strike has injured the actual personal interests of the little capitalist class, and those who from many points had been drawn to our minimum programme, were suddenly driven away. This is especially true of the very numerous class of little merchants, which still exists in Italy, who were injured by the strike, and have been wholly lost to us in this present election. This dissolving of the fallacious unity of ideals and interests finds its political expression in the disappearance of the lines of the popular parties."

Translations and comment by A. M. Simons.

Letters from a Pork Packer's Stenographer.

LETTER NO. VII.

Chicago, Ill., 190—.

My Dearest Katherine:

Your letter came this morning, and it has set me thinking all the day, for alas! You speak truly, when you say I am changed. That dear little letter was the one link to bind me to the past, the one bright spot amid the wrecks of my illusions; for it represents the friend who loves me for the things I have been, for the things I am now, and who, though I break every one of the Ten Commandments, though I mock at the mistaken ideals of men, and put my trust in the things they call evil, will continue to love me till the end.

It was a welcome letter, my Kate, for it gave me one tried cord to cling to, at a time when I find the teachings of my mother, the beliefs of the Church, and all the vaunted intellects of the college, irreconcilably opposed to the deductions that Truth, and Reason, and Experience dictate. I find myself alone, facing the new and untried, the way to growth and progress, against the old, which represents all that the world has trusted and believed in the past.

I am no longer the little girl who stole from her crib and crept down the stairs one Christmas eve sixteen years ago, with the hope of discovering the St. Nicholas of childish fancy, and nursery lore—to lose—her first illusion. Nor the school-girl, who boasted of her American birth, and worshipped her Sons of War, who honored where honor was not due, and blamed where she should have given praise. Nor a Christian, in a land where men compete with each other for the means of existence, and count it noble. No longer the idealist who believes in appealing to the sentiment—the humanity in man.

I am the woman of twenty-three who has buried her illusions, who has outgrown the shell of her past beliefs, who respects the old, only because it has made possible the new, who has seen sentiment fail, and Christianity stagnate, and who believes the only programme calculated to benefit the man and woman of the future, must be, as it has been in the past, founded upon the never-failing stimuli, of personal benefit—self-interest, as a Christ's teachings of a brotherhood in this world were founded upon a personal reward to be reaped in Heaven; as many manufacturers in the North, forty years ago, became abolitionists, and worked for the freedom of the negroes, in order that Northern manufacturers might be able to compete with the Southern markets; as cannibalism died away, when it became apparent to the ancient tribes that they could better use their enemies by making

slaves of, than by eating, them; as society has ever progressed through the constant seeking of every individual for his own personal happiness.

I have come to believe that self-interest, and not self-sacrifice, is the law of progress, for no matter how ideal may be a man's aims, how altruistic his motives, or how loving his soul, he has first to supply the needs of his own body, ere the work moves on.

Until of late, however, in spite of my lagging faith in the truth of the Church, my waning respect for college intellect, and my new conception of Man, I had still belief in the laws and institutions of our country—that they were formed for the purpose of protecting the innocent from the guilty—and stood for justice and equality toward all. But again, I say, I have buried another one of my illusions.

I am awakened more fully every day to the fact that the laws are made nowadays more to protect the guilty from the innocent, than to uphold the virtuous; rather to help the strong to become stronger, and to protect the colossal robber in picking the pockets of the poor. I have been reading the morning paper and the trial of the boodlers in Missouri. I see that the Packing Companies are going to "Legally" combine. So, while they were punished (in Missouri, a paltry fine of \$5,000) for combining—in May—they are combining, according to Law—in June.

Trusts buy, where they cannot defy—and it is only the poor man who obeys the laws. If the new anti-anarchist laws were put into effect, I think some of us would be surprised at our friends who would be transported.

It seems to me that it is mockery to talk of Liberty when half a dozen men own the resources on which the lives of the whole nation depend! And that we are only suffering a new kind of slavery, where our backs and our stomachs scourge us onward, and bid us yield homage to the kings, as did the lash of the master's whip, in the days of old! And the hand that holds the job rules the world!

But in spite of the loss of my old beliefs, I have found one rock of truth amid the new. Human nature is ever the same. It has always been the same, and doubtless it will continue so. And human nature is selfish. It seeketh its own. It is compelled to seek its own in order to live. On this fact, and on this fact alone, must the Future build. On this fact has History built, and it is this great natural law, that will eventually bring greater happiness, greater liberty, greater knowledge, and broader life, to all men. Utopia must come as the Republic came—not founded upon the sands of sentiment, or religion—but upon the natural and eternal law of self-interest.

I suppose you have seen in the papers that the fortunate Sylvia has at last succeeded in landing her Count. The *Tribune* calls him an imbecile, the *News* says he has \$500,000 bad debts, while

the *American* proclaims that he has a club-foot and has suffered from rickets since his childhood. But no matter how rickety he is, nor how foolish or wicked he may be, he is a Count for all that (just as Pierpont Graham would have been ever increasingly a millionaire, if he had been born an idiot), and even if Sylvia has to have him shut up in an asylum, she will still be the Countess of Know-nothing-at-all-and-never-did-a-lick. I believe John Graham, himself, is not much taken with the idea of having a Count in the family. But whether it is more praiseworthy to get rich by working the people who do the work, or by marrying a bank account, would be a question somewhat difficult of answer. Perhaps the Count will prove a good spender—Counts usually know that much, anyway—and thus keep the custodians of Sylvia's wealth from going crazy trying to look after her money.

Mrs. Graham, it seems, warmly approves of the match, and has expressed herself by presenting her niece with a country place in England, worth over a million dollars, for a wedding present. Hundreds of workmen have been dispatched to the de Souci Gardens to rebuild the ancient palace that belonged to the fathers of the Count, which the papers tell us he has been able to redeem on the strength of Sylvia's millions. They are also having built the finest yacht that ever sailed the seas, in which this modest pair, a score of friends and twice as many servants, are to spend their honeymoon. It is to be hoped, with Sylvia's place in Santa Barbara, her mansion in New York, her home in Denver, her farm in Massachusetts, and her cottage at Newport, that this humble, hard-working pair may never lack a spot to lay their heads.

It is said they will own the finest stables in the world; that the harness worn by the horses, of the Countess-elect, is worked with real gold and studded with jewels, and that her favorite saddle horse would set up Teddy and me for life.

And have you read the daily descriptions of my lady's trousseau? Thirty sets of underwear, woven by hand so skilful, and of thread so fine as almost to rival the gossamer cob-web in texture! Such wonders of real lace, and embroidered hose, such marvels of Parisian dressmakers' skill, such treasures from the Orient, such curios from the Occident, such silks and jewels, such a wealth of costly gifts showered upon a young bride, was never known before in the "Land of Equality!" Never known anywhere since the days of Louis the XIV, or the merry-mad times of old Rome!

Sylvia and her maids, and the Count and his men, are being fêted from palace to castle, from noon until morning, and the celebrated Dr. L., is afraid Sylvia will be unable to endure the strain of so many teas, breakfasts, dinners, dances, so many glovemakers, dressmakers, bootmakers and milliners. Did you read about the dinner given in this young lady's honor at Arling-

ton Palace, last week, by the Duchess of M? Where the walls were hung with garlands of American Beauty roses, and hyacinths, and birds and fishes sported in the artificial lake and amid the tropical plants arranged in the center of the tables; where the favors were ivory boutonnaires, worked with gold and inlaid with pearls and rubies? So much wealth is enough to intoxicate any woman into belief in the divine rights of money!

Mr. Mac. says this is just so much money thrown into circulation, and we ought to be thankful to the rich; and Doctor Hughes, whom I heard at Church last Sunday evening, says we owe all our pleasures, and even our lives, to the kind and brotherly capitalist. It is just such sermons as this that make me stay at home, or go to the theater on Sunday evening. I never heard a minister preach anything but contentment and endurance with society as it exists to-day, and from all I can learn, it has been their attitude in all time past, and at their present rate of progress, it seems to me this will continue to be their stand in the future. God is always pleased with the existing state of society, and to oppose such a condition would be to oppose the will of God himself, is the teaching we generally hear from the pulpit. It is the reason progressive thinkers go another way. Anything that retards progress should be set aside, and so they *ought* to go another way. But we find that most ministers, like all other men, form their opinions largely at the source from which they draw their salaries (the wealthy parishioners of the diocese).

All these ecclesiastical theories on endurance, and these college philosophies founded on property, are enough to make anybody sad-hearted. It is not charity we want, but justice; not to be told to endure, when there is a cure; nor to render thanks when we have been the givers of gifts; nor to wait for justice in Heaven, amid injustice here! And it isn't a just Government that permits one child to be born a millionaire, and another a pauper!

I must tell you what I did last night, Kate. After reading the foregoing portion of my letter, you will be surprised—and I am myself surprised, that the young woman who could write such thoughts, should have so narrow a scope of self-satisfaction as to think more of her own shirtwaists than of the sorrows of a child-laborer. For, while I believe that self-interest, self-seeking, is the law both of life and progress, yet there is selfishness, and selfishness. There is Miss Katherine Wallace, who denies her stomach for the sake of her mind, because she prefers to do it; and the mother who goes hungry herself, because she would rather her children be fed; the man who dies for his brother, because it satisfies his soul to give up his life for another; and the man who rejoices in his physical pains, because he hopes, and believes to be made happier in the world to come. All selfish, all self-satisfying, all appealing to the strongest appetite in the in-

dividual; but I had hoped and believed that I was beyond thinking only of my own troubles, and could take my pleasure in giving other people pleasure. But I will tell you about it.

I have exactly four shirtwaists that I can wear at the office, and three of them were in the wash, which Mrs. Flynn, who has been my tried and steady laundress, called for some ten days ago. But this time she failed to reappear on Friday with my clean clothes, as was her custom, nor did she come during the week which followed, and by the time I had soiled my best white waists, I decided to hunt her up, and see if I could not get something to wear. And so, last night, promptly after dinner, I took a car, and after riding over an hour, through the darkest, dirtiest, most wretched looking, and most offensive smelling, district in the city, and after much wandering through interminable alleys, I finally found the little house, in the basement of which dwelt Mrs. Flynn, her husband and four children. Ten or twelve ragged and dirty urchins played noisily about the steps that led down to Mrs. Flynn's abode; a woman sat nursing her baby on the narrow front porch, and a drunken bricklayer (I heard her say) was playing foot-ball with his family in the room above. And mark you: I, a strong young woman of twenty-three—I, who have earned my daily bread for half a dozen years, and who know the meaning of the struggle for life—I was AFRAID, in the community where Mrs. Flynn's little *children* are GROWING UP.

I found Mrs. Flynn sick, lying in a legless bed upon the floor, in her little room in the basement, while Sarah, aged eight, the eldest of the little quartette, walked wearily too and fro in a vain endeavor to silence the wailings of six months' old Theodore Roosevelt. She wore a gored skirt, made for a woman and cut off at the knees, a pair worn boys' shoes, and alas! one of the missing shirtwaists, which I recognized at a glance. When she saw me she scurried back of the cook stove, baby and all, in a wild effort to conceal her attire, while I gave Mrs. Flynn a Sunday School discourse on honesty, and the rights of private property.

She told me that Pat was a pig-sticker at the plant of Graham & Company, and made \$2.00 a day, when there was work, but he was seldom needed more than three or four days out of the week. Of late, she said, the Packing Company had been putting foreign workmen, who were either willing, or forced to work for lower wages, in the places of the old men, and she, herself, had been taken sick, and obliged to give up the weekly washings, and scrubbing with which she had sought to eke out their slender income. Little Sarah was taken out of school, and obtained a place as cash-girl in one of the big department stores. And, being without one whole garment to her back, they had 'borrowed' from my washing to enable her to go to work.

Mrs. Flynn did not acquit herself as I have here, and as Teddy

acquitted her, when I found him waiting for me on my return home, and told him the story. By the time she had finished, however, I was trying to retract gracefully, and made little Sarah a present of the waist, etc., etc., etc. And Teddy (when was he ever unsympathetic to the poor) has promised to get Pat a place on the shipping force in the yards; so I can really begin to feel comfortable about them again.

Poor little Sarah! It will not be long before she loses the gentleness from her voice; the childish dimples, and the dance in her feet, in the sighing, and striving, and ceaseless endeavor of solving the problems of dinner and rent!

Teddy says that Necessity has forced her into her first petty theft, and that while Society has not an "ounce" to save her now, it will condemn her, and expend its "pounds" in prisons, and policemen, to punish her, if beaten by the winds and rain, she stumble by the wayside; for it is only among men that we demand barren soil to yield forth fruit, and weeds to blossom into flowers!

You must read Teddy's last verses in *McClure's*. They are on "A Weed," and I think he had children like Sarah in mind when he wrote them. A thousand kisses, and a heart full of love,
from, Your own MARY.

The Trusts at the Amsterdam Congress.

THE subject "Trusts and Unemployment" had been placed on the Agenda of the International Socialist Congress, held at Amsterdam, at the request of the Socialist party of the United States.

It is very likely that amongst the comrades, who make Trusts and their influence on the life of the workers a special study, some must have looked forward with keen interest to the report of our comrades of the United States on the connection they could point out as existing between trusts and unemployment. This report has not come forward. The little yellow volume bringing the long waited for reports and resolutions on the various subjects of the Agenda, appeared just one or two days before the opening of the Congress and contained the information that the Socialist party of the United States had not been able to elaborate the question of "Trusts and Unemployment" and requested to strike it from the Agenda. It seemed then quite natural that the Congress should not deal with a question, the discussion of which lacked any introduction or preparation. The bureau of the Congress has deemed adequate to act otherwise. It has maintained the question "Trusts and Unemployment" on the Agenda of the Congress. It has thus assumed the responsibility of the inconsiderate way in which the congress has dealt with the question of Trusts.

An International Socialist Congress is hardly a study club. It cannot be expected that either the Congress at large or even a committee having a few hasty hours only for its work, shall go deeply into the research of the connections which may possibly exist between certain problems of capitalist production, nor that they shall establish complicated facts, the data for which are still scarce and not sufficiently reliable.

It follows that an International Congress should not be asked to adopt resolutions on questions, which are still matter of study and research.

There seems to be a general feeling amongst our comrades that our International Congresses cannot help but adopt a certain number of resolutions. If this is a fatality, we should, if our resolutions shall have some value, questionable as it may be, thereby stick to such points, whereupon there exists some fairly general opinion, or where sufficient data are available to enable the formation of a tolerably founded judgment.

The question of "Trusts and Unemployment," the establishing of what connection there may exist between the two problems, surely does not come under said category. The general development of trusts being comparatively new (some delegates at the commission told us that in their country they had not seen any

trusts so far, but they had seen unemployment and would be only too glad to get same remedied) our knowledge of their methods and of their consequences must necessarily be incomplete. The appearance of unemployment is surely of older date. Several generations of workers have gone through lives of constant anxiety in the face of everthreatening unemployment, have suffered all kinds of misery during the periods when the want of employment was actually upon them. But do we have in most countries fairly complete data as regards the extension of unemployment in various industries, and since when? And where we have those statistics, are they classed analytically according to the causes of unemployment in each separate case, such as to make us to compare the importance and the nature of the unemployment at different moments and in various industries, and to go into the causes which are at the bottom of the differences we find? Do we really thus dispose of the necessary data to state: in such country in such industry at such moment the unemployment was so much, at such other moment, all other circumstances being perfectly equal, the unemployment has been so much; the difference between the two figures arises from the development of trusts into said industry? It is only too evident that we are still at a great distance from this extension of our research and precision of our knowledge.

Still there is the bureau of the Congress deciding that, irrespective of the total absence of information available for the delegates, the subject "Trusts and Unemployment" shall be maintained on the Agenda of the Congress. A commission is appointed to deal with the question. Let us suppose that it consists of submissive and obedient delegates. They resist the temptation of going to listen to Bebel and Jaures at the commission for tactics. They retire virtuously into the little corner set out for their meeting.

"There is no well defined connection between trusts and unemployment," says one delegate. "There may be such connection but we cannot clearly see it so far," says the more prudent number two. "We should enforce the trusts to afford regular employment to their workmen," says a third. "According to certain economists the trusts have the tendency to diminish unemployment in the industries they control," remarks a fourth delegate. "If they do not prevent unemployment, they make, it is said, its appearance less sudden and thus less terrible." "In any case the trusts oppress the workers and we must condemn them." "This is not what the Congress asks us to do, we are asked to formulate a resolution on Trusts and Unemployment." "Why should this retain us from wording a resolution on trusts generally?" "We do have the resolution of the Paris Congress 1900; why shall we repeat same?" "There are four years since and new appearances may have developed meantime." Such are the

principal opinions expressed at the Commission. Surely there would have been expressed some other and different views if the gatherings of the commission had been complete, without the irresistible attraction of the discussion at the Commission for tactics.

Some decision has to be arrived at. The commission on "Trusts and Unemployment" means to be courteous. They will not go before the Congress and say: "You will try us at riddles? We do not like the game." They will take the question "Trusts and Unemployment" as earnest; if a resolution is wanted they will formulate one.

The Commission comes before the Congress with a resolution as below:

TRUSTS AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Amsterdam International Socialist Congress declares that there is no evidence to show that the trust form of production and distribution has done anything to diminish the amount of unemployment, but that on the contrary the control by trusts of capitalistic production enables them to accentuate unemployment in the interest of their profits; it reiterates the Paris resolution in stating the futility of attempting by legislation either to prevent the formation of trusts, or to restrain their growth, and therefore repeats its appeal to the workers to use their organized power to effect the socialization of production and distribution.

(All this in spite of the apparent fiasco of anti-trust legislation in the United States.)

In the explanatory report, limited within ten minutes, two arguments are put forward as having led the commission to word the resolution as proposed.

In view of the assertions of certain economists to the effect that the trusts are the conscious regulators of employment of the workers in the trustified industries, it was found desirable to state that there are no reliable data to show anything of the kind. It was further found desirable to point out that the trusts from their character and nature, affording as they do to the masters of industry the power to limit and restrain the production in an entire branch if they find it their interest to do so, must have rather the tendency to increase unemployment, it being manifest that in many cases the trusts have actually led to restrict the output. Strictly speaking, the Commission could have satisfied with this statement and could have therewith considered its task as filled. It has yielded to the temptation to add a few words of warning against all hope towards anti-trust legislation, prohibitive or restrictive. The motive was that in several countries of Europe trust-regulating legislation is under consideration or assumed to

be under consideration and that even in our party we meet with the opinion that it would be possible by legislation to conduct the trusts. It was on this ground found necessary in reaffirming the Paris resolution, to emphasize it on this point and to clearly establish our position towards such legislation or towards platforms of political parties to this effect.

If the resolution did not say more, it was because the Commission felt no desire to indulge into generalities.

The Congress, however, did not want such a modest resolution. On the mere proposal of the English delegation, without one single word of argument or even discussion, the Congress asked the Commission to formulate another resolution.

The Commission met the next morning. It came to the conclusion that, submissive as it desired to be, it could not on the subject of "Trusts and Unemployment" say anything else than what the Congress had refused to listen to. But that if a resolution on trusts generally was wanted, they were prepared to formulate one.

This information having been put to the Congress, it manifested its desire to have such a general resolution. The Commission has obeyed and has worded a resolution as follows:

TRUSTS.

The trusts in their complete development eliminate competition among the masters of production. They gradually develop from loose associations of independent capitalists into gigantic and solidly organized corporations, national or even international, often leading to practical monopoly over various industries. They are the inevitable outcome of competition under a system of production by wage labor for capitalist profit. In these bodies the great capitalists of all countries and of all industries are rapidly being welded into a compact unit on a basis of common material interest. Thus the conflict between capitalist and working classes becomes ever sharper. Production is regulated diminishing waste and increasing the productive power of labor. But the whole benefit gives to the capitalists and the exploitation of labor is intensified.

In view of these facts and of the further fact that experience has amply proven the futility of "anti-trust" legislation on the basis of our system of capitalist property and profit, the International Socialist Congress reaffirms and emphasizes the conclusions of the Paris congress to the following effect:

1. That the socialist parties in all countries ought

It is not superfluous to repeat the text; the resolution, though being printed in the three languages, not having been distributed to the Congress and having in consequence been mentioned even in our party press quite erroneously.

to refrain from participation in any attempt to prevent the formation of trusts or to restrain their growth, regarding such attempts as always futile and often reactionary.

2. That the efforts of the Socialist parties should be directed to establishing public ownership of all the means of production on a basis of public utility, eliminating profit. The method of effecting this socialization and the order in which it comes into effect will be determined by our power at the time of action and by the nature of the industries trustified.

3. Against the growing danger which threatens their economic organization through this solidification of capitalist forces, the workers of the world must set their organized power, united nationally and internationally, as their only weapon against capitalist oppression and the only means of overturning the capitalist system and establishing socialism.

This resolution has been adopted by the Congress, without discussion, without even being read, nor being distributed. In this way the International Socialist Congress of Amsterdam has taken position towards the important trust problem.

The mere establishing of these facts judges the method adopted by the Congress in this matter.

If a new resolution on the trusts generally was really wanted, it was surely not in this way that it should be arrived at.

It may be said that no mischief is done; that the resolution is quite tenable and may do good work in those countries where attempts at trust legislation are going on. If this is so, it is no merit of the Congress.

The new resolution is in fact the same as that of the Paris congress, somewhat corrected. The comrades who worded it had some misgivings as to the fate which falls to questions put before a congress toward its close. They have exercised good prudence in keeping the resolution within the limits of fairly recognized opinions, that no reproach should reach them of having led the Congress into error.

There may be warning in experience. Let us be warned that our congresses shall have to adopt better methods of working if in similar matters they desire to be taken in earnest.

Surely the trust problem may deserve the attention of an International Congress some day, when we shall have time, rather more than ten minutes, to deal with the question properly. Neither the Paris resolution nor that of Amsterdam can be said to exhaust the subject. There are several points at issue, on which there is by no means an established opinion in the party at general. There is the connection between trusts and protective tariffs, to name one. Some of our comrades affirm that trusts and

industrial combinations generally cannot exist, at all events cannot prosper where there are no protective tariffs. Others think that irrespective of tariff legislation the formation of trusts will follow its course. There is, to raise another point, the position of trade unions in trustified industries. Must the trusts of necessity oppose trade unions? Or can there, on the contrary, be a basis for lasting agreements between the two organizations? There is further the question of legislation on trusts; if it cannot prevent their formation or growth, could it put them under certain control or raise special taxes from them? There may even be the question of "Trusts and Unemployment." For we do not deny the possibility that the formation of trusts may essentially interfere with unemployment, either with its form of appearance or with its relative or absolute importance. It is even possible that a somewhat deep-going discussion on the subject "Trusts and Unemployment" might lead us on delicate ground: the connection between trusts and industrial crises, as regards their frequency, their duration and their violence. A discussion which may concern, if not our theories, at least their classical and most prominent interpreters. But we will all agree that such a discussion could not be properly carried on without having before us quite a collection of figures and facts, which for the greater part are incompletely established.

It will be sufficient to point out these questions under some of their aspects, to show that the discussion of the trust problem by an international congress, in order to be worthy both of the subject and of the congress, should be well introduced and amply prepared in the party periodicals.

Conclusion: The Socialist Party of the United States has acted wisely in requesting the International Bureau to strike the point "Trusts and Unemployment" from the Agenda of the Amsterdam Congress.

Second conclusion: The International Bureau should not have maintained on the Agenda a subject which had not even been set out in a report. The fact that something or other was wanted to occupy the congress with, during the continued discussions on tactics at the commission, is not quite sufficient excuse.

Third conclusion: Let us request our International Bureau to consider the possibility of adopting for our future congresses some rule and rigidly keep to it, to the effect: that no point shall be placed on the agenda for the congress unless the question involved be set out in a report received by the International Bureau by not later than nine months before the date of the congress, so as to enable its being published by not later than six months before such date, which would leave sufficient time to discuss the subject in the party periodicals of the various countries.

F. M. WIBAUT.

Amsterdam, September, 1904.

A New Messiah—A Reply.

I AM limited in space in my reply to Mr. Untermann's article entitled *A New Messiah* in December *International Socialist Review*. That I admit that I know nothing of Socialism; that I endorse the objection that Socialism can not come about unless we first change human nature; that I do not know what my own philosophy is in regard to the future are misunderstandings. See page 279, last of section II, and first of III., of my article, and chapter XIX of my book entitled: *What the Socialization of Humanity Will Accomplish*. As to the style and logic of my book *The Lewiston Evening Journal* says: "The Socialization of Humanity is certainly original, well and plainly written, unmistakable in its intent, searching in its analysis of nature, life, mind and society." *Boston Ideas* says: "The Socialization of Humanity is a candid, sane consideration of humanity, a summing up of essential results, their causes and their legitimate outcome—all written from a standpoint so deeply and so surely based that the book becomes a thing of absolute value to humanity in its evolutionary struggle to understand itself, its origin and its future. The author sees so much and so clearly and expresses it with such unusual power and succinctness. The book is sure of attention and appreciation from all who have arrived at the point where broad conceptions are restful and nourishing." *The Craftsman* says: "The volume abounds in definitions making it extremely easy to follow the thought. However one may look upon its conclusions, it must be admitted that they are logical and fearlessly reached." *The Boston Transcript* says: "This is the first materialism which has faced the religious emotion, accepted it as a veritable power, and applied it to the welfare of the race." The chapter on "The Supreme Law of Ethics" is a valuable addition to modern thought. As a philosopher, Mr. Franklin is practical, as a socialist he is philosophical. It is the first time philosophy and socialism have joined hands." Mr. Untermann completely misses my concept of religion as the dynamic of the socialization of the race. Religion is a feeling, a social force; the motor power of an action, not an idea directing it as "the science of life" would be. Religion is the emotion resulting whenever any race-conserving, race-protecting, race-perfecting function is performed, no matter how simple or how sublime. It has been due to almost every kind of rite, service, sacrifice; but the fundamental cause of the highest and truest religion is scientific morality, that kind of conduct which expends all energy with perfect economy resulting in a conscious social organism with the function of producing the perfect individual. Religion

is the sustaining power of every reformer's life. No matter how fierce the opposition, how ignorant the reception, how unkind the treatment, he perseveres, he does not falter; he knows no surrender, fears no fate, conquers even death by living in the memory of the race, the true immortality of the blest. This was the fate of Buddha, Socrates and Jesus, and the avatars of to-day will prove no exception to the rule.

CHARLES KENDALL FRANKLIN.

EDITORIAL

Federal Control of Corporations.

Nothing in President Roosevelt's annual message has attracted more attention, and rightly so, than his proposal for Federal control of great industrial corporations. The reformers have welcomed it as indicating that the "big stick" was at last going to be used against the "octopus." Some of the organs of capitalism have also contributed to this feeling by an excellent imitation of a bad scare at a possible "disturbance of business interests." In the effort of the latter to act well their part they have even conjured the old spectre of "states rights" from the tomb where it has been resting peacefully for the last two score years.

But are these expectations and fears justified? Do the industrial rulers of America really oppose these steps? Is the fight between the trusts and Roosevelt on this point real or sham?

On page 797 of the first volume of the report of the "Industrial Commission" there is the following significant question and answer:

Q. "What legislation, if any, would you suggest regarding industrial combinations? A. First, Federal legislation, under which corporations may be created and regulated."

Again, on page 565 we find the following testimony: "If you should ask me, gentlemen, what legislation can be imposed to improve the present condition, I answer that the next great, and to my mind inevitable step of progress in the direction of our national development lies in the direction of national or federal corporations."

And the men who gave that testimony were, respectively, JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, and his chief attorney, John D. Archbold. This testimony was delivered nearly ten years ago. Yet we are now told that Roosevelt is frightening the trusts, and leading the advance of the attack on "frenzied finance," when he accepts the recommendations that Standard Oil expressed a decade ago.

A look at the make-up of the present federal government suffices to allay any fears that might be entertained of strenuous activity against trusts. Some time ago *Frank Leslie's Monthly* published a study of the make-up of Congress and came to the following conclusion: "The Congress of the United States is its own lobby. In nine cases out of ten the lobbyist sits in the Senate with his state behind him, or in the House of Representatives with his district and his senator behind him. Also

in nine cases out of ten the senatorial or representative lobbyist acts and speaks for some great corporation which is seeking some vast special privilege which is antagonistic to the public interest, and to which it has no moral right."

In other words the United States has fully realized the condition described in the Communist Manifesto—"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." So much for the legislative wing.

The administrative and executive side but add new proof of the corporation character of our present government. The Secretary of the Navy is Paul Morton whom the Interstate Commerce Commission has just shown to be himself an extensive law breaker. He is the direct representative of Rockefeller interests, the former manager of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company who are directing Peabodyism in Colorado.

But the federal control of corporations has another side. It takes those great industries out of reach of any popular uprisings so long as the central citadel of political power is retained by plutocracy.

This principle has further extension than appears at first sight. In these days of National and International markets it is hard to name any industry which cannot claim to be engaged in "Interstate Commerce." The consequence is that should any state or municipality fall into the hands of the socialists any step that it should take hostile to property interests would be at once met with the claim that these were protected by national incorporation and control. In short Roosevelt's trust policy so far from being an attack upon these companies is simply adjusting the National government to correspond to the industrial situation which their existence creates.

Co-operative Social Study.

Sometime ago a plan for a study class in social subjects with both residence and correspondence work was suggested in these columns. This work has since reached the stage of realization. The residence class is at work in Chicago, and numerous correspondence students have been enrolled. From the beginning the work has been kept upon as high a plane of scholarship as possible. No encouragement whatever has been held out to those who were looking for a chance to be "filled up" with ready-digested information to be disgorged as Socialist speeches or editorials. But for those who really wish an opportunity to study in order that they may know more of the principles upon which Socialism rests an opportunity has been created which should leave a lasting impression for good upon the American Socialist movement.

Two phases of study, which were scarcely anticipated in the preliminary organization of the work bid fair to be the most important portion. One of these is the organization of classes by locals and branches of the Socialist party and other groups of persons interested in social study, who use the correspondence lessons as the basis of their work. So many such classes are being arranged for that special

plans have been developed for their direction. The names and previous preparation, as well as the leisure for study, and inclinations of the various members of the class are secured, and as far as possible, the work is so divided that at each meeting of the class the various members may each bring a separate contribution. It is hoped that as this sort of class work increases it may prove a valuable method of at once enlivening and arousing interest in local meetings and in educating the party members for more effective work.

Another phase which is just now working itself naturally out of the general work is a sort of a "co-operative, correspondence seminary" for investigating work. It has been suggested by some Socialists, already familiar with methods of sociological investigation that if all those who are able and willing to do such work could co-operate in a systematic organized effort along definite lines, some extremely valuable work could be done. If there could be a few such workers in each great city where there are exceptional library facilities, as for example, Washington, New York, Boston, Cincinnati, etc., each one could, to some extent, make use of the services of all the others upon occasional topics, and thus all the material upon a given subject would be at the disposal of any one working on that subject. As yet few details have been worked out, but several comrades are already co-operating in an informal way, and we would be glad to correspond with any person desiring to co-operate in such work with a view to formulating further details.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The annual meeting of the National Civic Federation in New York last month seems to have been an anti-Socialist *talkfest* and capital-and-labor harmony *plauderei* for fair. Labor was very much in evidence, as Gompers presided, and "Sissy" Easley, in making his report, took occasion to congratulate the A. F. of L. in having "smashed socialism" once more at San Francisco, whereupon the fat men made famous by Cartoonist Oppen applauded and looked pleased. Owing to ill health Carnegie was unable to accept the presidency of the Civic Federation, whereupon Mr. August Belmont, American agent of the Rothschilds, presiding genius of the New York street railway monopoly, and so forth, was selected to fill the position, which means that "Sissy" Easley's salary of \$10,000 a year will be assured. Carnegie and Roosevelt sent long letters which were read at the banquet, and both gushed over the workingman whose undying friend they were, even though the men are still on strike against reductions ranging from 25 to 71 per cent in the mills at Youngstown and Girard, O., and even though the open shop crusade is still in progress in Washington, where Roosevelt dismissed Presidents Keller and Cunningham, of the two national branches of letter carriers because they were endeavoring to secure from Congress higher wages and better treatment for the men. Marcus M. Marks, who led the fight for the open shop against the garment workers and put the latter to an expense of thousands of dollars and untold suffering; Otto M. Eidlitz, who is at the head of the New York contractors who have fought the unions for several years with lockouts and dual organizations of scabs; H. H. Vreeland, who has a record as a union-smasher; George A. Fuller, whose crowd is conspiring at this moment to destroy the bridge and structural iron workers' organization, and many other capitalists smiled sweetly upon the labor officials who were present at the feed. Gompers, still fresh from San Francisco, where he smashed the Socialists for the forty-eleventh time and told them he would give no quarter and ask for none, simply outdid himself to assure the capitalist brethren that they (the capitalists) were not the monsters they had been accused of being, and that the Civic Federation was doing much to destroy the enmity and hate that had existed between labor and capital. New York dailies report that a number of speeches were delivered in a similar vein, and there was great enthusiasm manifested by the harmonious views expressed by the capitalists and labor men present. From all accounts Gompers lost his head completely in the dizzy whirl with plutocracy. It appears that the convention decided to establish a "department of industrial economics," and what does Gompers do but make a motion that President Eliot, of Harvard University, act as chairman of the bureau, with power to select fifteen members to constitute the department! Eliot more than any other individual in this country has thrown the cloak of respectability upon the scab, the traitor to his class; Eliot, the man who was denounced in bitterest terms by the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., this Eliot whose prolific pen produces arguments for the open shop by the yard, is nominated by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of La-

bor, as the person to grind out the peculiar kind of economics that are to be fed to the working people of this country—economics that will no doubt reassure many unthinking workmen that it is heroic to scab and that an open shop is a paradise on earth! And, mind you, this is the Gompers who says Socialists are union-smashers because they dare to criticize his public acts! Just what the man will do next is difficult to predict—probably he will appoint Parry a general organizer; there's no telling. Owing to his annual re-election at Federation conventions, Gompers has become so inflated with his own power and importance that he imagines that anything and everything he does is right and will be backed up by his constituents. And I can't say that I have much sympathy to waste upon those unionists who are growling now because he is "rubbing it in." Let them continue to worship their little tin god; they ought to elect him president for life and make him a law unto himself. The National Civic Federation was organized for the purpose of destroying the militancy of the trade unions and enervating the labor movement. I made that claim before, repeat it now, and—well, wait and see, and read the signs.

Last fall Debs addressed a meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, during the course of which he pointed out that the so-called labor leaders who were raising a great hullabaloo for Douglas, the shoe man, for governor were committing treason to working class interests. Debs was roundly denounced by the "labor leaders" who are always on the alert "to keep politics out of the union," especially if it be of the labor brand, and who dragged capitalistic politics into the unions and the unions into capitalistic politics in the most riotous fashion. Douglas was elected, and forthwith it was gladly acclaimed throughout the land that "labor did it." I recall that at the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. some of the New England delegates swelled up like toads as they recounted how "practical" politics had been played in Massachusetts, and how "labor's friend," Douglas, was going to do things to the capitalists who didn't behave themselves. To hear some of them chatter away, with a self-satisfied and a blissful air, one would almost have imagined that the millennium was going to be turned loose on Beacon Hill along about New Year's. But it seems to have been the old story again, and that some of our eminent leaders, alleged, were dwelling in a fool's paradise. It came to pass that another "labor's friend," Mr. A. Belmont, who was recently elected as president of the National Civic Federation, owns the New York Times, which is likewise an organ of the open shop fanatics. Belmont's paper dispatched an interviewer to Douglas, who propounded this query regarding the cause of his election: "Doesn't every one think it was the labor vote did it?" This is what Douglas is quoted as replying: It is rich:

"Yes, they do. That is the incomprehensible part of it. But it is a wrong idea; entirely wrong. The fact is that it was the solid business interests of the state that elected me. Of course, I got the labor vote, too, but without the moneyed interests I couldn't have carried the state. You see, I am a conservative business man. I am a manufacturer and a bank president myself, and as such I am bound to be conservative. Now, the labor vote is all right to talk about, but there really isn't any such thing as a labor vote. I was elected on the stand I take on the tariff question and as a supporter of Canadian reciprocity. I am a conservative, even though I have always been a consistent friend of labor. I have worked to secure for New England the markets that are hers by natural right. Under a reciprocity treaty with Canada we manufacturers can buy our goods cheaper. I can buy my raw leather cheaper, and consequently I can sell my shoes cheaper. Understand, now, that I am the friend of labor. I have always shown myself to be such. Only it is a most mistaken idea to say that labor elected me."

But this repudiation of the labor leaders, etc., ungrateful though it may be, has a sequel. Douglas had to have an adjutant-general to com-

mand his state militia and strut about in gorgeous uniforms on holidays. No obscure militiaman without a record would do for "3.50." He had to have the real thing, and suddenly startled the labor class with the announcement that General Nelson A. Miles had been selected for the position. Miles is on the pension roll, but Roosevelt, realizing that he is a thrifty old warrior who has served the corporations well, gave him permission to accept a second job. The Massachusetts unionists—except those who are too slavish or have their price—say that it was Gen. Miles who was sent to Chicago by Grover Cleveland, in the great railway strike of 1894, as commander of the United States troops "to preserve order," and who, after being on the ground a few days, sent to Washington his famous telegram declaring that "we have broken the backbone of the strike," which demonstrated the fact, as well as did a whole mass of evidence collected, subsequently, that "law and order" was a secondary consideration and that the corporations were to be assisted in destroying the strike and smashing the unions.

While, of course, Miles took his orders from Cleveland, it was really Mr. Richard Olney who issued the commands, and Miles was a pliant tool and exceeded his authority, as did his law-breaking superiors. This same Richard Olney heads the moneyed interests of Massachusetts and is the Democratic boss in that state. It is the Olney crowd to whom Douglas is subservient, and they put up the money in the campaign and dictated the appointment of their creature, Miles. That is why Douglas admits that it was the "moneyed interests" who elected him. The "labor victory" in Massachusetts was one of the greatest fakes that has ever been perpetrated upon the working class. Whether any of the labor politicians will be rewarded with jobs cleaning cuspidors or inspecting sidewalks, is extremely doubtful.

Meantime, while all this industrial and political jugglery is taking place there isn't the slightest lessening of the class struggle perceptible. Strikes and boycotts are on and more are anticipated, court injunctions are issued, damage suits are filed, labor laws are annulled, and the open shop crusade confronts nearly every trade. Just a couple of samples:

Another heavy damage suit has been filed against the miners. Some time ago the Victor Fuel Co., of Colorado, brought suit for \$85,000, which case is still pending. Now the same corporation has begun another action against the United Mine Workers and twelve national and local officials for \$491,000 damages, alleged to have been sustained by the company during the strike of the coal miners. No doubt the plans of the British mine operators and their lawyers will be closely followed here. Still several of the miners' delegates at San Francisco voted against opening the doors of the unions to economic discussions in order that the members might be enlightened regarding the true situation of affairs.

Again: The highest court of New York State has followed the lead of lower courts in Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio and other states, by deciding that contracts by which employers agree to employ only union workmen are unconstitutional and void, and that an employer who has signed such a contract has a right to break it, and a forfeit or penalty to which he has agreed cannot be collected by the union. In other words, it is illegal for any employer to sign an agreement to operate a closed shop. Shops must remain open or non-union.

Maybe the conservatives will declare that the Socialists are pleased because of this capitalistic aggression. Whether they are or not does not change the condition. The Socialists do not hobnob with and are not in the confidence of the capitalists. The conservatives are in cahoots with the plutes. Why don't they abolish the class struggle, or evolution or gravitation or something?

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Russia.

The press has been full of stories of uprisings by the working class of Russia during the past month. It is very evident that unless all signs fail that there is something doing of great significance. The Russian autocracy is endangered much more by socialism at home than by the Japanese abroad.

The following news and comment from the Berlin *Vorwaerts* shows how the forces of revolution are consolidating and the lines on which they propose to move.

"In a western European city, which cannot be named just at present, a conference of representatives of the revolutionary and opposition parties of Russia was held a few weeks ago. It was brought about through the initiative of the *Finnish Party of Active Resistance*. Eighteen Russian party organizations were invited to take part. Eight of these have accepted the invitation, including the *Russian Socialist Revolutionist*, the *Polish Socialist Party*, the *Social Democratic Party of Lithuania*, the *Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, the *Polish National League* and the *Union of Socialist Party*, the *Social Democratic Party of Lithuania*, the *Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, the *Polish National League* and the *Union of Russian Constitutional Democrats*. The following resolutions were adopted by the conference:

In consideration:

First, that absolutism stands as the foremost obstacle to all advance and to the welfare of the Russian people and all other nationalities oppressed by the government of the Czar; that in the present stage of civilization it is an absurd and injurious anachronism.

Second, that the battle against this system can be conducted with more strength and greater results if an agreement can be reached concerning the action of the different Russian and non-Russian opposition and revolutionary parties.

Third, that the present moment is especially favorable for an agreement concerning the action of all these parties against absolutism, which is now discredited and exhausted through the frightful results of the war to which its reckless policy has led it. Therefore the representatives of the above parties, assembled in convention, unanimously agree upon the following resolutions:

Without in any way giving up their special programs or their tactical methods, all these parties declare themselves as standing for the following principles and demands:

First, abolition of absolutism and repeal of all measures directed against the oppression of Finland.

Second, substitution of absolutism by a democratic system founded upon universal suffrage.

Third, right of the various nationalities to free development, and the insuring of this freedom through legislation. Abolition of the oppressive

measures of the government which have been directed against the various nationalities.

In the name of these principles and these fundamental demands the parties represented at the conference declare that their efforts shall be united toward this end. In order to hasten the unavoidable overthrow of absolutism which constitutes a hindrance to all these parties in the further development of their various objects.

Among the parties which did not attend the conference was the *Social Democratic Party of Russia*, the *Jewish Labor League*, and the *Social Democratic Party of Poland*.

We have no information as to the reasons why these parties remained away from the conference, but we are of the opinion that the present conditions demand the union of all forces in Russia opposed to absolutism. We suppose that our brother party was influenced by the fear that any arrangement with bourgeois radical circles must be purchased at the cost of concessions to its hesitancy and half-heartedness. Nevertheless the present moment in Russia appears to us as decidedly the most favorable for the *Russian Social Democracy* to step forward in co-operation with all revolutionary and opposition elements and become the leader of Russian progressive forces. That the bourgeois opposition recognizes its dependence on the socialist party is seen in the fact that their demands—political equality of all citizens, freedom of assemblage and organization, etc.—are taken from the program of the socialist party. Through the energetic efforts of the socialist youths and the proletariat the Russian bourgeois democracy must continually be pressed more and more to the left, since otherwise it is threatened with the danger of being crushed between the reaction and the radical forces and being driven back into its previous complete political insignificance. If, however, our brother parties are to play any significant role upon the political battle field they must immediately arrange for complete unity among themselves. It is impossible for us to determine whether it is now time for a formal amalgamation of the social democratic parties, but we know that this desire exists in the ranks of these parties. We hope that the news of a formal unity into a compact party of all social democratic organizations need not be long awaited. Such a consolidation, combined with co-operation with the socialistic, democratic, nationalistic organizations, would create a power which with skillful utilization of the present extraordinary situation would conquer freedom for Russia."

Japan.

The Japan socialists are undergoing a very severe persecution. On November 2 an attempt was made to hold a socialist meeting in the Y. M. C. A. hall at Tokio. There were over 1,000 in the audience when the speaking began. The first three speakers were stopped by the police officials who were present, and the meeting ordered to disperse. The audience refused to do this, whereupon the police official attempted to talk to the meeting, but his voice was at once drowned by the shouts and stamping of the audience. Fifty more officers were then brought in, and the audience still refusing to disperse, a policeman dragged Comrade Sakai, one of the speakers, off the platform. At this the audience rushed upon the policeman, and knocking him down trampled him under foot. The socialists who were present did their best to prevent this action, but in vain.

The issue of *Heimin Shimbun* for November 6 was suppressed without any particular reason being assigned. The issue of November 20, in which this news appears, contains the full text of the communist mani-

festos in Japanese. A later issue of the paper, however, informs us that this number was not allowed to circulate in Japan.

An attempt was made to hold a garden party on the thirteenth of November, the fourth anniversary of the founding of *Heimin Shimbun*, but this was also dispersed by the police just at the moment when those present were to have had their photographs taken. The editors of the paper, Comrades Kotoku and Nishikawa, were arrested and sentenced to five months' imprisonment and a fine of 50 yen. Moreover, the paper was ordered to discontinue publication. This will probably cut off our knowledge from there, except as we can secure it by correspondence. But we shall at once take steps to communicate with Japanese socialists in order to learn the outcome of events there.

Poland.

The convention of the Polish Social Democracy, held at Cracow November 13, was principally significant as indicating the general trend toward unity that seems to be sweeping through the international socialist movement. There were two principal socialist parties in Poland divided according as to whether they owed allegiance to Austria or Russia. There was also a small organization of which Rosa Luxemburg seemed to be the principal member. By a vote of 52 to 26 a resolution of union of all these parties was carried, while a resolution for the union of those of Russian Poland alone was adopted unanimously.

A second question closely allied to the first was that of the organization of the Jewish comrades. According to the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Vienna, a few young Jewish party members, mainly students, under the influence of the Universal Jewish Labor League of Russia, commonly known as the *Bund*, had formed themselves into a National Jewish Organization. This organization had been a cause of continual friction within the party, and at this Convention it was determined that steps should be taken to amalgamate it with the party. Comrade Daszynski pointed out that of all nations, there was the least reason for the Jews to maintain an independent organization. He quoted at considerable length from Comrade Feigenbaum of New York to the effect that the Jewish jargon and so-called literature was not worthy of preservation, but, on the contrary, was a survival of the compulsory Ghetto days, and that in America the second generation of Jews no longer understood the jargon. By a vote of 64 to 15 the separate organization of the Jews was condemned, although on the motion of Dr. Gumplowicz, the well known political economist, a separate Jewish agitation committee, subordinate to the existing party officials, was created by the unanimous vote of the Convention.

Germany.

The Imperial Anti-Social Democratic Association has once more come to life, says the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*. Its principal official, who bears a strong resemblance in his general activity to the well known Mr. Parry, is now actively engaged in organizing local associations which again remind us of our familiar Citizens' Alliances. German Socialists, however, treat him as very much of a joke and calculate, much like the comrades in this country, on how many votes his activity will make for their movement.

The Social Democratic Party of Prussia and indeed throughout Germany is just now engaged in the discussion of the school question. A

Convention of the Prussian Social Democracy was held on the 28th to 30th of November and one of the principal subjects to be discussed was the school question. *Der Tag* and *Germania*, both capitalist papers, published in Berlin are very angry at the assumption that the Socialists are to have anything to say about the schools. The primary effort of the Socialists is directed toward the complete separation of School and Church and the removal of the scholars from the clerical influence. They also demand greater freedom in education and some other important reforms. The Social Democratic women, at a recent meeting on the 8th of November, took up the question and prepared for greater activity along the line of school reform. *Die Post*, also of Berlin, has a small spasms because of the fact that the Teachers' Organization of Berlin published its official announcements only in the *Vorwärts* and demands that steps should be taken to account for this "peculiar sympathy for the Social Democracy on the part of Berlin teachers."

Edward Bernstein, in the *Neue Montagsblatt*, which he established some months ago in Berlin to preach revisionism, has simply proved a source of disorder and disorganization. Many demands have been made upon the party management of Berlin to call for a boycott on the paper. The *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, however, thinks that the Berlin comrades will soon grow tired "of this factional, scandal-mongering press and that within a short time the *Neue Montagsblatt* will cease to appear."

Just as we go to press the *Leipziger Volksblatt* comes with the news that the paper has already suspended publication.

France.

The unity movement in France continues to progress. *Le Petite République* has recently been conducting a symposium on the subject of unity and, with few exceptions, the representatives of all parties have declared themselves in favor of unity. The Allemanists have recently decided, through a referendum, to take part in the Unity Conference. Meanwhile, Jaures has succeeded in making an international spectacle of himself by engaging in one of the *opera bouffe* duels for which France has become so notorious. It is almost needless to say that no one was hurt, and that the only injury done was to the cause of Socialism.

England.

The unemployed problem continues to become ever more urgent. Processions of the out-of-works are now marching in many of the cities. Soup-houses, relief lists and other charity methods are being organized. The socialists are everywhere demanding a special session of Parliament to deal with this subject and are organizing meetings and circulating petitions to that end, all of which gives an excellent opportunity for socialist propaganda. Keir Hardie has just published a pamphlet on "The Unemployed Problem," which makes several proposals for immediate action. He would shorten the hours of municipal employes everywhere to at least eight, which would provide for a considerable number now idle. He also suggests several lines in which the unemployed could be put to work productively, both for the present emergency and permanently, and outlines the administrative machinery necessary for such steps. The pamphlet is a distinct contribution to socialist literature on this subject.

BOOK REVIEWS

MASS AND CLASS, a survey of social divisions by W. J. Ghent. *The Macmillan Company.* Cloth, 260 pp. \$1.25.

Such a book has double interest just at this time, when Bernard Shaw, Keir Hardie and other spokesmen of the opportunist wing of English socialism are attempting to relegate the class struggle to the philosophic scrap pile. In America, on the other hand, even our opponents are obliged to recognize the truth of the class struggle as an interpretation of temporary society. Such a work as this, however, is such an important contribution to socialist philosophy that it would be of value even if it came at a less opportune time. In his opening sentence the author tells us that "History, which once was the record of little more than the doings and sayings of warriors and kings, comes now to be the record of human society." He accepts and explains the economic interpretation of history in an exceptionally clear and striking manner. With reference to the influence of idealistic or spiritual forces he brings up once more the well-known modifying quotation of Engels and points out "that there are two pertinent facts not to be lost to view. First, that all of our idealistic or spiritual conceptions (apart from conceptions of the supernatural) have their origin in past or present social needs, and these in turn have their base in economic needs, and, second, that everywhere and always the economic environment limits the range and effect of spiritual forces."

He does not seem to see, however, the full force of his first consideration in that it absolutely does away with the need of consideration of idealistic motives, as such, since they become simply creations of past economic conditions, and therefore economic conditions past and present account for all.

"It is a part of the economic interpretation of history to hold that since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, social processes have inevitably grouped men in economic classes. An economic class is an aggregate of persons whose occupation has the same bearing on the supply of things wanted by mankind, and who in that occupation sustain the same relation toward other persons. Or, in other words, it is an aggregate of persons whose specific economic functions and interests are similar, and who, therefore, bear a common relation to the prevailing economic system.

"Out of class interest and function developed class instinct. It must not be thought, however, that because men developed class instinct and class feeling they necessarily developed class consciousness. The latter requires a much longer and more intelligent evolution."

In his analysis of classes and class functions he admits at the beginning that "no analysis of class divisions can be entirely satisfactory." He recognizes that the "test of relative income fails utterly to furnish a standard for distinguishing classes. It is the difference in methods of making a living that divides the mass into economic sections." On this basis, he finds six economic classes in our present society. "The first, the most numerous and most important class, is that of the proletariat, or wage-earning producers. Class two comprises the self-employed producers. These are in the main land-holding farmers and

handicraftsmen. This class from its very nature has contradictory instincts and impulses. Class three comprise social servants, such persons as educators, clergymen, physicians, artists, writers and the employees of public institutions. The moral pressure exerted upon this class by the dominating class is constant and severe; and the tendency of all moral weaklings within it is to conform to what is expected from above. Class four comprises the traders, divided into two sub-classes: *a*, manufacturers and dealers in commodities; *b*, financiers. Class five comprises the idle capitalists. Class six comprises the retainers, those various sorts of persons who are directly responsible to the traders and capitalists, and whose occupations consist in contributing to their comfort or interest.

It would be easy to criticise this classification, and to claim that, after all, when discussing economic interests, there are only two essential classes, and that all that Mr. Ghent has done is to subdivide these classes and that there is no particular reason for stopping the sub-division where he did, once it was begun.

In the discussion of class ethics he gives us an excellent study of the growth of ethical ideas under the influence of economic interests, and how different interests created different ideas in the various classes. "The beliefs which a class holds as a result of its economic relations are generally sincere beliefs and are held in the mind unconscious of their determining cause." As a result, class three, to which he has referred, becomes the mouthpiece of the dominant class. Therefore: "In this day one may inerrantly prophesy what theme will next be heard dominant in the chorus arising from pulpit, chair and sanctum, by learning what thing it is that the trading class next demands for the protection or fostering of its interests. The righteousness of the open shop, the injustice of a restricted output, the criminal imposture of the union label, the moral heroism of the 'scab,' though occasionally voiced by some of the more pronounced retainers, were unapprehended concepts to the average publicist until recently pointed out to them by the manufacturers. The lawlessness of capital in every phase of its activity, the particular lawlessness and brutality now prevalent in Colorado, are clothed in an impenetrable veil to the eyes of the 'safe' preacher, the 'conservative' economist, and the 'sane' press-writer; but the slightest infraction of the law by striking workmen is seen by them as with an X-ray."

Among producers two fundamental moral convictions have arisen and gained general acceptance, they are the "ethic of usefulness" and the "ethic of fellowship." There are few stronger chapters in the literature of socialism than the one in which he elaborates this position showing how this ethic has acted and re-acted upon the working class and the attitude taken toward it by the ruling class.

The "Ethics of the Trader" is also a keen analysis of the ideas of right and wrong which have grown up under the influence of production for the market.

The chapters on "The Reign of Graft," while a mine of information for socialist readers, contains but little that is fundamental and new, and is marred somewhat by a straining after phraseology in his use of the word "graft."

His final chapter, however, on the "Failure of the Trading Class" would make a splendid propaganda pamphlet. "Traders are now and have been for nearly three-quarters of a century the rulers of the civilized world." Yet these rulers are showing a most hopeless incapacity in all of the fields for which they are supposed to be particularly fit. They are wasting the human and natural productive resources with criminal lavishness, and are utterly unable to maintain further any of the forces that work for social well being. "Whatever their individual virtues or defects may be, the traders as a class have failed dismally in administering the world's affairs. And so obvious to great numbers of men is this failure, and so intolerable is the burden which it entails, that now an opposing

class, ever increasing in numbers and ever attaining to a clearer consciousness of its mission, threatens the traders' dominance. A class it has been termed, but it is something more than a class. It is a union of all men whom the burden and pressure of the trading class régime force to like action in the assertion of their economic claims, and in whom is awakened a common hope of a reorganization of society and a determination to achieve it. At its centre is the class of wage-earning producers; and it is flanked by other producers; by such social servants as have risen above the retainer mind; by such of the petty manufacturers and dealers as see in the continuance of the present régime an approaching ruin of their livelihoods; by men of whatever class in whom the love of usefulness, or the love of fellowship, or the passion for social justice is intrinsically stronger than the love of profit or of individual advantage. It is the Social-minded Mass arraying itself against the unsocial-minded classes.

This work is a long stride in advance over the author's "Benevolent Feudalism." We are glad to learn that he has also taken a decisive personal step and united with the socialist party. This book for many years to come must stand as one of the books which it is necessary for every well informed American socialist at least to read.

FARMINGTON. By Clarence S. Darrow. A. C. McClurg & Company. Cloth, 277 pp. \$1.50.

The reader who hopes to find in this book any exposition of Mr. Darrow's philosophy will be disappointed. The work is a charmingly written series of semi-biographical sketches. To be sure there runs all through it touches of his peculiar philosophy, as, for example, where he opposes punishments, and in his remarks on school friendships, the nature of work, and on the unreasonableness of keeping the best things to the last, as in the eating of pie.

On the whole, however, it is as a literary work in the common sense of the word that it must be considered rather than for any social theories it contains. As such, we can recommend it to our readers as one of the most charmingly entertaining things that has come within our knowledge for a long while. Simply idyllic in its character, there is not a dull page in it.

BORN AGAIN: A Novel. By Alfred William Lawson. New York: Woz, Conrad Company. Cloth, 75c.

This is a crude, amateurish story of theosophy, vegetarianism transcendental ethics and a vague utopianism. It has been widely heralded as a socialist story, but it has nothing in particular to do with the international socialist movement. A single sentence from the book will illustrate the author's position. "It is within the power of mankind to perfect itself, but this can only be accomplished through the unselfish efforts of the whole people." For Mr. Lawson, the works of Marx, Engels and Labriola have been written in vain.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Finances of Our Socialist Co-operative Publishing House.

In June, 1904, the manager of the publishing house offered to the other stockholders that he would out of the balance due him from the company duplicate each and every contribution made by other stockholders for the purpose of placing the publishing house on a cash basis. Reports have been made in this department of the Review of the progress made from month to month in clearing off the debt. The figures for December are as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$2,618.08
H. H. Meyer, Ohio	6.15
J. O. Duckett, California, (additional)	2.00
J. E. Lehner, Missouri, (additional)	5.00
Cameron H. King, Jr., California (additional)	5.00
Edward Upton, British Columbia	7.00
John A. Becker, Wyoming	5.00
O., Illinois	1.50
Alexander Schablik, Washington (additional)	2.00
P. P. Wheaton, California (additional)	10.00
F. M. Crunden, Missouri	1.00
A. C. Price, Pennsylvania	5.00
W. S. Burnett, California, (additional)	6.00
Mrs. Prestonia Mann Martin, New York (additional)	50.00
Rudolph Pusch, Illinois .....	.50
H., Massachusetts	1.00
J. Swezyneki, California	2.00
Albert Smith, Maryland (additional)	2.00
U. L. Secrist, Georgia (additional)	2.50
J. M. Kerr, Colorado	2.50
Charles S. Wheeler, Illinois	5.00
J. J. Campbell, California (additional)	8.00
C. W. Leckenby, California	2.25
M. H. Spangler, Washington	2.50
J. A. Lindquist, Alabama (additional) .....	.50
Dr. H. M. Wilson, Pennsylvania	5.22
Otto M. Hansen, Illinois	20.00
A. K. Gifford, Iowa	1.10
J. D. Martin, Arizona	10.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois (additional)	170.72

Total to December 31, 1904\$2,959.52

The result of these contributions is that the debt to non-stockholders is practically paid off, the only exception being a few small notes to printers and binders which will be paid out of the ordinary receipts of the next two months, and one note of eight hundred dollars to the Capital City Bank of Madison, Wisconsin. This draws 7 per cent interest and should be paid as soon as possible. There will then remain only the debt to stockholders. Of this sixteen hundred dollars is to a comrade in Wyoming who is obliged to ask us 6 per cent since he is dependent upon the income from his small capital and could realize a larger return from the money if he could invest it in his own state. It is therefore desirable that this note be paid off at the earliest possible day.

In view of these facts, Charles H. Kerr extends for three months longer the offer made by him last June, that is to say, he will contribute out of the balance still due him from the company a sum equal to all contributions made by others, up to the end of March, 1905. This is not for making up a deficit, there is no deficit. It is for the purpose of stopping, once for all, the payment of our earnings to capitalists as interest, so that every dollar received from the sale of stock or of literature may go into the publishing of more literature.

Loans from Stockholders.

The wiping out of our debt to outsiders, along with the growth in the company's business, enables us to offer unquestioned security to stockholders who have either small or large sums of money for which they have no immediate use, and which they would prefer to have employed in the interest of socialism rather than of capitalism. We can afford to pay four per cent. interest on a limited amount, which we should use to cancel obligations now drawing a higher rate of interest. We will agree to return sums under fifty dollars on demand, and larger sums on sixty days' notice. In the course of two years we expect to sell enough stock to single holders to provide all the capital needed, so that no debt of any kind need be carried. Meanwhile we ask every one who believes in the work we are doing to give such help as he may find possible.

Katharine Breshkovsky.

This is the name of a Russian exile now in America in the interest of the Russian revolutionary movement. "Daughter of a nobleman and earnest philanthropist; then revolutionist, hard labor convict and exile for 23 years in Siberia; and now a heroic old woman of 61, she has plunged again into the dangerous struggle for freedom." Ernest Poole, one of the most prominent of Chicago's journalists and writers has put Katharine Breshkovsky's story into graphic literary form, and it has just been brought out by our co-operative publishing house in a pamphlet under the title of "For Russia's Freedom." An excellent portrait of Katharine Breshkovsky is on the cover. The price is 10 cents with the usual discount to stockholders.

Rebels in the New South.

This book by Walter Marion Raymond, published just before the holidays, has met with instant success, and has been enthusiastically greeted by socialists everywhere. We quote a review published in the last issue of *The Christian Socialist*, edited by Comrade E. E. Carr of Danville, Ills.

"Rebels of the New South" is the suggestive title of a charming romance by Walter Marion Raymond, illustrated by Percy Bertram Ball and published by Chas. H. Kerr and Company, Chicago. Price \$1.00.

There is a delicious Southern flavor throughout the story. Its quaint Negro dialect, schoolboy slang, keen anti-Republican prejudice, distinctive reverence for "the lost cause" even while rejoicing over its loss, will all be appreciated in spite of one's own prejudices to the contrary. We would hint that the "heresy" so feared by Black Aunt Millie is more interesting than dangerous. The book advocates Christ-like character—absolute love of God and man—as the noblest religion.

It is a Socialist book, though it has very little to say about Socialism directly. It is the spirit, the atmosphere of the book—the feeling that if such people are Socialists the Cause must be divine—which makes it a power against the most false and despicable slanders ever uttered against socialism. All who have read Dixon's "One Woman" should read this also.

But the real charm of the book is in one of the purest, sweetest, noblest love stories ever told; not the love of man for woman, although there are two delightful romances of this kind included, but the royal, holy, tender, joyous love of men for men, "Passing the love of women."

Aside from its entrancing, dramatic interest, it is impossible to read the book without receiving some permanent impressions of the glorious visions of character it brings to view, of faith, hope and love, sublime, eternal, and the divine possibilities of human life on earth, if rightly lived under right conditions.

And the boy Custis is a character-sketch worthy to live in memory forever.

We also quote in full a letter received as we go to press from Comrade C. J. Lamb, State Organizer of the Socialist Party of Michigan. He says:

Every Socialist ought to get a copy of "Rebels of the New South," and keep it lying around where the unregenerate can get their hands on it. It gets them and it holds them. It coaxes them to read about Socialism and presents the subject in a most fascinating way. Our copy is in almost constant use—they all want it at the same time. It is in demand and I am sure it will be read by scores of persons before it palls. We will pass it around among our farmer neighbors and they will be sure to read it. Nothing in the way of Socialist literature has proven so attractive; non-socialists read it with avidity, and Socialists will find it easy to propogate the doctrine by just putting it in reach of the people they desire to proselyte. It's the easiest way to make Socialists yet.

Fraternally yours,

C. J. LAMB.

The Recording Angel.

Readers of the International Socialist Review need no introduction to Comrade Edwin Arnold Brenholtz, of Texas, whose poems, appearing from time to time, have been a notable feature of the Review. Comrade Brenholtz has put years of enthusiastic and artistic labor on the manuscript of a novel. When completed it was found to be of too dangerous a character to be suitable to any capitalist publishing house. Comrades George D.

Herron and A. M. Simons read the manuscript some months ago and commended it in the highest terms. Our publishing house would have brought the book out long ago but for lack of the necessary capital. The great increase in our receipts during the last few weeks has now encouraged us to undertake the publication of the story, and Comrade Brenholtz has contributed all future profits from the book to the work of socialist propaganda. The book will be ready for sale as soon as the process of manufacture can be completed, and the first copy will probably be in the hands of readers in the month of March.

We have always preferred to be cautious in our words of praise for books offered to socialist readers believing that they will in the long run be better pleased with critical descriptions of the various books than with fulsome praise of first one work and then another. We trust that our readers will bear this in mind when we have to say that we believe "The Recording Angel" is the great American socialist novel for which the movement has been waiting. In next month's issue we shall give full particulars regarding it with perhaps one or two opinions from comrades who have seen the manuscript.

Meanwhile we solicit advance orders for the book at the rate of \$1.00 a copy postage included, or 60 cents a copy postpaid to stockholders. Mechanically the book will be fully equal to "Rebels of the New South," while it will be a somewhat larger volume. The cost of first publication will be not less than \$500, and we trust that the advance orders will enable us to cover the full amount by the time the book is ready.

Address CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (Co-operative),
56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

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Sexual Slavery.

MORALITY or ethics is a system of conduct of the members of a social group towards each other. Conduct approved and sanctioned by the group is considered as correct and praiseworthy. *Vice versa*—behavior condemned by the public opinion is looked upon as immoral and blameworthy. The conduct of the members of a social group is regulated and controlled by the group in its collective interests. Acts injurious to the interests of the group are condemned as immoral, and *vice versa*, acts useful to the interests of the group are praised as moral.

There is and can not be such a thing as "personal morality." Personal morality is a contradiction in terms (*contradictio in adjecta*.) Morality is essentially a social term.

Human conceit dictated to many a thinker the idea that the conception of morality, of wrong and right in conduct is a distinctly human achievement. This is far from being true.

Certain species of gregarious animals living in groups undoubtedly possess the rudiments of a social organization. The conduct of each member of such a group is controlled by the group in strict accordance with its interests. Consequently we are justified in claiming that morality, in its embryonic form at least, exists in some subhuman strata of the animal Kingdom. If that be the case we may compare the morality of animals with the morality of the human race as commensurable phenomena. Some such comparisons are rather humiliating to mankind. Even carnivorous animals, so-called beasts of prey, except in rare cases, do not attack members of their own species. However men never ceased in one way or another to consume the very substance of their own species.

Chattel-slavery was only a perfected stage of cannibalism, just a wage slavery represents a perfected stage of chattel-slavery. It is the old story of the hen furnishing golden eggs

over again. It is more economical and refined to eat up other people's muscles, bones, sinews, blood and marrow incorporated in human labor, than to eat human flesh in the literal meaning of the word. Culture and civilization so far affected only more refined forms of social parasitism: A parasitism having no parallel in the animal Kingdom.

Still more humiliating is the comparison of sexual morality between men and other animals. Zoologists tell of fierce struggles between the male rivals for the favor of a female, of the destruction of the weaker by the stronger male. But there is no case on record of males using force against the opposite sex.

If it be true, that social parasitism is an essentially human institution, sexual slavery is likewise an essentially human institution. The history of human culture testifies, that the male human animal never hesitates to use force against the weaker sex. Even the most refined relations between the representatives of the opposite sexes in the most civilized countries are honey-combed with traditions of slavery and subjugation of women.

From time immemorial the male was the exploiter of the female, her lord and "employer."

The social status of women, their economical, legal and matrimonial status, is akin to that of children and idiots. Even now in our so childishly boasted Christian civilization the status of women is rather low in the family, in society, in economic relations, in civic rights.

Thousands of years of subjugation to the stronger sex (I mean physically stronger) implanted even in the mind of the female sex a lingering notion of its inferiority, and a predilection for subordination to the brute force of the male sex. We are sorry to use the expression "brute" in a vituperative sense however.

To call the human animal committing a nameless crime "brute" means to insult the so-called subhuman animal species without provocation. Of course we may claim that nameless crimes are abhorred by civilized nations as survivals of a barbaric past. But is not economic compulsion merely a refined transformation of brute physical force? Are not thousands and thousands of women driven on the thorny path of sexual slavery by extreme poverty? Animals know no "nameless crimes", and there is no "social evil" in their midst. Moreover animals are no hypocrites and no profligates. They perform the function of propagation of their kind just as they eat and drink, obedient to the law of nature at certain set periods. The human animal perverts the law of nature and throws a veil over his sexual relations, the human animal hypocritically declares the sphere of sexual relations "tabu", being loathe to call a spade a spade, the human animal excels all others in actual sexual immorality.

Indeed prostitution as a social institution is probably as old as the human kind. The first traces of prostitution on record are those left "on the sand of times," by pagan religion, as for instance in the cults of Astaste in Babylon and of Venus in Greece. The *jus primae noctis* belonged first of all to the pagan deities or rather their representatives, the priests. The *jus primae noctis* was frequently sold and the proceeds appropriated by the pagan clergy (*non olet*) for religious purposes.

"It was the wise Greek law-giver Solon, who decided to follow the example of the pagan Church by starting state-houses of ill fame for revenue's sake. Statesmen were always glad to take lessons from the priests and improve upon them if possible. In the early days of Rome prostitution was allowed to exist unobtrusively in the outskirts of the city. Since 180 B. C. all professional prostitutes were registered and licensed (*licentia stripi*) in certain quarters of the city, by the ædiles. Crowds of licensed prostitutes followed the Roman army all over the world. Prostitution was legalized under the republic, luxuriated under the Emperors. Emperor Caligula actually established an imperial brothel in his palace, and his servants collected the fees paid by the debauchees. The Roman prostitutes were chiefly slave women, captured in the unceasing wars of conquest.

In the period of the decadence of Rome, the institution of slavery was shaken, mercantilism raised its head for the first time in the history of the west. "Indigent" free women appeared who were dependent for their existence on their sexual nature; they were freed slaves. In the middle ages the prostitutes were largely women abducted by robber bands, captured in petty wars and abused by the soldiers and the neglected offsprings of these unfortunates.

In the middle ages the class of prostitutes was organized into a guild and enjoyed legal recognition in the person of a yearly elected "queen" of prostitutes. The queen was duly sworn in by the government and empowered to prosecute all "scab" prostitutes.

The *jus primae noctis* was transferred to the feudal nobility. The alleged infidelity of married women was punished by compulsory prostitution for life. Municipalities engaged in the lucrative business of running houses of ill-fame. Even some of the popes of Rome kept such houses, from which they derived a part of their princely income. (Sixtus the 4th for instance). In England prostitution was sanctioned, in 116 A. D. The rapid spread of protestanism and syphilis put an end to the so to speak institutional period of sexual slavery. The discovery of America and the general development of commerce ushered in the most typical and perfect stage of commercialism; our modern industrial or capitalistic era. More perfect methods have been applied to the trade in human flesh called prostitution. Sexual slavery

has been turned into a regular branch of international trade. Proletarian women are enticed by professional agents (so-called procurers, "cadettes") into dismal abodes of vice, standing under the official secret protection of the police, and when necessary forcibly kept there in good order to eke out a miserable existence for themselves and create "profit" for their "employers."

The professional agents are active in all parts of the globe in search of fresh sexual slaves destined to take the place of the rapidly used up old ones. The demand for additional prostitutes in some localities, where there is a prospect of even a temporary influx of people is eagerly watched by their agents and met by them promptly, as in the case of fairs or army maneuvers.

The statistical data concerning the numbers of professional prostitutes are extremely meagre and unreliable even in such European countries where the system of licensing prostitutes is adopted. The reason of it is, that most of the sexual slaves evade the law. Bartholomy for instance, estimates that the clandestine prostitutes are from 10 to 15 times as numerous as those subjected to official control. No nation of importance is at present free from the taint of the social evil; especially the great cities of the world vie with each other in the vast number of those who gain their living by selling their bodies. The prostitute is a proletarian on the lower stage, a pauper.

Very instructive are the data furnished by Rev. G. P. Merrick in his book "Work Among the Fallen" as seen in the prison cells. (Ward, Lock & Co., London, 1890.) The author investigated sixteen thousand cases of prostitution. Concerning previous occupation of the prostitutes he finds roughly stated that 838 have done nothing for a living, 228 were employed in theatres and music halls, 168 were street peddlers, 1,617 were trade girls, 266 were needle-women, 183 governesses, 105 were barmaids, 8,000 were domestic servants.

Concerning parents' care the author finds as follows: In 5,547 cases fathers were living, in 5,677 mothers were living, in 4,558 cases both parents were dead, in 2,174 cases the father was dead, in 1,366 the mother was dead, in 386 cases there were step-fathers, in 330 cases there were step-mothers. If we add together all the cases where one or both parents are dead, we will see that in less than 8,098 poor girls have had parental care.

Concerning the age of seduction he found in 14,563 cases that 11 were seduced before they were 12 years of age; 26 between 11 and 12, 62 between 12 and 13, 104 between 13 and 14, 358 between 14 and 15, 1,192 between 15 and 16, 1,425 between 16 and 17, 1,369 between 17 and 18, 1,225 between 18 and 19, 1,158 between 19 and 20, 3,096 between 20 and 25, 2,059 between 25 and 30, and the remainder between 30 and 50 years of age.

Out of 16,022 cases taken consecutively, 3,363 pleaded poverty and necessity, resulting from lack of employment, as their excuse, 2,808 claimed that they were led away by other girls, 3,154 women were seduced, and becoming unsettled drifted on "to the street," 1,636 were betrayed under promise of marriage, and having lost their character and being abandoned by their seducers and relatives felt that they had no other alternative but to seek a home and livelihood among the fallen. Some prostitutes supported their relatives.

The author found for instance that 38 women were prostituting themselves in order to support their fatherless children, that 46 did so to maintain aunts and grandmothers, 57 to support parents, 149 to support younger brothers and sisters, 233 mothers 21 fathers, and 102 paramours.

Rev. C. P. Merrick says (on page 29): "I have found that not one woman out of ten can pursue that terribly exhausting life without a free resort to stimulants to prompt her to it, and that the life has not resulted so much from the drink" as that the drink has been an almost absolute necessity of life. Thousands of times I have heard the remark from the poor creatures: "We could not go out if we did not drink. We must drink and that is how it is we get a taste for it." I am very much within the bound of truth, when I say that I have not met a hundred women perhaps of a hundred thousand who have said that they like their wicked and wretched mode of life. They look it and their repugnance to it can only be stifled when they are more or less under the influence of intoxicating drinks.

With reference to the large number of widows who have taken to prostitution the author states that the majority of them apparently had been so disqualified by married life for any settled and remunerative employment that when they lost their husbands they were almost resourceless and hardly knew what to do for a living."

The rate of mortality among the poor creatures is terribly high. The average number of years which they live after having taken to a "life on the street" is about three years and 6 weeks. (p51.)

Dr. Le Pileur described the early career of the typical prostitute in the following "aphorism": "Deflowered at 16, prostituted at 17, syphilitic at 18," out of 718 syphilitic prostitutes 498 or 69 per cent were infected before their 21st year, according to Furnier fils, 63 per cent, according to Julien 69 per cent.

An illustration of the kind of life sexual slaves lead in the city of New York may be cited the following data procured by Mr. Orrin B. Booth, field superintendent of the Florence Crittenden Reserve League, and published in the supplement to pamphlet on "The White Slave Traffic." The writer secured from the keeper of a certain disorderly house the original book

of accounts of that house. Some of the figures therein are so startling that they are hard to believe under ordinary conditions. It will be borne in mind that the particular house represented in this book was called a "Fifty Cent House," and the check received by the girl therefore represents generally 25 cents as her share of the proceeds.

Bearing in mind that each check represented one customer, we now refer to photograph on page III. of the account book. It will be noticed that in one week the girl Lena received 160 men, and 113 men another week. Presuming the two weeks shown are consecutive, she would have entertained a total of 273 in 2 weeks, or an average of 19 per day for 14 days, and the income from these 273 men would have been \$136.50, of which the girl was supposed to receive only one-half, \$68.25. If she actually received it or not is of course an open question. Out of this amount she had to pay her board and other expenses.

Referring now to the photograph on page 63 it will be noticed that (taking it for granted that the 3 weeks shown were consecutive), Darlie must have entertained an average of 120 a week, of 17 a day for those 3 weeks. Referring again to the photograph on page 17 here will be noticed that the girl Bojta received in one week 185 checks, each representing one man, and on one day of this week she received 49, and the following 34 an average for 2 days, 41. A little calculation here will reveal the enormity of this horrible traffic. We will suppose that this girl was on duty for 16 hours a day, or a total for a week of 112 hours. In order to receive this number of men she necessarily must have entertained one customer every 36 minutes for a whole week. The average length of life of a girl in sin houses is five years. It is a wonder that they could live five months under such conditions? The same investigator writes of the "Cadett System" of procuring girls, practiced in the United States, and especially in large cities like New York. Cadetts are young men whose principal occupation seems to be to entrap girls into lives of sin and shame, hold them in their power and live from their earnings. Some Cadetts have five girls earning money for them by prostitution. The statement is made that one of these cadetts cleared something like \$30 per week from each one.

The mode of procedure seemed to be on this line. To become acquainted with a young girl or woman and accomplish her ruin, and then to place her in one of the numerous disorderly houses. She is credited with a certain percentage, usually one-half of the income she produced, and out of her share she is to pay for her board and clothing and what was left many times went not to her but to this fiend in human form whom she was supporting. She received beatings from this man if things did not go to his liking, and is left sometimes without sufficient clothing for comfort. Through fear or on account of debt, or for some other

reason, it seemed impossible for her to escape from the place.

Large numbers of erring girls inside and outside of disorderly houses are supporting by their earnings worthless and vile men. A manager of a Third avenue evil resort once said to the investigator who was with a party of rescue workers in the place. "People are going at this work in the wrong way. Do you see these girls in this room? Every one of them is supporting some man. What you want to do is to get a law passed, making it a felony for any man to receive the earnings of these women."

There are various other systems to procure girls, for immoral purposes. Even religion serves sometimes as a cloak. The following is a statement made by Ruth Price, then missionary of the Rescue Army, concerning a girl named R—— B——, from Troy, N. Y., aged 19, a Catholic, who was rescued on Aug. 1, 1904, from a resort on the Bowery. "When I entered the Puritan and spoke to the girls, R—— started up, saying 'Oh, I know you.' I did not recognize her but asked her where I had seen her, and she said at 201 Allen (Werners). Here is her own story: "On the fifth of last September she met two young men on the street of Troy, N. Y., one of whom she knew. She was then 18, mother dead. Had heard of New York, and longed to come here. The strange young man agreed to bring her here and get her work. They started that night arriving in the morning. He tried to ruin her coming down, but failed. Brought her to Delancey (of which we know), she was given a room and went to sleep, when she awoke she was given some pretty clothes and told what she must do, and although she wept it was of no use. She was held a prisoner here until she became diseased, and was sent to the man who became Mrs. Weiner's partner, to be taken care of, and was brought to 201 Allen, where she saw us. During this time no money or street clothing had been given her and she had been taken advantage of in every way. The more money she made the more was charged up for her house clothes. Says that none but pure girls are brought here. Since she had been working she had bought some clothes, but had loaned them and they were not returned. Now had no hat and was ashamed to go on the street, so—she said she was willing to do anything to get away. R——says about Delancey, that it is also represented outside as a training school for the stage as well as other things, and that there are girls crying here all the time who can not get away. Another girl 17 years old was enticed by a man, to the same resort, under the pretext of placing her in a beautiful place where she could be taught to be a missionary. She came, he paying her fare, she was a perfectly pure girl at the time. This was about June the 1st, 1899. Here is another case of entrapping taken from dictation: I am under 16 years of age, about November 1st, 189—, a friend of mine Ch—— K—— called at my home, and told me there was a lady she knew who wanted some one to, play the

piano, and asked me if I would go. I said I would and went with her the night following to 139 West — Street. This was a Sunday night, I told her I could not go with her until Monday night at 7:30 and I went with her. As soon as I got in the house a woman (the "madam" of the house) said to some one down stairs, "Lock the door, we have a new boarder. "I at once realized what kind of a place I was in. I saw two other girls there besides the one who took me there. I said to the madam, "I want to go home," she said, "You can't go home, if you do go home you will be put away." She said my father was going to put me away for six years, said she was up to see my father and he said that he never wants to look at you again. I cried bitterly and almost constantly while in this house, the more I cried the more they laughed at me. The madam then gave me a short dress which I put on. This was about 8:30. We then went down and sat in the parlor. About 10 o'clock three or four others came in, the madam told me that when men came in I should talk to them and ask them to "go upstairs." I said, "I do not want to do that." When these men came in I spoke to one of them and asked him up-stairs and he went, I was crying at the time we went up-stairs, but the man said nothing. He paid me \$5. I gave all this to the madam. Three men the first night each gave me \$5. The madam told me I would get \$1.50 out of each \$5.00 or \$3.00 visitor. She got \$1.50 and the cabman \$1.50 out of the \$5.00. She never paid me a cent however out of the fees. "Out of \$5.00 she gets \$2.50 and the girl \$2.50. I was in this place just three months and I was a prisoner all this time, leaving the house only twice during this period, once to a theatre and once to Newark, both times with the madam.

Another way of procuring is through fraudulent advertisement in the daily papers for waitresses. Out of the 9 adds. for instance in the German Herold for November, 1899, 7 were placed by houses of ill fame run under the name of Cigar Stores, Cider Stores or Lunch Rooms. Owing to the hypocritical system of ignoring the social evil adopted in the United States the number of sexual slaves in the country can only be roughly guessed at. The Crittenden Mission puts the figures at about 300,000. The report of the committee on the social evil with special reference to conditions existing in New York City prepared under the direction of the Committee of Fifteen (C. P. Putmans Sons, New York and London 1912) states that trading in vice has had a rapid development in New York City within the last few years. In one public precinct, not more than a mile square, there were known to be in 1900 about forty houses of ill fame. In the same precinct there were some sixty well known centres of prostitution in tenement houses. The employees of these houses openly carried their wares upon the streets, and children of the neighborhood

were given pennies and candies to distribute the cards of the prostitutes. A system of watch-boys or "light-houses" was also adopted by which the news of impending danger could be carried throughout the precinct in a very few minutes. These watch-boys in time graduate into cadetts. In many of these tenement houses in which prostitutes ply their trades, as many as fifty children reside. An acquaintance by the children with adult vices is inevitable under such conditions. Almost any child on the East Side of New York will tell you what a *napke-bladj* is. The children in the tenement eagerly watch the new sight in their midst. The statistics of venereal diseases among children and the many revolting stories from the Red Light District tell how completely they learned the lesson taught them. In an argument before the cities committee at Albany, April, 1901, the chairman of the Committee of Fifteen presented certain statistics founded upon an inspection of 125 tenement houses in which prostitutes were known to reside and ply their trade. In the work of the Committee of Fifteen evidence was secured in over 300 separate disorderly apartments in tenement houses in the City of New York. It was impossible with the limited staff of men at the disposition of the Committee of Fifteen to approximate the number of prostitutes, or houses of prostitution in New York City, and data is far from being complete and trustworthy.

Miss Frances A. Keller, Fellow College Settlement Association, in her article in *Charities*, Feb. 5th, 1904, says: "A conservative estimate shows that in New York alone they (the employment offices) send some ten thousand or more into prostitution, thus depriving households of valuable help, for many go blindly and unwillingly."

If it be true that sexual slavery was always due to the subjection of some kind, religious or social or economical of the weaker sex to the sterner sex, the modern industrial conditions resulted in a tremendous development of the social evil, and its consequences are more alarming than ever. If strong and competent male workers, if the male proletarian, is being compelled to sell his only possession, his labor power on the labor market to the highest bidder as a commodity, to, virtually sell his own body for temporary use as a carrier of labor power to those who have the price, what can be said of a female proletarian whose only possession is her own body? The community will have so much of a commodity as it is willing to pay for. Demand creates supply. This is true of sexual commodities as well as the commodity called human labor, or for that matter, any other commodity.

Abnormal conditions in which the slum proletariat lives and raises children result in a large class of women trained in sexual slavery from the cradle to the grave. They grow up in wretched tenements contaminated by constant familiarity with vice in its lower forms. When half matured they fall victims of their male

associates, and invariably drop down into professional prostitution. A very large number of prostitutes begin their career of shame when mere children. They may be victims of procurers or they may drift into vice without the deliberate incitement of any person who expects to profit from their shame. The disintegration of family life by our present industrial system is a powerful factor in the social evil.

Hosts of laborers flock into industrial centres in search of work, attracted by the actual or imaginary larger opportunities of rising in social life, and by possibly a greater degree of comfort that offers. At the same time the income that a young man earns is not sufficient for supporting a family. The children and women are forced into the mill and shop, where they labor for a pittance as needle women, day workers, domestic or factory hands.

Their earnings are often so small as barely to suffice for the urgent need of the day. A season of non-employment presents them with an alternative of starvation or prostitution. According to Bloskars, for instance, "occasional prostitution" far outnumbers all others in the city of Berlin. The tedious and irksome drudgery of an industrial laborer day after day, year after year, with no prospect for a freer, larger life creates in the breast of a poor working girl a burning desire for personal happiness, temporary, at least enjoyment of life, once there is no prospect of anything permanent. Life is short, youth is still shorter, and the temptations surrounding her are so many. The circumstances of city life make it possible for them to experiment with vice without losing caste, and they drift gradually on the evil line of professional prostitutes.

It is undoubtedly true that sexual slavery is a direct consequence of pauperism. In large cities prostitution increases or decreases inversely as employment in industry (Bloskars Conference International Brussels, 1899, *enquette i*, 676). In St. Petersburg, it is common for domestics to practice prostitution when out of employment and to cease from it when work is offered. (Stuermer, *Die prostitution in Russland*.)

Some professional prostitutes after a few years of shame return to honorable employment, marry or become kept mistresses. Even among the registered prostitutes of large European cities, there are many who are each year liberated from the control of the police, on the grounds that they have ceased to prostitute themselves. Thus, in Copenhagen, from 1871 to 1896 20 per cent of the registered prostitutes were cancelled from the register, because of marriage, 13 per cent returned to their relatives, and 10 per cent were taken in charge of private persons. The "Committee of Fifteen" says in their recommendation:

"It is a sad and humiliating admission to make, at the opening of the 20th century, in one of the greatest centres of civiliza-

tion in the world, that in numerous instances, it is not passion or corrupt inclination but the force of actual physical want (poverty) that impels young women along the road of ruin." (p. 174.)

Our essay would not be complete without having pointed a species of sexual slavery extensively rampant, more repulsive to genuine moral sense, more injurious to the human race than even open prostitution.

We mean commercial marriages sanctioned by public opinion. These unions between people who do not love each other, but buy and sell the sexual commodity called husband and wife at the current price on the matrimonial market is an institution, there are no words in our vocabulary to characterize with.

The study of the problem forces upon us the conclusion that sexual slavery is but a species of specifically human social economic parasitism Commercialism in general and its modern typical development—capitalism—in particular are the actual causes of the existence of sexual slavery, in the same measure as they are the causes of pauperism. Only a social economic system founded on the principles of human brotherhood and sisterhood, on the principles of sonderity and justice, on the principles of actual freedom and equality, economic freedom and equality will do away with sexual slavery.. Only economic democracy will allow a normal development of family life and free humanity from its greatest evil, the social evil.

ISADOR LADOFF.

A Crisis For Socialism.

ONCE a Socialist, always a Socialist," does not hold good with reference to a person who has once voted the Socialist ticket. Of this we have proof in the slump in the Socialist vote in Colorado and Massachusetts this year.

In the former state the workingmen wanted to "down Peabody" on account of his avowed hatred for a certain labor organization, while in the latter state they wanted to boost Douglas on account of his pretended friendliness for certain labor organizations.

The vote shows that they rather down Peabody and boost Douglass than down Capitalism and boost themselves.

A man in these two states who voted the Socialist ticket two years ago had to decide this year whether he was a unionist or a Socialist.

In both states he thought he had an opportunity to do something for unionism. But in Colorado it was really a serious problem with many men. It was a question of immediate demands as against ultimate demands. It was a question of a crumb today as against a full meal in the future and they accepted the crumb.

Peabody had for two years carried on a war of extermination against the American Labor Union and especially against the Western Federation of Miners, which has been on a strike to enforce the eight-hour work-day and a minimum wage for men employed in mills and smelters. These men had seen their unions broken up, their homes invaded, been incarcerated in "bull-pens" and prisons without legal complaint or cause, had been worked on the streets for vagrancy, been prodded with bayonets, torn from their homes, beaten and bruised, been deported and left without food or shelter in Kansas and New Mexico, their wives and children denied the privilege of receiving food or relief even from the Red Cross Society without permission from the military commanders.

There was a chance of beating Peabody and being allowed to go home by voting for the Democratic nominee for Governor. There was no chance to defeat with the Socialists. What should they do? Put yourselves in their place and answer the question.

We Socialists know that twenty-five or thirty thousand Socialist votes in Colorado would have done more to prevent a recurrence of such outrages than the election of a Democrat, no matter how friendly he may pretend to be to labor, but the most of the voters did not know that. They did not comprehend the Socialist movement nor its philosophy. Something immediate is the wage-slave's demand. Wages at the end of the week or month is what

they are used to and they cannot get their minds to contemplate some result in the future following from an act of today.

There is a great hope, however, in the last election returns. The Socialist vote was fully as large as it ought to be for a sound movement. The political movement is liable to outstrip the industrial organizations and all Socialists realize that the industrial conditions must be ripe before we ought to win at the polls, or, in other words, the two ought to go hand in hand.

It is significant that many of the brightest labor leaders are opposed to trades-unionism and in favor of industrial unionism. There was a meeting in Chicago in January to further perfect the plan of industrial unionism, whereby every employe, no matter what his trade, becomes a member of the one union for that industry. This is the plan of the American Labor Union.

It is this form of organization which has made it possible for the Western Federation of Miners to pay out for relief for the strikers nearly \$500,000, and after the worst war that has ever been waged on any labor organization the loss in membership is so insignificant that the organization to-day is stronger than it ever was.

This plan of organization teaches class-solidarity, as the monthly contributions to the defensive fund, from railroad men, brewery workers, cooks and waiters, teamsters, carpenters and all others go to support the miners in this struggle in Colorado.

It is not strange that the leaders in these industrial unions are Socialists, as Socialists only can see the necessity for class-solidarity in the industrial as well as the political field. In the Telluride District, Colorado, the miners have won the strike. The eight-hour day and the minimum wage of three dollars has been conceded and took effect December first. This was all that was demanded and after fifteen months of the most outrageous actions on the part of the Citizen's Alliance (composed of business and professional men) the Mine Owners' Association, the civil authorities and the Governor, the strikers won.

This demand affected only 200 millmen in the district, but 1,200 miners, cooks, waiters, teamsters, trammers, engineers, etc., walked out as a unit to enforce the demand of the millmen because they were all members of the American Labor Union and its motto is, "The injury to one is the concern of all." The only men who scabbed in this district were the carpenters, who were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as this union considered that it was not their fight, although two years before that the carpenters had secured an eight-hour day through the assistance of the Miners' Union.

The result, however, now is that the carpenters have to work nine hours at the mines and ten hours at the mills for the same pay that they received for eight hours.

I see encouragement in the vote in Colorado and most of all

in the fact that it was possible to get a large portion of the workmen to vote together on a question so as to break the political alignment. When we can awaken sufficient class interest to get them to vote together we have overcome political prejudice, or ignorance, rather, and all we need is to convince them that our program is for their interest.

The actions of the Supreme Court in this state indicate that it intends to retain Peabody in office, despite the workmen's strenuous efforts to down him.

Prior to the election the Supreme Court, on the request of the Peabody supporters appointed watchers to represent the court in 99 precincts in Denver which were usually Democratic and issued a writ enjoining the election officials from violating the election laws (a new proceeding). Under this injunction 23 election officials from the precincts that went Democratic have been sent to jail and fined, and upon the testimony produced in these cases of contempt, the whole vote in the precincts has been declared null and void, without even opening the ballot boxes, in some cases.

We need not be surprised at anything that the Supreme Court of Colorado may do when it is remembered that it upheld Peabody in his violation of the constitution by imprisoning men without complaint and denying the writ of habeas corpus. Enough of the election returns have already been changed to make the legislature Republican instead of Democratic. This will insure the confirmation of Peabody's appointees for two new judges of the Supreme Court and as the legislature canvasses and declares the result of the vote on Governor the probability is that the Republican legislature will seat Peabody instead of Adams, whom the returns show to have been elected, by 11,000 majority. If the strongest Capitalist party will do this against the weaker Capitalist party, using the machinery of government, what wouldn't they do if the returns showed that the Socialists had a majority?

A. H. FLOATEN,

(*Late Candidate for Governor.*)

Modern Utopianism.

IN the books, pamphlets and speeches on Socialism, one runs across nothing more emphatically reiterated than the scientific character of the modern movement, and the constant warning to beware of confounding the agitation founded on scientific theory with that of sentimental, utopian romancers. So much is this distinction urged that one approaching the subject with a fresh, unbiased mind, naturally expects to discover some wide divergence in belief and practice between the schools. This expectation is, indeed, fulfilled in part by investigation of the respective literatures. History and economics are made the basis of a philosophy of working class action by one school, by the other the fancy is delighted and the sympathies enthralled by pictures of ideal states and eloquent denunciation of the wrongs of the poor. "Scientific Socialism," acknowledging the inexorable dominion of law in social relations, seeks to take advantage of these and to guide human effort in harmony with, not in antagonism to, the principles which the sciences of history and economics have discovered. "Utopian Socialism" has little sense of historical evolution and deems social regeneration to be the result of effective agitation, independent of the social and political conditions of the time and place. Having come to an understanding of this distinction, the investigator begins to wonder mildly wherein lies the necessity for so clamorous an appeal to avoid confounding the two schools. As soon would one confound the bee with the butterfly, the engineer with the man of letters.

But when one leaves the books and turns to the practical actions of the two schools, then the necessity of the shibboleth "scientific" becomes apparent. There is little to distinguish between them in their deeds. Recovering from the bewilderment which such an unexpected condition causes, the important fact begins to reveal itself. The "scientific" socialists are utopians at heart. They learned their science in the philosopher's closet and when they emerged to face the actual world they left it there. They have failed to apply their science and hence their actions are the same though their cries be different from those of the utopian host.

This is perhaps too sweeping a denunciation of the so-called scientific school, but those most culpable of utopianism are the loudest in their protestation of their "scientific" position and hence need a severe rebuke to penetrate their cant-protected intellects. It is in fact just these extremists who, with the self-assertion of dogmatic fanaticism have taken upon themselves the title of champions of scientific, revolutionary socialism, that I wish

to show have failed to understand the principles they profess, and are the modern utopians, distinguishable from the earlier school only by the cant-phrases they misunderstandingly repeat. They represent in the socialist movement a tendency toward hardening our principles into dogma and encrusting them with cant, a process deadly alike to the dialectic theory and to the active expansive life of the organization. Arriving at the conclusion that Socialism is inevitable as the result of the break-down of capitalism and the triumph of labor, they proclaim themselves uncompromising revolutionists and, dazzled by the glory of their ideal utopia, they scorn the daily battles of the labor unions and the "immediate demands" of the party platform as compromising and palliating measures, whose entire significance is in their delaying the "day of the revolution." I intend to show that this attitude of antagonism to "immediate demands," though, possibly uncompromising, is certainly not revolutionary and is absolutely unscientific.

Let us first review the position of the earlier utopians that we may see more clearly by the parallelisms that exist how really utopian also are these latter-day uncompromising extremists.

In Section 3, Part III of the "Communist Manifesto" we find the heading "Critical Utopian Socialism and Communism." In this section Marx and Engels describe the characteristics of utopianism.

To quote in part:

"The founders of these (utopian) systems see indeed the class antagonisms, as well as the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. . . . the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after new social laws that are to create these conditions. Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action. Historically created conditions of emancipation must yield to phantastic ones; and the gradual, spontaneous class-organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans."

It is this disregard of material or economic conditions which stamps these schemes as utopian. They "stand apart from the class struggle," says Marx, and "lose all practical value and theoretical justification." It was not so much their building ideal future states that made the utopians unscientific, but in their failure to take up the practical problems arising out of the class antagonisms of the day. Not understanding that it is the economic or material interests which move men and economic conditions which limit their actions, they regarded all practical working-class action as a result "of blind unbelief in the new gospel." They abhorred participation in the battles of the class struggle as a sacrifice of principle.

Such was the position of the utopians of the early part of the nineteenth century. We shall see that the practical attitude of the modern impossibilist is much the same. For while he asserts in theory that the class struggle is the foundation of "scientific" socialism, his adaptation of that theory leads him into an attempt which ignores the actual class struggle and seeks to build up an organization around the ideal of a revolution, cataclysmic in nature, and which will inaugurate the beautiful co-operative commonwealth. He abandons the idea of building up a political party which shall appeal to the immediate material interests of the proletariat, for a "revolutionary" organization whose power of attraction and cohesion is an ideal, differing from that of the early utopians only in the dramatic character of its proposed realization and the indefiniteness of its outlines. While the early utopians depended upon the beauty and perfection of their realized schemes, the modern utopian seeks adherents by suggesting the heroic or theatrical nature of revolutionary events.

Before proceeding further, let us examine the position of the scientific socialist.

The materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value form the basis of scientific socialism. History is conceived as a continuous logical process through cause and effect, the system of wealth production being the condition under which, and the material or economic interests of individuals and classes being the motive power by which the social superstructure is formed. That the present system of production is, and for the future must continue to be, social is shown by economic science. And as a key to economic science we have the theory of surplus value, elucidated by Marx, which shows that the increase and concentration of capital, the recurrence of industrial crises, the intensifying exploitation of labor and the consequent existence of a class struggle are alike inevitable. Scientific socialism thus presents itself not as an inventor of a future ideal state, but as an investigator of the economic relations in capitalist society. Its science is its classified knowledge of the laws operating in society at present. Its socialism is in the deduction from those laws—that the means of wealth production will inevitably be transferred to the control of the state and that the state will be more thoroughly democratized. These changes are to be accomplished by the action of a working-class party growing out of and pushed forward by those material interests of the wage-workers which are created by economic development. Scientific socialism contents itself with the barest of ideals. Realizing that the future is the result of the tendencies of the present, knowing that he cannot create conditions, problems or issues, the scientific socialist does not try to mold the future after his individual belief. He does not judge measures according to their effect on securing in the

future the beautiful dream of William Morris or the elaborate and effective machine of Edward Bellamy. He takes up each problem as it arises and settles it in the interest of the working-class. He has no fear of the future so long as he can organize the working-class to fight for control of the government and the enactment of measures in its own behalf. He knows that the pursuit of its immediate economic interests leads the proletariat deeper and deeper into antagonism with the private ownership of capital, and that, as a consequence, public ownership will present itself as an inevitable, ultimate step. Unlike the utopian, he does not fear the compromise of his ideals while following the path his scientific principles point out. He knows that economic evolution will take care of the future and its ideals. His chief concern is to fight the present day battles in the class-struggle, sure of the general character of its outcome. In short, the scientific socialist takes an active part in all the political and economic problems and movements that concern the working-class and fights continually for the building-up of a working-class party, the champion of working-class interests.

We can now apply in a more detailed way the principles of scientific socialism to the tactical question of the inclusion of immediate demands in the party platform.

What is meant by "immediate demands"?

I think I do not mistake the general opinion of the party—certainly it is the opinion of these modern utopians—that immediate demands are a group of palliative measures, designed merely to alleviate the hard conditions of capitalism, but which are, in reality, utterly petty and trivial, and are inserted in the platform chiefly as "bait for gudgeons." Once included in the platform, they are to be quietly ignored while the campaign orators, rising above such trivial questions, enjoy the easier work of rehashing the "principles of scientific socialism," denouncing capitalism and glorifying the co-operative commonwealth. With generalities on the evils of competition and confident prophecy of the doom of capitalism, they rise to the heights of eloquence and delude themselves into the belief that they are really on "the firing line" in the class war. Unfortunately, the workingman fails to perceive the practical bearing of all this "oratory" on questions of immediate and pressing importance.

The immediate demands of the Socialist party fall naturally into three categories, which, when stated, reveal their importance. First, there are demands for proposed laws for bettering the wage-workers' economic and social position, propositions which, when carried out, will strengthen the proletarians and fit them better for the struggle for and conquest of the social productive forces. Second, there are measures which, attacking the problem from another side, aid at the stimulation of economic development and the transfer of individual, highly centralized industries

into the control of the state. And third, there are measures which seek to change the constitution of the political powers into more democratic forms so that the people may defend their interests from a governing bureaucracy.

These immediate demands when so grouped display themselves as they are properly designated in our present national platform—steps in the direction of the co-operative commonwealth. They form the program of action. They are definite proposals of a practical nature, harmonizing with the development of industrial and political conditions, and join the party advocating them to present problems. They keep the party in touch with realities. They are the scientific methods of solving the problems which the class struggle daily brings up; and they form a connecting bond between present and future. The latter-day utopians, however, laugh at immediate demands as mere bourgeois reform," unworthy the consideration of revolutionists. This sect proclaims that only a complete social revolution can effect any change, whatever, for the better. All attempts to better conditions while capitalism lasts, must of necessity be abortive.

This view, of course, involves the absurdity that the social revolution is a mere matter of the change of political administration. We elect President and Congress in 1908. A special session is called by the President on March 5, 1909. Congress meets July 4 the same year, and on Thanksgiving day the ears of the Almighty are deafened with the gratitude of the citizens of the realized Social Democracy. "And Congress said 'Let there be socialism' and there was socialism"—thus will the new Genesis read. Manifestly this is absurd. What must, of necessity, be done is to take up each industry, organize it, and try different methods till the right one be hit upon and then continue its operation in that manner. And the process of acquiring as national, state or municipal property the industries of the land will extend over many years and through many administrations, each of which must be so prudently conducted that its successor will not be hostile to the generally socialist trend of the period. The socialization of industry must of necessity be done a step at a time. The difficulty with our Utopian friends is that, to use Engel's distinction, they are metaphysicians as opposed to dialecticians. They fail to see that immediate demands while under capitalist conditions are like the sappers who undermine the bastions of a great fortress. They progress slowly, often beaten back and suffering great loss, but in the end they effect a breach through which the citadel is stormed.

Let us analyze the statement that there can be no betterment under capitalism and that therefore immediate demands are useless. It also implies that if capitalism makes conditions worse as time goes on, there is no legislative relief. For if there were

legislative relief, the measure which would give it would forthwith become an immediate demand. Hence, either parliamentary activity becomes merely a means of propaganda or it is abandoned altogether. In the latter case our arch-revolutionary friends are driven into the camp of the Physical Force Anarchists, who must organize a military power to conquer capitalism and establish their ideal.

If they still regard parliamentary activity with a favorable eye, their propaganda therein must take the form of criticising the capitalistic system and elaborating the beautiful details of the ideal future society. All the questions before the legislature "under capitalism" must be regarded as either an opportunity for showing the evils of capitalism or a text to show "how it would be done" under the socialist system which the speaker or the party had adopted as the ideal future state. To attempt to propose a positive measure for the settlement of the individual question at issue would be to formulate an "immediate demand" and repudiate the doctrine that legislative enactment can do nothing. The doctrinaires find themselves in this position—all questions are put off until the "social revolution" is accomplished. It will be the solution of all. The thousand and one questions which arise in the daily class struggle have no interest for or relation to them, except that they may point with pride to the socialist system, in which such questions cannot arise. It becomes necessary, then, for our "revolutionary" friends to explain why they cannot arise, and soon they are compelled to construct an ideal system, start it in motion and show you how it works. In short, they have landed in the ideal realms of pure utopianism. To them applies Marx's description of their predecessors—"Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action. Historically created conditions must yield to phantastic ones; and the gradual spontaneous class organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans."

Some of these utopians perceive the falsity of the proposition that there is no possibility of betterment under capitalism. And in addition, they dimly discern the utterly utopian nature of their ultimate position, commanding as it does a practical withdrawal from the daily class struggle. So they admit the possibility of doing something, but deny the use of saying so. Thus the Seattle platform, much vaunted as an "ideal platform," pledges its elected nominees to act on every measure from the standpoint of benefiting the working class. But if some measures can benefit the working class, why are our Seattle friends so modest? Why do they not state what measures can benefit labor? Will they wait for their Republican or Democratic colleagues to introduce

measures for labor's betterment? Or will they confine their activities to opposing Republican and Democratic measures designed to further degrade and enslave the working class? Come, Messieurs Socialists, you wish to control Seattle. When elected, what will you do? You cannot inaugurate the social revolution. Will you therefore relapse into a do-nothing dynasty? Your ascendancy will be short lived in such a case; for the people believe that "words are good only when backed up by deeds."

But, it is said, to make a campaign on "immediate demands" is to lose our revolutionary character. Here our unhappy friends find themselves in another dilemma. On the one hand, they must assert that the interests of labor and capital are so harmonious and reconcilable that the working class can be *indefinitely* bettered under the capitalist system by step-at-a-time measures. Or, on the other hand, they must admit that these measures lead ultimately to an attack upon the capitalist system and cause its overthrow. To maintain the possibility of indefinite betterment of labor's condition is to deny the Marxian theories of the exploitation of labor, the concentration of capital, and the intensification of the class struggle. Denying these, they abandon the basis of scientific socialism and put themselves out of court in this discussion. They must, however, go even further than admit "indefinite betterment" possible, for the end of the proposition is the entire reconciliation and absolute harmony of the interests of capital and labor. Because as labor demands more and more, bettering itself indefinitely, either its demands will be continually in harmony with capitalism, or else they will reach a point where antagonisms arise and the struggle for mastery will begin again. Our revolutionary utopians are, therefore, forced to accept the position that immediate demands lead to an attack on and an overthrow of the capitalist system. In other words, immediate demands do not cause the party to lose its revolutionary character but, on the contrary, compel it to become such. As Marx writes in the "Communist Manifesto," near the end of Part II, "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state * * * and to increase the total of productive forces," etc. This will be done "by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, *outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.*"

There is one last refuge into which our unscientific utopian arch-revolutionary friends retreat. "Other parties," they exclaim, "will adopt these demands and thus steal our thunder." This means that other parties will boost working-class interests. But

what other parties will do this? Are we not constantly assured that the Republican and Democratic parties are but the two wings of the capitalist vulture, that both represent interests opposed to labor? Which, then, of these factional interests, will sacrifice itself nobly on the altar of the working class? To state that either will do so is to deny that political parties are a phase of the class struggle and represent material class interests—a fundamental proposition of scientific socialism.

It is certainly true that palliative sops may be thrown to the working class by either party in order to secure for a while longer its own dominance. But these grants are simply retreats by the capitalists from untenable positions. They dare not hazard a general conflict with the organized army of labor on such weak ground. The effect of their retreat, however, instead of avoiding the class struggle, is simply to enable the workers to occupy a new and advanced position, from which they can with added strength renew the conflict. Every such sop, every such retreat serves only to bring the line of battle, the firing line, closer and closer to the capitalist citadel, nearer and nearer to its last ditch.

But there is another element in this last despairing cry of those who oppose immediate demands which supplies the principle that overwhelms their position completely.

Why is it that the promise of an "immediate demand," a measure in the interest of the working class, by a capitalist party should weaken a working-class party? If there is any reason it is that this promise complies with the immediate interest of the workers. And they are satisfied to pursue their immediate interests regardless in a great measure of the further, but future, interests which the working-class party represents. In the well known phrase, they hold the penny so close to the eye they cannot see the dollar that lies beyond. This is largely true, and it constitutes just the reason that immediate demands and campaigns in their behalf are necessary, if the working class is to be marshaled into a political party for the conquest of the public powers. To the pocketbooks of the workers, on those matters which affect income and expenditure for the current year, you must appeal. Rooting the party firmly in their material interests it will grow naturally and surely, satisfying their present needs and developing its ideals just as the rose-bush, drawing its sustenance from the soil, puts forth its buds and blossoms into beauty.

The fundamental mistake of the utopians is their assumption that the ultimate interest of men of living under the ideal conditions of a co-operative commonwealth has a sufficient binding or cohesive force to be used in building up a powerful political party. It certainly does attract a certain percentage of idealists and zealots and holds them, inspired and militant, for a considerable time; from others it exacts a temporary allegiance and service; from

others, mere intellectual acquiescence. But the vast body it fails utterly to move.

Not only that but the organization it succeeds in forming, removed from the realities and problems of actual every day life, inevitably tends to become sectarian and factional. On the one hand a fraction claims that the capitalists have an ultimate interest in socialism. Another faction rely on the middle-class man, whose ultimate interest is sure to lead him into the land of promise. And a third faction would kick out every one whose income provides him with a clean shirt, for the great catastrophe to capitalism will only come when everyone is ground down to the lowest point and revolution is their very last resource. Hence, in the composite expression of the total body, class lines are blurred. The indistinctness only disappears when you look at the "inside politics" of the organization. There you see the lines of cleavage drawn with such rigidity as only doctrinarians and dogmatists can be responsible for.

"The first step is the organization of the working class." That class is to be organized successfully on the lines of its own immediate interests. It will adhere to and build up that party whose program answers its demand for pressing reforms. If the Socialist party aspires to be the representative of the working-class, it must come to them without ulterior designs. It cannot say, "We'll give you an eight-hour day, if you will support the co-operative commonwealth and subscribe to the theory of the materialist conception of history." In a sense it must come nude and virginal to labor. As the Christian loses his life to gain it, so must the socialist abandon his ideals to gain them. Let the party take up the pressing question of the day from the workers' standpoint, fight it out, win the workers' battle and move on to the next question. Every advance, every gain for labor is a loss for capital, a restriction on the dominance of capitalism, an assertion of the right of the workers to regulate to some extent the industries they carry on. Thus, step by step, inroads are made on individualism in industry and the ideal of social democracy rises from the foundation of achieved industrial facts. The class lines are firmly drawn, and in place of fanatical factions contending over theories, the organization, its whole attention engrossed in the conflict with the capitalist class, present a united front to the enemy. Such a party is honest. It serves. It does not intend merely to use.

The Socialist party must become a workingmen's party, flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone. It will not do to regard the working class and its immediate interests as something separate from the Socialist party and its interests and ideals. They must be one. And as the husband said to his wife, "You and I are one and I'm it," so in the union, the identification of labor and socialism, it is labor that must be it."

In short—let us have faith that the interests of labor and capital are irreconcilably opposed; that an intensifying class struggle results and that labor in its victory must, as its historic mission, abolish capitalism and substitute socialism. Strong in that faith, let us fare forth to battle in labor's ranks. Let us strive mightily in every battle—yea, every skirmish of the great class war, confident that in the end the last rampart of plutocratic tyranny will be breached and our mighty hosts will plant their victorious standards on every factory, shop and farm throughout the land.

CAMERON H. KING, JR.

No Work.

A song for the idle who roam at will,
And a shrug for the men who shirk,
But who shall sing of the prick and sting.
Of the bitter taunt and the cruel fling,
To the man who has no work.

The man who would delve if he had a mind,
With a plane or a saw would build,
Or would give a turn to a thought to burn
Like an opal flame in a golden urn,
If the dream of his life were filled.

Oh! who can tell of the bitter shame
To sink from man's estate,
And to humbly take for his children's sake
The coin that is flung. Oh, the hearts that break
In this world that we create!

For the plan of God was the same for all,
The right to be and do,
It is only we, who have learned to see
That the world was made for you and me,
And the rich, and a chosen few.

And we call it fate, and our brother falls
Because of the load we give,
And his sorest need, is our pressing greed:
The self that tramples him though he bleed,
The self, that will crush to live.

Oh! the saddest sight in the world to-day
Is our neighbor passing by,
With a weary pace, and a blanching face,
Who is out of work, and out of the race,
And we make it—you and I.

EMMA PLAYTER SEABURY.

First National Convention of the Prussian Social Democracy.

IN DECEMBER 28 to 31, 1904, the first national convention of the Prussian Social Democracy was held in Berlin. Of the 3,010,771 socialist votes cast in the last reichstag's elections, 1,649,998 were polled in Prussia, and of the 81 socialists elected in June 1903, as many as 32 were elected in Prussia, which sends a total of 235 delegates to the reichstag. Nevertheless the Prussian Social Democracy did not call a special national convention so far, while some of the smaller states have already done so at various times. The justification for this first national convention of the Prussian socialists was the growing power of the reaction in Prussia which determined the policy of all other states in the empire. The purpose of this convention was to publicly denounce this reaction, to incite the minds by a public appeal to the people against the more and more undisguised plans and the shameless class rule of the Prussian nobility, to demand in the name of the working people a people's parliament in place of the present class parliament. The convention unanimously defined its position on all these points. It was a mass demonstration of the most impressive kind against the money parliament and against the attacks on the oppressed made by it.

The questions placed on the order of business were the following: The Prussian housing reform bill, the school reform bill, the bill for the prevention of contract breaking on the part of the farm laborers and servants, and the election laws of Prussia regarding the landtag.

The new housing reform bill of Prussia is but a reactionary attempt to save the house owners from losses to the disadvantage of the proletarian population of the city and rural districts. The housing conditions in Prussia were exposed by Comrade Heimann who had been entrusted with the task of presenting the matter to the convention. He emphasized the fact that a thorough sanitation of the housing conditions cannot be accomplished, until the land is completely taken out of the control of capitalist interests and transferred to the collectivity. The resolution which he introduced expressed this truth very forcibly. But since the accomplishment of this purpose, and the introduction of reforms under the capitalist system, depend on the growing solidarity and class-consciousness of the working people, and can be advanced only by the conquest of the political power by the proletariat, the spreading of this proletarian influence was declared to be the main function of the Socialist Party. Therefore the convention opposed the housing bill of the capitalist parties and demanded the following imme-

diate reforms: The framing of a new housing bill, defining the powers of the municipalities and communes and extending to them the power of expropriating house owners and acquiring land for public purposes; the creation of a central housing bureau to direct the work of local housing bureaus; the introduction of universal, equal, secret and direct balloting for all members of any community and the abolition of special privileges for house owners; complete local autonomy. Only when these reforms are introduced will the municipalities be able to cope with the housing problem. The administrative means to cope with it would be the conservation and extension of public property in land; the building of sanitary houses for working people; the renting of such houses at prices covering the cost of building and repairing; the taxation of the unearned increment in land values; the designing of new and up-to-date building plans; the transfer of the local means of transportation to the municipality. The resolution was adopted.

The school reform bill of the capitalist parties was a compromise between the liberals and conservatives in the Prussian landtag for the purpose of clericalising the schools and bringing them still more into the position of reactionary instruments. Comrade Arons, who was selected as the speaker on this subject, introduced a resolution protesting against this reactionary attempt and demanding an immediate reform of the public school system. The resolution declares the first conditions for such a reform to be the separation of the schools from the churches and the elimination of religious instruction from the school plan; a uniform education for all children of school age; free tuition, free school books; small classes; better training and better wages for teachers; application of modern hygiene and modern methods of pedagogy; free food and clothing for needy pupils. In the discussion following the introduction of the resolution, it was proposed to add amendments demanding co-education for boys and girls in all classes, and opposing the attempts to use the schools for the political purposes of the government and of the ruling classes. These amendments were added and the resolution adopted. Other resolutions demanding the regulation of the school system by uniform methods throughout the empire and protesting against the brutal Germanizing policy of the government in schools attended by children of other than German parentage were also adopted.

The bill referring to contracts with farm laborers and servants contemplated a revival of the feudal conditions of serfdom for employees of the landed nobility. The convention protested against this reaction and adopted a resolution demanding the legal equality of farm laborers and farm servants with industrial laborers; abolition of all class legislation against farm employees; laws protecting the farm employees and securing them in their privilege to hold meetings and organize. The members of the

party were urged to agitate among the farming proletariat and to organize them. An amendment demanding the institution of arbitration boards, the members of which are to be elected by universal suffrage, was added to the resolution which was then adopted.

The attitude of the Prussian socialists toward the present election system in use for landtag's elections, and toward this parliament itself, is clearly reflected in the following resolution presented by Comrade Ledebour:

"The Prussian landtag has no claim to be recognized as a representation of the Prussian people, because the artificial structure of the house of lords, with its majority of hereditary and appointed lawmakers, serves only as a bulwark of class rule for the nobility and bureaucracy. The three-class-election system privileges one-seventh of the population composed of wealthy citizens by giving them two-thirds of the votes and thus insuring their predominance in the house of representatives. The mass of the people is practically disfranchised and the landtag disgraced by being turned into a representation of the money power.

The result of this composition of the landtag is a more and more reactionary legislation contrary to the interests of the working people.

The house of lords and the house of representatives are historically illegal because they owe their existence to usurpation and by their composition they are the embodiment of shameless class rule and perfect enmity toward the working class.

The convention protests against the outrage and lawlessness perpetrated against the mass of the people by this class parliament.

The first and most necessary step for the defeat of the reaction in Prussia is the transformation of the Prussian parliament into a true people's parliament. The convention demands the abolition of the house of lords and the introduction of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret balloting for the house of representatives, for all male and female persons above the age of 20, on the basis of proportional representation."

The discussion of this resolution led to an animated debate on the question of tactics, owing to an amendment introduced by Bernstein which called for mass demonstrations in the great cities for the purpose of agitating for universal suffrage. The amendment was rejected and the resolution adopted.

The convention also defined the position of the party in the questions of meat inspection, the violation of the interests of employees of state industries, and the disfranchisement of the female population. Resolutions of sympathy were sent to the striking miners in the Ruhr districts. The next national convention of the Prussian Social Democracy will be held in 1906.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Manifesto of Industrial Unionists.

DURING the first week of January a meeting of industrial unionists was held in Chicago, and their plans are worthy of careful study and investigation by all who are interested in the organized labor movement. The manifesto which was issued by this meeting is as follows:

Social relations and groupings but reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines ever replacing less productive ones wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the evergrowing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which in this world of monopolized opportunities means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by craft divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating condition his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assorts them according to the machine to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill, or interests among laborers, are imposed by the employers that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist

tyranny may be weakened by artificial, fratricidal distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers, the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the judicial injunctions and military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions.

The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effect of trade divisions, the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers, subject to the same masters, the long struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief within wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the products of which they alone will enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent upon the industrial battlefield.

Union men scab upon union men, hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered, helpless and disintegrated, into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft. Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life

of another body of laborers. Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action. Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles, which serve only the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working class autonomy generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in the collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

Workingmen bringing union cards from foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

All members should hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

The general administration should issue a publication, representing the entire organization and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry, at regular intervals.

A Central Defense Fund, to which all members contribute equally should be established and maintained.

CALL FOR CONVENTION.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegate represents. No delegate, how-

ever, shall be given representation on the basis of an organization, unless he has credentials, bearing the seal of his union, local, national or international, and the signatures of the officers thereof, authorizing him to install his union as a working part of the proposed economic organization in the industrial department to which it logically belongs in the general plan. Lacking this authority, the delegate shall represent himself as an individual.

THOS. J. DE YOUNG, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Houston, Texas.

THOS. J. HAGGERTY, of the American Labor Union, Chicago.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN, of the United Metal Workers, Chicago.

FRED. D. HENION, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Minneapolis.

M. E. WHITE, of the American Labor Union, Denver.

ERNEST UNTERMANN, Chicago.

W. J. BRADLEY, Minneapolis.

W. J. PINKERTON, of the Switchmen's Union of North America, Argentine, Kan.

FRANK KRAFFT, International Union of United Brewery Workmen, Chicago.

A. J. SWING, of the American Federation of Musicians, Cincinnati.

A. M. SIMONS, Editor INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, Chicago.

J. E. FITZGERALD, Fort Worth, Texas.

WADE SHURTLEFF, of the International Musical Union, Cleveland, Ohio.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, of the Western Federation of Miners, Denver.

MOTHER JONES, Chicago.

FRANK M. MCCABE, Chicago.

JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor Miners' Magazine, Denver.

CHARLES, H. MOYER, Western Federation of Miners, Denver.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN, International Union of Brewery Workmen, Cincinnati.

W. L. HALL, Chicago.

JOS. SCHMITT, International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.

CLARENCE SMITH, Chicago.

JOHN GUILD, International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.

DANIEL McDONALD, Chicago.

FRANK BOHN, New York City.

GEO. ESTES, Chicago.

PERMANENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, Chairman.

W. E. TRAUTMANN, Secretary, Odd Fellows' Temple, Cincinnati.

CLARENCE SMITH.

W. L. HALL.

A. M. SIMONS.

Progress of Socialism in Norway.

THESE are days full of cheer and comfort for the Socialists of all lands. From every quarter of the civilized world come reports of progress and victory for our movement—"glad tidings of great joy" for the class-conscious workers of every country and clime. The unique strength of German Social-Democracy, shown by the Reichstag elections of 1903 is too well known to friend and foe to need reciting here. We of Yankeeland are still rejoicing over the splendid showing made last November, while the plutocrats and their minions are wildly guessing at the cause and outcome of the surprising growth of this new force in American economic and political life. Almost simultaneously with our election returns comes word of battle waged and victory won by our comrades in far-off Italy. Amid the storm-clouds of the war in the Far East we catch a glimpse of the activity of our brothers and sisters in the domains of Czar and Mikado and behold Plechanoff of Russia, and Katayama of Japan, clasping hands at an International Socialist Congress and reminding each other of the time when awakened and emancipated Labor and world-wide comrade Love shall usher in the era of "peace on earth and good will toward men" when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." As the year 1904—a year memorable in the annals of the Social Revolution—was drawing to its close, comes news of another battle of ballots—this time from the rock-bound homeland of the Norsemen.

In December of last year took place the municipal elections in all the cities of Norway. The results of these elections are no less important and noteworthy for the student of events than are the political contests in larger and more populous countries. The political and industrial development of Norway is of especial interest to the large part of the people of the American northwest whose ancestral homes are in the great little land of the Midnight Sun. As a descendant of the sturdy Viking race of the North, though an American by nativity, the writer of the present article is among the many who follow with live interest the trend of things in the fatherland. As a Socialist, we are especially interested in the awakening of the Norwegian proletariat and the rise of the Socialist movement in Norway. We are also bound by personal ties to the Socialist party of that country, as our first knowledge of Socialism was received from a kinsman now in the movement in the Norwegian capital. A brief outline of

the political situation in that northern country may be of interest to our American and International comrades.

Socialism as a distinct political movement is of comparatively recent origin in Norway. The reason for this fact may be found partly in the national character of the people. The typical Norwegian is by nature possessed of a very independent and self-sufficient spirit, which, through false education, leads him to shun united and organized effort to promote the common welfare. The Norwegians are also, as a rule, conservative in their views, slow to give up time-honored traditions and habits of thought and life. This is shown by the almost utter failure of new religious movements in Norway. After long and strenuous propaganda by other sects, the non-Lutheran population of Norway at the present time is almost a negligible quantity. Another and chief reason for the youth of the Socialist party in that country is the fact that only in recent years has modern industrialism become dominant in Norwegian life. The frenzied haste, the fierce competition and brutal oppression of capitalist society have served to rouse the working people of Norway from their lethargy and shown them that there is a point where patience with the wrong and reverence for the old cease to be virtues. The development of capitalist production and its accompanying exploitation have also demonstrated to the "independent" Norwegian workingman that only by union with his fellow-workers in his own and other lands and the overthrow of the common oppression of the capitalist system can true personal freedom be attained and his much-vaunted individuality become real. So the Berserker spirit of the Viking forefathers is asserting itself and the workers of Norway are at last uniting with their brothers in other Mammon-cursed lands in the common struggle for universal emancipation from class-rule and wage-slavery.

During the last quarter of a century the two leading parties in Norway have been the Conservative and the Liberal, or, as they are commonly called, the Right and the Left. The former is the party of the official and proprietary classes and their dupes among the common herd. The latter has been the political representative of the radical bourgeoisie, and has styled itself the party of the people. By its comparatively liberal principles and with its able and popular leaders, the Left was heartily supported by the farmers and wage-workers, thus gaining control of the government and maintaining its sway for many years. But it failed to materialize the golden promises of freedom and plenty with which it lured the masses into its fold. True, it must be given credit for many valuable democratic reforms, such as universal manhood suffrage and lately, equal suffrage for both sexes. In

many respects Norway is the most democratic monarchy, (if we may use the phrase), in the world, and this result is largely due to the Liberals, who, however, introduced these reformatory measures more as means of getting and holding the votes of the working class than as outbursts of the professed love of the Liberal politicians for the people. But the Left absolutely failed to solve the ever pressing bread-and-butter question. It expended vast amounts for military and naval budgets and other unproductive purposes, and sorely neglected the industries and resources of the land. In this way it contracted an enormous national debt, while it allowed hordes of foreign capitalists to exploit some of the nation's chief sources of wealth. The struggle for existence among the distressed working classes, especially in large cities, became more and more intense and an unprecedented number of the best brain and brawn of the working people emigrated to America. Many have not gained much by the change, but that is another story. This misrule by the "radicals" and "friends of labor" caused widespread discontent in country and city. The time was ripe for revolutionary political action along the lines of the International Socialist movement and the rise and progress of Socialism in old Norway has been pleasantly surprising for its friends and advocates and startlingly ominous for the master class.

A re-alignment of political forces has taken place during the first years of the new century. The Left has been subject to a general dissolution. The reactionary element has joined the Right. Many of the most able and popular leaders of the Left have deserted it, some to support the policies of their traditional antagonist on a revised platform. Among these is Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, world-famous as novelist, poet and dramatist. It is tolerably certain, however, that Bjørnson's progressive and liberty-loving spirit will not find lasting satisfaction in the bureaucratic circles of Conservatism. The great litterateur and statesman has on several occasions expressed himself as very favorable toward Socialism. Without waiting for the behests of their erstwhile political leaders, the wage-workers in the cities and the small farmers in the rural districts are fast rallying about the standard of Socialism. Owing to the universal franchise spoken of above, the political expression of the Socialist movement in Norway is not hampered by the electoral restrictions prevalent on the European continent. Norwegian society also has other characteristics which are noteworthy. For instance, Norway is the only country in the world with a monarchical form of government, that has no titled aristocracy, all titles of nobility having been abolished by legislative enactment. The parents of the writer, before their emigration, were ten-

ants of the last of the Norwegian barons, now deceased. The system of public education is one of the best in the world. Illiteracy is practically unknown. An American writer who visited Norway, I think it was Wm. E. Curtis, said that if a Norwegian could not read and write, it was because he had forgotten what he had learned. For sobriety, too, the Norwegians hold first place among nations, the per capita consumption of intoxicants in Norway being less than that in any other country in Christendom. The enthusiastic acceptance of the principles of International Socialism by a people of such character and intelligence is a social phenomenon of marked interest and significance.

The first Socialist organization in Norway was formed in Kristiania about fifteen years ago. It consisted of some thirty members, Mrs. Emil Lawritz Mengshoel, wife of the editor of *Gaa Paa*, the Minneapolis Socialist weekly, being the only woman member. O the party's organ, *Social Demokraten*, Mr. Mengshoel tells us that it "was at first only a 'slip' published once a week and was edited by Carl Jeppesen and printed by Christian Knutson, both of whom did the work for years without wages, as the little weekly brought no more money than scarcely enough for the paper and ink. At the present day (1903) *Social Demokraten* is a daily with more than ten thousand subscribers. Its present editor is the genial writer, Olav Kringen, who formerly spent several years as journalist in America." Among the other Socialist papers is "*Arbeidet*" (Labor), a daily published at Bergen, the second largest city.

In 1897, the Socialists cast only 657 votes in Kristiania. In 1900, they had increased their voting strength to 4,035, a little less than half that of the Left. A large percentage of party members are women, many of whom are among the most ardent and efficient workers. Among the first group of Socialists to be elected to the Kristiania city council was Mrs. Margarethe Ström, whose husband was elected councilman at the same time on a rival temperance ticket. That's a "new woman" for you. In the parliamentary elections of 1903 the Socialists broke into the Storting, electing five representatives, of whom the most prominent are Rev. Dr. Alfred Ericksen and Prof. Jörg Berge, both from the northern part of the country. The former is the only Lutheran clergyman, the latter the only Roman Catholic, in the Norwegian parliament. Our cause had now won a hearing both locally and nationally, and agitation and organization was pushed with vigor and zeal.

The municipal elections last December show a most remarkable growth of the Socialist party, with a corresponding decrease in the number and importance of the Liberals. The

leading daily paper of Kristiania, *Verdens Gang* (Conservative) says editorially, "The results of the municipal elections indicate that hereafter the struggle, both municipal and political, will be between the allied party (the Right and its ex-Liberal supporters) and the Socialists. (Remember Mark Hanna's prophecy, ye Americans!) The Left has been assigned the temporary role of a small middle party, which, according to circumstances, can strengthen one or the other of the great parties. (Thus soon "Democracy.") This is a rapid, and for many, a surprising change from the time, only a few years ago, when the Left was sans comparaison, the most powerful of all Norwegian parties, even in the cities, while Socialism had just made its existence known by a few unimportant figures.

Continuing, *Verdens Gang* says: "Most characteristic is the situation in the capital and in Trondhjem. In Kristiania, the Right, with the support of the Liberals who make a determined stand against the demands of Socialism, increased its vote of 15,017 in 1901, to 18,943, a gain which corresponds in percentage to the general increase in the number of votes cast. The growth of the Socialist vote, on the other hand, bears no such relation to the increase in the total vote and is considered danger-threatening by those who understand its meaning. The number of Socialist votes has increased in three years from 4,485 to 9,513, that is, it has more than doubled. The Socialists will constitute the second largest group in the Kristiania city council, with more than twice as many representatives as the Left." So far "*Verdens Gang*." In the new council the Right will have 46 representatives, a loss of 2, the Socialists 23, a gain of 9, and the Left, 11, a loss of 5. In Trondhjem, the famous cathedral city of the Scandinavian north, the result is even more remarkable. Here also the Right is the strongest party, but without absolute majority, and its 2,543 votes is closely followed by the Socialists' 2,008. The Left, as in the capital, has only half as many votes as the Socialists, with less than one-third as many representatives. In the council will be 28 Conservatives, 22 Socialists and 7 Liberals. Three years ago the Socialists of Trondhjem controlled only 350 votes. In Bergen, the leading city on the western coast, the Right, as in the two cities mentioned above, is the strongest party, with a vote of 4,936. The Left has here succeeded in maintaining second place by a narrow margin, as it cast 3,085 votes to the Socialists' 2,740. But the bourgeois press admits that it is the last time the Socialists reach only third place in Bergen, as well as in other leading cities. The municipal council of Drammen, an important indus-

(Parentheses our own.)

trial center, will consist of 36 Conservatives, 13 Socialists, 7 Liberals, and 4 independent temperance men. Six of the representatives are women. In Stavanger, a large sea coast town, the Right and Moderates get 28 seats, the Left 16 seats and the Socialists 14 seats, in the council. In Sarpsborg 11 candidates on a socialistic Labor ticket were elected, the Right and the Left electing 10 each. Socialist representatives were elected in other places as follows: Fredrikstad, 4; Kristiansand, 7; Haugesund, 7; Aalesund, 6; Narvik, 2.. Complete returns are not at hand, but the Socialists are known to have made important gains and elected their candidates in several other cities in various parts of the country. "*Verdens Gang*," quoted above, remarks: "The elections show, in short, that thousands are flocking from the Left to Socialism."

Verily, a working class revival is spreading over the fjords and fjelds of "old Norway, the ancient and glorious." The proletariat of the Northland is marshalling its forces for the great world-revolt against the present system of master and man. The workers of twentieth century Norway take up the slogan of their fathers in the heroic days of their country's independence struggles during the first score years of the last century, "United and loyal till Dovre (the Norse Olympus) falls!" From workshop and field and cottage we hear, with voice of thunder, the cry of the Communist Manifesto, "Proletarians of all countries, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain!"

ALBERT N. GILBERTSON.

Willmar, Minn.

Socialism—A Defense of Private Property.

WE do intend to take from the present proprietors their control of our organized industries, the trusts. We do deny that they have accumulated the property, land and machinery, necessary for these industries by their honest labor given for them. We maintain that the right to private property is the right of the worker to the whole value of the results of his own labor. There is no right to private ownership of land better than the consent of the community. It has been said of us that we would confiscate the wealth of the rich to divide it equally among the poor. This misrepresentation is not altogether intentional, though there is not a political organization which has declared in its platform or elsewhere officially its purpose to divide wealth equally or to get the same pay for all kinds of labor. But there are a good many socialists who do believe that equal pay for all kinds of service is an important object to be gained.

The Socialist Party seeks power to act now. We are therefore asked how we would determine the pay for different kinds of labor under socialist management of industry now. These socialists who contend for equality of pay to all kinds of labor answer for that advanced state of society which we all anticipate in which our productive power will be very much equalized by the use of machines and each share of the product will be so bountiful that how much we can have will be a matter of indifference to us. The desire for its products is the poorest incentive to labor, they say. Our best work is done because we love to do it. As William Morris said, "Art is the expression of a man's joy in his work." It is true that many different kinds of labor are equally necessary. The commonest unskilled labor is the most necessary. Why, then is it most poorly paid? It is impossible to say whether one kind of labor is more useful than another for the same reason that we cannot say whether the product of one is more useful than that of another, wheat than iron for instance. They cannot be compared in this way.

On the other hand all workers of one trade are not equally productive. Some tailors, for instance, turn out more work in a given time. Moreover, various kinds of labor have different degrees of value to the community. Since all labor is not equally productive, if each worker receives the same pay, that is the same share of the product, the less productive must be paid by some unpaid labor of the more productive. This same thing is the wrong that is inherent in our present business system. That some shall do a greater or better part of the labor in order to get only an equal remuneration is a glaring inequality and injustice. The force of this contention is only admitted in proposing there-

fore to vary the length of the day's labor in different employments in order to make the pay equal. This would prohibit the most valuable workers from doing more than the shortest day's labor in order to make the day's labor of the most unskilled equal in value to that of the most needed workers. Observe that this would be absolutely against the interest of the community. Nor is it to the benefit of the incompetent and less energetic worker that we should fix boundaries in the way of industry to prevent the more indusrious from producing and therefore possessing more than the indolent.

But it is objected that better pay, that is better homes, better clothes and food, better education and social advantages, would result in class distinctions. Equality of pay would not equalize these in different parts of our country, nor even in the same locality under the varying conditions of employment. Suppose a locality that offers special advantages for one kind of production with great counterbalancing disadvantages. Gold, for example, will be mined in Alaska while it is an economical application of labor to do it there. The same pay would give vastly different conditions to the miner in Alaska from what it would pay for here. Men will not be reconciled to harder conditions of life by equal pay and shorter hours. Yet there will always be sections that will offer great advantages for particular industries with such disadvantages for the making of homes that people cannot be induced to live there in order to work shorter hours for the same pay. Public economy will compel the payment of better wages to those who accept these disadvantages and do the work, for private enterprise will surely use the advantages of such a locality if the public administration of industry does not do so.

A certain portion of labor may be greater than another portion of labor in the time it must consume it may be greater in its intensity, the effort put forth in a certain time; it may be greater in the risks of discomforts involved; it may be greater in the skill or knowledge necessary for it, which is to say that greater labor of preparation has been necessary. For each and all of these it must be better paid per hour or per day because the necessary consumption of human life for the task has been greater. Nothing else is finally possible because nothing else is right.

The skill, intensity, and actual time of a portion of labor may be estimated in ways more or less ingenious. But suppose that, having estimated and decided the pay for a certain kind of work, the necessary labor is not to be had at that price or that too many offer themselves. If the pay for a certain kind of labor is poor, that is if the same effort applied elsewhere will get a better return, there must rightly be a lack of labor for this work. By refusing to meet the requirements and accept the conditions of this work most workers give testimony better than oath that

they know it is too poorly paid. This is our best possible source of information. If there is a minority of different opinion, they may take the job. They do not have to submit to the majority in this. But where necessary to secure sufficient labor of a certain kind the pay for that kind of labor must be increased. Where an excessive number offer themselves for employment in a particular kind of public service the pay for that kind of labor must be reduced. Too great pay for a class of work induces an excessive seeking after this kind of employment. This likewise is our common testimony that the work is too well paid, and compels the reduction of the pay to a fair comparison with that for other employments. This is the action of natural law, and there is nothing unjust or unreasonable about it.

Men are not to be trusted to set an estimate upon their own work. And there are extreme differences in the kinds and quantities of work. The shop cannot be run as a debating society. Each one in an organization of people working together for the accomplishment of some purpose, as the building of a railroad or the making of shoes, must be responsible for the fulfillment of his part to some person having power to act promptly and effectively, if need be to replace a poor workman, and to secure the best results for the men employed. It may be set down at once as a present fact that someone must be responsible to see that men do the work they are paid for. Power to fulfill this responsibility is inseparable from it. This is not in conflict at all with the payment of the men for all of the work done by each. Democratic control of industry by and for the workers will not interfere with the command of large bodies of men by individuals who show themselves particularly successful in directing men for the getting of results desired. Such executive heads will necessarily be sustained in the exercise of sufficient power to meet their responsibilities while their ability is proven by results they obtain. At least this is the only basis upon which cooperation of large numbers of men has to the present time been successfully conducted. By the same rule which enables them to replace inefficient service with better ability they can themselves be replaced promptly by the will of that majority to whom they must be responsible.

Competition for insufficient opportunities, of employment reduces the workers in all trades and professions to a wage barely sufficient to sustain a condition necessary to the work done; and the process by which this is accomplished is the action of the law of supply and demand. Therefore say some who seem to be authorized to speak for the Socialist Party, that Socialism must abolish competition and pay all workers equally for whatever kind of service. Notwithstanding, there is nothing in our platform or official documents that can be mistaken to assert or imply anything of this sort. Private monopoly of the means of employ-

ment by an idle class, the dependence of employment on possibilities of profit, and consequently the increasing fierceness of competition for more and more insufficient opportunities of employment reduces all labor to the wage of bare living. Therefore is our purpose declared: "that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users," and "that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered."

The opinion prevails that this control of organized industry by the working class organized must make necessary for its protection from private interests laws restricting and prohibiting private business enterprise. Now Socialism does not necessitate any law prohibiting the private ownership of anything, nor any law compelling every one to cooperate under government employ. When an efficient business organization of the workers divides the whole income among them so that every worker is secured the full result of his labor and an efficient application of it, no one will be found to sell himself to the benevolent capitalist for any less. Having to pay labor the full value of its product the capitalist would have none of his income left for dividends. Private ownership of the means of production in organized industries would be abolished for the reason that it would become unprofitable and burdensome to the owners. A public organization of industry that could be successfully attacked by the private enterprise of the capitalist would be most unfit to exist.

Our opponents, those who profit by and defend the existing business system, are very anxious to have it believed that we would abolish private property. Everyone understands that to be his private property which he has made himself, or obtained by gift, or obtained by giving a just valuation for it directly or indirectly to those who did make it. A confusion of the meaning of the term, private property, greatly helps concealment of the fact that the existing business system is the very abolition of private property in this correct and commonly accepted meaning of the term. "The capitalist mode of production and accumulation, and therefore capitalist private property, have for their fundamental condition the annihilation of self-earned private property, in other words the expropriation of the laborer." It is indeed remarkable that socialists should so often pass the assertion unchallenged that we attack private property. That of which the producer is deprived by force or fraud cease to be his property and so become the private property of its present possessor. The disposal of his product after its raw material is paid for seems reasonably to be the right of him who made it. Has he already disposed of it by terms of a contract with his fellow man? If this contract has been planned to deprive him of the largest possible part of his life product and imposed upon him by superior intelligence or superior

force; the contract is morally void. But assume that such contract is not morally void. Then superior force or superior intelligence is morally right to take the property back again. And take it back again the workers surely will when they possess intelligence. Those only who produce wealth have the first right to enjoy or dispose of it. There is no right of contract where there is not freedom of contract. To disagree with this is to disagree with the common understanding of the term private property. The protection of life and the protection of property, that is of goods made or fairly purchased is the good and sufficient reason avowed for the existence of every law. But, with the transformation of the tools we use, the existing laws are made to serve better to abolish private property and to confiscate the workers products for the payment of profit, interest and rent.

The ownership of the tools is assumed to give a right to a share of the workers' product, the largest possible share. And, don't forget that, when one man owns but does not use the tools which another man uses but does not own, he can have but one purpose, and that is to get an income from that other man's labor.

The capitalist receives first from the value created by the labor employed all costs of deterioration of his property and of sustaining his business. But his investment, his ownership of the tools, would be useless and profitless if he did not receive in addition an income beyond and above the return of all the value of the effort he has expended. That it sees and condemns this alone distinguishes the socialist organization and sets it apart from every other political organization whatsoever. This thing is identical with the taking of usury of old. The man who gets the tools or establishes a business feels it to be quite right to use this advantage to get from the community in general and from his employees in particular the benefit of as much more labor than that he has expended for them as his superior shrewdness or business advantage will enable him to take. He is considered right in doing so. A superior benefit to the community justifies a superior reward from the community, but it is only a barbaric community that will leave this reward to be so much as the man can take. If the mere buying of the tools is offered as the justification of interest because of the advantage to us of establishing an industry, let the investors answer for the infinitely greater advantages which can come to them only from the community, the knowledge of improved methods and means of wealth production and the facilities which make their business possible.

The distinction between financiering and stealing is frequently a distinction without a difference. Interest, usury, is the continually avowed purpose of all our business enterprises. The working rules of so called business morality are a conventionality agreed upon, not moral laws that come from the nature of things.

It is natural but unreasonable to go into ecstasies of indignation against the money barons. They are consistently carrying out the principles of practical business morality commonly preached and practiced.

For reasons of expediency and not from moral obligation we would pay their market value for the tools and lands owned by the great corporations. That the workers could better afford to do so than to tolerate the present arrangement is too plain to be denied. The twelfth census of the United States sets the total capital of the manufacturing industries of the United States at \$9,846,000,000. The difference between the factory value of the annual product and the cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses was \$4,649,000,000 in 1900. The total payment of wages out of this was \$2,330,000,000, leaving \$2,318,000,000 to be paid under various names to the owners of the means of production. By the ownership of stocks watered up to a par valuation of nine billions the manufacturing capitalists draw an annual profit of more than two billions. If the workers drew only the same wages, the profits turned to the purchase of the means of production would pay for them, stocks, water and all, in four and a quarter years. But this is no more possible than it was to pay the chattel slave owners of the south for their slaves, and for the same reason: we cannot pay them the value of their special privileges to consume human life in labor unpaid for their profit. Suppose the purchase of the railroads of the United States at a price of about eight billion dollars. What do the capitalists want? Not their eight billion, but the interest on eight billion, in other words to manipulate it so as to draw the largest possible income from the labor of other people. At once they must reinvest this eight billion. Small business corporations would at once be reorganized into large ones; and their small properties, little factories, retail stores, etc., would be more rapidly confiscated under the usual forms of business and legal transaction. Capitalism would crystalize in its climax at once.

Simple and innocent and most practical in its beginnings was this arrangement by which some people now draw the incomes from the business in which other people do the work. At first, if it did not accomplish exact justice, at least it did very nearly. While no monopoly of natural resources or business opportunities could be set up, while the more energetic and saving easily avoided unfair conditions of employment because they could get lands and tools for themselves easily, industry was certainly controlled by the working class for the benefit of the working class. In the early times of these United States private ownership of all the tools of production was right. Fair wages and fair prices were more safely maintained by a business competition that was very nearly free. The ownership of his small tools by the man who uses them in a very simple ar-

rangement; but the collective ownership of the means of organized production is a complex problem indeed. It will not be attempted while the majority believe it possible to make the present arrangement tolerable.

Change of the tools of production into machines under private ownership has produced much more far reaching consequences than the cheapening of things. Industries of the home and the individual are largely transferred to the factory. Capitalist control of all occupations is greatly extended and strengthened. The building of more complex and therefore more expensive tools requires the command of more capital. These machines must be run in factories where larger and larger numbers of workers must become trained each to the process to which his labor is applied. To pay the wages of the armies of production the command of greater capital is necessary. For a greatly increased product a vastly greater quantity of raw material must be supplied, necessitating again the investment of more capital. Hence come concentration, combination and cooperative industry organized in the trust. The concentration of wealth, one-hundredth of the population owning more than one-half of the property, the abject helplessness of the individual worker excluded from the means of organized production, the dependence of life on the possibilities of profit for a few are accomplished facts.

The amount of capital invested, that is of labor expended in the making of machinery, buildings, and improvements for interest-bearing industries, has been vastly increased from \$533,000,000 in 1850 to \$9,846,000,000 in 1900 for manufactures alone of the United States. But for the very reason that they were made; namely, the saving of labor, these new means of production give employment to fewer hands than the old did, because consumption of goods has not increased proportionately with the tremendous increase in power of production. That is the capital invested in the machines employs fewer people in proportion than before. On an average the amount of capital invested which gave employment fifty years ago to three men is not enough to employ one man now. The investment of greater capital in machinery, and materials, etc., is necessary in order to consume a smaller quantity of human life in unpaid labor for the payment of profits on it. So comes inevitably the reduction in rates of interest and the irrepressible conflict of the struggle to maintain rates of interest by the more rapid consumption of the lives of those employed.

The labor or cost of making a modern machine is less than the labor or wages this machine will save. Therefore, every increase by the making of machines in the total capital invested causes a decrease in the proportion of labor it will employ. Though the total capital is increased, its relative power to employ labor is reduced. Invested in machines ten to four thousand times as productive, the relative employing power of capital falls

off so much more rapidly than its amount increases that the total labor it employs falls off not only in relative but in actual number. The unemployed compete fiercely for the jobs of those employed. This establishes the iron law of wages, the price of the power to labor being the wage of bare living, with a tendency downward. The number and the strength of those who profit by this present business system must ever grow smaller and smaller; the number and the strength of those whose lives depend upon possibilities of profits for these few must grow ever greater and greater and their condition ever more intolerable. The prices of the necessities of life are twenty or thirty per cent higher than six years ago, and the average wage is several per cent less than ten years ago according to the most reliable statements that can be collected from the capitalists themselves by their own agents. With its present wage labor can buy now only a smaller part of its own product than ever before. Such admissions must the capitalists make. But they try to confuse the facts by the repeated and emphatic statement that the average wage will now buy twice as much as it would in 1840. The reports of the United States Commission of Labor show that a day's work which gets a wage that will buy twice as much on an average produces with improved machinery now a product 7, 31, 535, to 4,098 times greater according to what the product is. The accumulation of products which the workers are too poor to buy causes chronic lack of employment and periodical stoppages of production. In the hard times of 1893 more than one-third of those usually employed in Massachusetts were unemployed.

But to show that the existing business system is the continuous confiscation of private property by discussing the nature of value and the source of profit, interest, and rent is laborious, uninteresting and usually unconvincing. It is impossible to convince the majority that machinery does not make profits and that values do not grow on trees. The basis of the capitalist system is that ownership of lands or machinery justifies the taking of a share of the product they are used to make greater in value than all costs of wear and tear due to this use. This is the same usury condemned by Christ and in the old testament of the Jews. Who shall tell us what is a fair profit? Who shall say what is a legitimate rate of interest? After the worker has produced the value paid him in wages, how much longer shall he be compelled to work to make profit for his masters? That some should consume the unwilling, unpaid labor of others without service on their part of equal value is plainly wrong and against reason. The control of industry and the ownership of lands and the tools are made the means of doing it. Eloquent speeches and ponderous laws conceal that this is done. But nature is not cheated. The moral and material effects are just the same. A social and industrial system like the present that takes from any citizen the just

and equitable reward of his labor, that confiscates the products of one man's toil in order to assume comfort to the idle and worthless contains the only essential principle of slavery.

We have only to leave capitalism to develop its own absurdity. It is absurd for example that eight or ten men should control as their private property the railroads of the United States, or the oil supply, or the anthracite coal. But it is quite the logical conclusion of business to accumulate profits without labor from industries in which to increase profits workers are employed at the lowest possible wage. All life is becoming dependent upon possibilities of profit for a few, the lowest possible wage. The whole organization of American industries, all the lands and natural resources for the same, and all the exquisitely complex machinery of production, which the ingenuity of more than three hundred years has designed and the labor of this generation or two has built, are becoming the private property of these few. Wait until this is accomplished. There will then be no doubts raised about "confiscation." It must then be a plain matter of restitution. Capitalism has reduced itself then logically to an absurdity.

WARREN ATKINSON.

New York, November, 1904.

Aid for Russia.

RUSSIA is in a state of overt revolution. The forces of progress and civilization in the vast empire are arrayed in fierce combat with the sordid powers of a despotic mediæval government and brutal capitalistic exploitation. The heroic battle for freedom is being fought almost exclusively by the Russian working class under the intellectual leadership of Russian Socialists, thus once more demonstrating the fact that the class conscious workingmen have become the vanguard of all liberating movements of modern times.

Whatever may be the immediate results of the present revolts in Russia, the socialist propaganda in that country has received from it an impetus unparalleled in the history of modern class wars.

The cowardly murder of thousands of peaceful workingmen and women has revealed to the world the brutality of the Russian governing classes in all its hideous nakedness, and has made the hitherto inert masses of the Russian population susceptible to the world-redeeming gospel of socialism. In the face of these unequalled opportunities the means and resources of our Russian comrades are entirely inadequate. Deprived of the right of maintaining a regular organization and establishing regular sources of income, the Russian Socialists are forced to fall back upon the support of their comrades in other countries in this crisis in their fatherland.

Comrades, if there ever was an occasion for a practical demonstration of the international solidarity of the socialist movement, this is the occasion. If it ever was our duty to assist our struggling brethren abroad, this is our duty now.

Proceeding from the above considerations, the undersigned have constituted themselves a committee to issue this call to the American Socialists for contributions to the Social Democratic Party of Russia to aid it in its grand battle.

Dr. S. Ingberman, of 121 East One Hundred and Twelfth street, New York City, will receive and receipt for all contributions and forward the same by cable to the proper destination.

Victor L. Berger.

John C. Chase.

Eugene V. Debs.

Benjamin Hanford.

Max S. Hayes.

Morris Hillquit.

Dr. S. Ingberman.

Alexander Jonas.

Jack London.

William Mailly.

A. M. Simons.

Henry L. Slobodin.

J. A. Wayland.

EDITORIAL

The Chicago Conference for Industrial Unions.

The manifesto and call for a convention to meet in Chicago next June to discuss questions relating to the economic organization of the working class and to the formation of a new organization along industrial lines, which appears elsewhere in this number, is without doubt one of the most significant facts in the labor movement of to-day. It is certain to raise both enthusiastic support and strong condemnation. Whatever is said here, is said entirely as the individual opinion of the editor, and is to be taken in no way as expressing the opinion of the executive committee of the proposed organization, of which he is a member, and still less of the Socialist party, to which he owes still closer allegiance.

The only question about the desirability of forming such an organization is the question of timeliness. Practically every student of the trade union movement who has any comprehension of the broader phases of laboring class evolution has realized for some time that such a movement was certain to play a part in American trade union evolution. It has for some time been evident that the American Federation of Labor was not adjusted to the economic conditions of today, and that it must give way to some organization more fit to meet and solve present industrial problems. Moreover, the general lines of the coming change have also been visible for some time. The one question then is, is the present the proper time for such a change to come? If it is not, then this organization will be a thing born out of due time, a cause of disorder, confusion and injury.

Let us then glance at the main features of present industrial life as effecting the offensive and defensive organization of the working class on the economic field. The first and most striking feature is undoubtedly the tremendous concentration in the forces of capitalism that has taken place during the last few years. Trade lines have been almost completely merged in the class struggle. Individual crafts find not only that their craft skill is no longer of avail, but that if they are to engage in collective bargaining with their masters in any effective way they must secure the co-operation of a great number of laborers working in other trades, and bargaining with the same master.

An isolated trade union to day is as out of date as was the individualistic worker twenty years ago. Indeed, there are often more *trades* working for a single master today than there were *mèn* a generation ago. The

trade unionist considers the individual laborer who seeks to make an agreement with his master apart from his fellow workers as a traitor to his class. What then shall we say of a *trade* that today seeks to make an individual trade bargain with its master independent of the other trades selling their labor power to the same capitalist? Is not that trade deserving of that worst of all epithets of the trade union world, *SCAB*? Yet this is what we see around us all the time. We see whole trades scabbing on the other trades of the same industry, and this in the name of trade unionism.

Another striking phase of the present industrial situation is the growing keenness of class consciousness on the part of the capitalist class. This has expressed itself in two ways. The first, that of Parry and his followers, consists of an open declaration of class war all along the line. The other, that of the Civic Federation, seeks to take advantage of the trade scabs within the trade union world, and to use them to play against their fellow workers. The latter is a method of battle whose whole strength depends upon the unintelligent action of the working class.

Out of these two features, as inevitably as any idea ever springs from industrial conditions, has sprung the idea which has found form and expression in the call for a convention in Chicago next June. This idea is no means confined to those who are outside the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Indeed, the thing which most convinced us of the necessity of such an organization was the tremendous discontent within the trade unions still affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It seemed from the experience of the last year, during which we have addressed probably seventy-five or a hundred thousand trade unionists in different parts of the United States, that unless some means was formed to give this idea definite expression that the whole union movement was itself doomed, and we have frequently expressed this idea in speeches and writings. The men who have sought to confine a trade union movement, growing out of monopolized industry and organized employers, within the bounds of craft autonomy, are the ones who are wrecking the union movement of America. They are trying, as men have tried through all the ages, to put the new wine in the old bottles, and the rumbling of disrupting forces is but the effort to find new and more suitable forms. When the men who constitute the central ring of the American Federation of Labor lent themselves to the employers through the Civic Federation to bind and deliver the working class into the hands of its enemies they took a step which meant but one of two things. Either a momentary disruption of trade unions (for there can be no permanent disruption while the class struggle remains a fact and not a theory), or else the reorganization of trade union forces in accord with their real class interests and in correspondence with the industrial conditions amid which every battle must be waged.

Right here it is worth while to stop and call attention to the fact that the trade union movement of America is in no way to be identified with the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor in its last analysis is little more than a clique of labor politicians whose main

service is on the parade ground, and who are seldom or never seen on the field of battle. The real trade union in America, even in the pure and simple form, is to be found in the constituent organizations. The American Federation of Labor declares no strikes, pays no benefits, makes no agreements, and does little effective organization. To be sure, a corps of highly paid organizers are employed, but it has long been recognized that these men are but the political lieutenants of the official clique, and that their main business is not to organize working men into trade unionists, but to organize trade unionists into rings and factions for the purpose of maintaining the rule of the leaders. The American Federation of Labor may come and go—it might be wiped off the map tomorrow with but little result on the actual working class movement of America.

We recognize thoroughly the value of the work done by those who, in accordance with the "boring from within" policy have been preaching the truths of proper organization and proper political action inside the trade unions. Neither shall we in any way relax our efforts to further such a campaign of education. But these men have "built better than they knew." Within practically every trade union of any importance there are today thousands of men who have come to the turning of the ways. They have become convinced of the necessity of industrial organization, of the criminality of affiliation with capitalist parties and co-operation with treasonable Civic Federations. These men are already dropping from the unions because they do not see their way to further their interests within the unions. We would be the first to condemn such action on their part. The place for a man is within the union of his craft, fighting while that union stands and no treasonable action on the part of trade union officers should lead him to leave that union, unless it be to step into a better and higher form of organization. But we are confronted with a condition, not a theory, and unless some positive stand is taken the negative attacks upon old trade union policies will simply result in the disintegration of the trade union movement.

For these reasons we believe that the time is here to urge the various trade unions now organized, and the countless thousands more who are outside any labor organization, to unite in a form of organization suited to the industrial conditions that confront us. Many of the unions already contain a majority of men who recognize these facts. It is for these men, "boring from within," to see to it that their union is represented at the convention next June. If every man within the present trade unions who realizes these facts would set himself energetically to work at "boring from within" to this end the transition could be made with scarcely a jar in the trade union world. The fakirs and misleaders who have never at any time played any part in the real labor movement save that of disrupters and traitors would be quietly left on one side.

The trade union that connects itself with the new organization need not in any way alter internal organization and management. It need only change its admission fee to agree with the general one which may be adopted at the convention, agree to pay a stipulated sum monthly to the treasury, to exchange membership cards with other unions, to make no agreements

effecting men in other trades without the consent of those trades if organized, and will in return receive similar support from all affiliated organizations. In every way the union will receive much more than it will be asked to give. It will retain trade autonomy in matters that concern each trade as completely as at the present time, but when it enters into the field of other trades instead of being met by trade competition and craft antagonism, it will be met by the co-operation of affiliated unions.

There is no question of affiliation with, or indorsement of, any political party. The union is an economic movement and not a political one. It is the recognition of the class struggle on the economic field, and as such must be judged. If the workers of America believe that such an organization will be more efficient in fighting their battles for better conditions than the present ones, then it is for them to take hold of the plan and bring it to a realization.

In response to our suggestion last month for co-operative study we have received a letter from a socialist who was formerly a professor of statistics in one of the largest and best universities in this country, and is at present engaged in statistical work for the national government, in which he expresses his willingness to engage in such co-operative work. His proposal is to use the United States census of 1900, which may be secured by application to a member of congress, as the basis of the study. The work will consist principally in the analysis of this census to show the various economic classes in the United States. Incidentally this will give the persons so co-operating a course in theory and practice of statistical work equal to that offered by the foremost universities. For obvious reasons the writer of the letter does not wish his name published, but any one desiring to take up this work who will address the editor of this Review will be placed in communication with him. It is hoped that out of this will grow a correspondence course in statistical work.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

At a secret conference held in Chicago early last month by representatives of organizations unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as a number of sympathizers connected with the American Federation of Labor, the question of launching a new federation upon the broadest possible industrial lines, as distinguished from the present autonomy policy of the American Federation of Labor, was thoroughly considered. After carefully weighing the subject in every detail, it was voted to issue a manifesto to labor organizations of every description and invite them to send delegates to a national convention to be held in Chicago, June 27, "for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto." Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegates represent.

That the manifesto strikes a keynote must be admitted by all who have studied the labor movement of this country during recent years. It is correctly pointed out that narrow craft lines divide the workers, foster ignorance and jealousy and strengthen the position of organized employers in struggles between capitalists and laborers. The address continues:

"Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action. Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles, which serve only the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

"A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union, embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working class unity generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

"It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

"All power should rest in the collective membership.

"Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

"Workmen bringing union cards from foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

"All members should hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

"The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire organization and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry, at regular intervals.

"A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained."

Among the signers of the call are the names of Charles O. Sherman, general secretary of the United Metal Workers; William D. Haywood, Charles H. Moyer and John O'Neill, of the Western Federation of Miners; William E. Trautman, of the United Brewery Workers; George Estes and W. Hall, of the Brotherhood of Railway Employees; Daniel McDonald, Clarence Smith and Thomas J. Hagerty, of the American Labor Union; Wade Shurtleff, of the Railway Clerks; W. J. Pinkerton, of the Switchmen's Union of North America; Joseph Schmitt and John Guild, of the Journeymen Bakers' International Union; Mother Jones, and about a dozen others. The metal workers, bakers and brewers are at present affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The other organizations mentioned are identified with the American Labor Union or are independent.

Just what effect this manifesto will have upon certain of the organizations that are identified with the American Federation of Labor, and which favor industrialism and are constantly attacked by "craft autonomists," cannot be predicted as yet. Nor can it be known for some time what course the independent, or unattached, national and local unions will pursue, although it is a safe guess that some will join the new federation—in fact, the movement toward the new body may become general.

Notwithstanding the plain declaration in the call that the proposed industrial federation "should be established as the economic organization of the working class, WITHOUT AFFILIATION WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY," certain capitalist dailies, for reasons best known to themselves, have printed under glaring headlines and in thundering editorials the charges that "it is a socialistic move to disrupt the American Federation of Labor," and that "a political trades union federation will be launched."

Later on some of the trade union papers, generally designated as pure and simple, probably taking their cue from the capitalistic dailies, eagerly seized the opportunity to pepper the Socialist party and insinuate that it stood behind the new federation movement. It is somewhat singular that those organs hypocritically pretend that they are not in politics, and still are never happier than when attacking Socialists or booming some "workingman's friend" for office at so much per boom. A Republican or Democrat is always given a good character by the capitalistic lick-spittle press by certain labor editors with plutocratic minds, but a Socialist never! The suddenness with which some of the capitalistic newspapers rush to the defense of the American Federation of Labor, after having attacked that body in every great strike, and which organs are now clamorously contending for the open shop, is not without its significance. For obvious reasons Greeks that bear gifts are a suspicious lot.

As a matter of record and fairness it should be stated that, first, not a single signer to the above call is officially identified with the Socialist party; secondly, that not one of the signers has been seen or heard or known on the floor of the American Federation of Labor conventions as an advocate of socialism in recent years, and thirdly, it is doubtful whether any American Federation of Labor delegate, with possibly an exception or two, had the slightest knowledge that the Chicago conference was to be held.

This is a free country, at least in this respect, that men have the right to organize as they choose. The question to be considered is which is the wisest course to pursue—to attempt to reconstruct the American Federation of Labor and introduce much-needed reforms in harmony with progress and the spirit of the times, or secede and build up anew upon industrial lines. The great trouble is that some of the organizations that favor industrialism and oppose craft autonomy are not in the American Federation of Labor, and it is also a fact that some delegates to the conventions

from industrial unions who never tire of denouncing autonomy are generally found lined up with the administration. Under such circumstances Gompers and his policy is bound to triumph, and it is small wonder that the president of the American Federation of Labor believes he can do pretty much as he pleases, and his acts will be endorsed. One thing that is certain is that the proposed formation of a new federation will force the issue of industrialism versus craft autonomy to the front as it never was before. And if the Socialists are to be given credit or blame for it—well, they have been given so many “knocks” from all sides that they are becoming accustomed to the game and will probably be able to stand it.

The most important occurrence in the labor world during the past month was the unconditional surrender of the textile workers, after 25,000 of them struggled and starved at Fall River, Mass., for six months to resist a reduction of wages amounting to 12½ per cent. The “working-man’s friend,” Governor Douglas, is credited with engineering the deal that resulted in final disaster. Capital has “its rights,” and if Douglas can figure out how the mill barons can secure 5 per cent profits on the manufactured products (including dividends on watered stock, of course) the bosses may concede something. It is not likely, though, that rents and prices of food products, upon which the thrifty mill barons also realize handsome profits, will be considered in this figure juggling. The textile workers made a magnificent fight, and it is to be regretted that they lost. The financial backing they received would hardly keep a flock of birds alive six months. Why didn’t they pay higher dues and accumulate a treasury? For the most part they never received enough wages to supply their bare necessities of life while working, and, therefore, high dues were out of the question. The textile workers of this country are no better off than were the slaves before the war, if as well. Their condition is deplorable, and is one of the serious problems that confronts the trade union movement.

The workers on and along the Great Lakes are in a quandary. Open shop talk has been rife among the vessel owners ever since a year ago, when the organization of the captains and mates was destroyed. The latter are now compelled to sign iron-clad agreements that they will join no union, and there is talk that when navigation opens the seamen, and, perhaps, the longshoremen, will be compelled to accept open shop conditions. The United States Steel Corporation fleet is taking the lead in the union disrupting campaign. Its managers have been rather non-committal on this question, probably because they are studying the situation or are preparing for war. If a struggle comes it will be the greatest since the Hannas and their man Rumsey smashed the seamen before.

Rumors are coming from Colorado and Utah that the coal miners are discussing the proposition of seceding from the United Mine Workers. There were some sensational scenes in the Indianapolis convention last month. President Mitchell denounced the anthracite miners for dropping out of the union, and was in turn “roasted” by some of the westerners. Uneasy lies the head of a labor leader.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Germany.

The great strike in the coal mines of the valley of the Ruhr is occupying all the attention in Germany. The socialists have been carrying on great demonstrations throughout Germany, and in the Reichstag the socialist members have been forcing the government to take action. The dispatches to the daily press state that the strike has been settled but give no details as to the terms. We give herewith the demands of the men as published in *Vorwaerts*. These incidentally give a very good picture of conditions in that industry.

"1. Eight hour shifts, including riding down and out, hours this year as usual, but not to exceed nine hours, beginning with 1906, eight hours and a half, and 1907, eight hours.

"Six hour shifts including ride in and out in wet mines, and in mines with a temperature above 28 degrees C.

"2. Sunday shifts and extra shifts to be permitted only for the purpose of saving human lives, in case of extraordinary breakdowns, and for repairs to the shafts. For shaft repairs on Sunday a 50 per cent increase of wages to be paid.

"3. Coal in trucks to be paid without deducting for anything but stones, or payment of coal by weight. All wagons to be officially measured and their capacity to be marked in a visible place.

"4. The crew of each shift to elect every year a truck inspector by secret ballot, this inspector to be paid by the mine owners and his wages to be deducted from the wages of all miners working for the company. This inspector to have all the rights of the other members of the crew and to be insured in all respects the same as they.

"5. Wages (ammunition and light not to be charged to the account of the miners:)

"Minimum wages for miners and assistants 5.00 mk, for others from 4.50 mk. to 3.00 mk. per day. Pay day three times per month, one payment to be made at the end of each month, one on the tenth and one on the twentieth of each month.

"6. Formation of a committee for the purpose of presenting and regulating all grievances and complaints; of settling differences about wages; of taking part in the administration of the benefit funds, an account of which must be published for all members of the mining crew once a year; if the companies do not pay any contribution to the benefit funds, they are not entitled to take part in their administration; the companies not to have more than one-half of the seats in this committee, even if they pay more contributions to the benefit funds than the miners.

"7. Installation of mine inspectors, to be elected once in two years by the mining crew from their own ranks by secret ballot and to be paid by the company. Candidates for mine inspectorship to have served at least one year in the crew and to be at least 30 years old.

"8. Reform of the mining organization after the model of the labor unions.

"9. Good coal to be sold to married miners at cost of production, also to widows and unmarried miners who have parents or brothers and sisters dependent on them. (At least one truck per month).

"10. Abolition of the numerous and hard punishments.

"11. One month notice to be entered in the leases of the mining crews.

"12. Humane treatment; punishment and eventually dismissal of all overseers, etc., who maltreat or abuse miners.

"13. No reprisals, dismissals or cutting of wages for those who have taken part in the strike.

"14. Recognition of labor organizations."

France.

The unity of the French socialist parties has been at last completed and it is announced that within a short time a national convention will be called to ratify the action of the various committees and perfect the general organization. The articles of agreement arranged by the joint committee are as follows:

1. The socialist party is a party of the class struggle whose final aim is the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist or communist society. By its aim and its ideals, as well as by the means through which it seeks to realize immediate reforms, this party is a party of the class struggle and of revolution and not a reform party.

2. The parliamentary representatives shall constitute a single group in opposition to all bourgeois fractions. This group shall therefore refuse all support to a government of capitalist powers, including credit for the army, for colonial purposes, for the secret fund, and a general vote for the budget as a whole. Even in extraordinary cases the deputies of the party cannot ally themselves with the government without unanimous consent in each special case. The parliamentary group shall defend and extend the political rights of the laborers exclusively, and work for those reforms which improve the conditions of existence and the possibility of a class struggle.

3. The single representative is to be individually under the control of his own federation but the parliamentary group is to be subject to the central party administration.

4. The party press is to be absolutely free for discussion of all questions of doctrine and tactics, but so far as political activity is concerned they must follow the decision of the central party administration. Those periodicals belonging exclusively to the party shall be directly under the control of this central administration: a private periodical can, if necessary, be excluded from the party.

5. The parliamentary representatives cannot be represented in the central organization of the party as individuals. They must be represented therein as a delegation which shall constitute only one-tenth of the members of the central administration.

6. The party shall see to it that the deputies respect the imperative mandate.

7. At the unity convention which is to be called, the different groups shall be represented according to the number of votes cast at the election of deputies in 1902.

Japan.

From the *Socialist* we learn that the persecution of the Japanese comrades is still going on. We learn that "during the last month all the socialist meetings were either stopped or depressed by the police, but it

seems that the socialists were not the least bit afraid of it and there were more socialist meetings during the month than usual."

The number which brings us this, however, finds itself compelled to change its title, and is henceforth to be known as the *Abroad* instead of the *Socialist*.

International Socialist Bureau.

A meeting of the International Socialist Bureau was held during the holiday period. The main question which occupied the time of the bureau was that of determining the method of representation at the international congress. After a long discussion, however, no definite conclusions were reached, but a committee consisting of VanKol, Vandervelde and Serwy was appointed, who were to receive all suggestions that might be sent in and report at the end of six months. Two resolutions were passed. The first proposed by Vaillant declared that while we were in favor of peace, we strongly denounced any breach of neutrality and wished every success to the noble army of Russian revolutionaries.

Second, proposed by Longuet denounces the Japanese government for its persecution of socialism in Japan and the suppression of the organ of our party.

BOOK REVIEWS

REBELS OF THE NEW SOUTH. By *Walter Marion Raymond*. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.00.

Young America is thinking. And it is thinking more independently than it ever thought before. The time of the utopian socialist novel of the Howells and Bellamy type has gone with the indistinct unrest which agitated the radical element of the bourgeoisie in the eighties, and with the progress of proletarian organization along class lines there has come a pronounced tendency to express the thoughts of the proletariat in novels of a more clearly socialist character. The present work of Mr. Raymond is one of these new attempts at orientation, and dealing with an environment in which the class struggle has not yet assumed the vitality which makes it so offensive to the capitalist world of the northern states, it gives a true picture of the mental processes by which the southern socialist is traveling toward class-consciousness. It has stripped off its utopian character sufficiently to affiliate itself with the political party of the American proletariat, but still seeks its heroes among classes which are not typically proletarian and who have therefore more of a humanitarian than a class interest in the new development. This standpoint enables the characters of the story who are the representatives of the new rebellion in the South to expose the rottenness and hypocrisy of bourgeois society and to detach themselves from the ideas of the old environment, but surrounds them with much of the sentimentalism and altruistic fervor which the typical proletarian cannot feel on account of the pitiless oppression that weighs him down. We find, therefore, that the leading characters of this story are revolutionaries, not because their class interests compel them to struggle against the capitalist counterrevolution, but because they realize that they cannot live a brotherly and full life under the capitalist system. The hero of this novel is not the proletarian thinker who has learned the bitter lesson of the modern wage slave's life, but a carefully raised and trained specimen of humanity as it might be universal under the advanced conditions of the co-operative commonwealth. In reading this novel, then, we are not following the development of the victorious rebel against the capitalist environment, but the life history of one who may serve as an ideal for the coming man. This ideal is, indeed, inspiring, and one cannot help wishing that there might be more such young men as Custis in the "New South." But the novel will hardly appeal to those who are compelled to live the hopeless existence of the typical proletarian, and who are looking for an expression of their own feelings and actions rather than those of men who come to them as saviors from an entirely different social atmosphere.

However, the author has succeeded in painting his character true to life, and they are so lovable and congenial that one feels at home with them and takes an interest in them which lasts throughout the story. The local color of the South is admirably preserved and lends a charm to every chapter. Every one who is in a position to appreciate a work of art will delight in reading Mr. Raymond's novel and will thank the author for a few hours of agreeable and inspiring reading. (E. U.)

THE SEA WOLF, by Jack London. *The Macmillan Co. Cloth. 366 pp. \$1.50.*

The one great characteristic of this book is strength. It is strong in every line. It grips with a vise-like hold from which the reader cannot escape. The plot is rather simple. A Mr. Humphrey van Weyden, a petted child of luxury—over-refined—is shipwrecked in San Francisco harbor and picked up by a whaling schooner captained by an incarnation of muscle and brutality called Wolf Larsen. This man, with the strength of a Hercules, the brain of a philosopher, and the instincts of a fiend, is the central figure of a story of adventure and horrors. There are touches of some of the author's previous ideas running all through the book. There is the same admiration for the primitive that we find in the "Call of the Wild" and "A Daughter of the Snows." Indeed, there is much about Wolf Larsen to remind us of "Buck," save that the man has in him that fiend-like something which seems never to be present in animals of a lower evolutionary stage. But there is something else in the story for a Socialist, unless we are mistaken. It may be that we have read something into the work that is not there, but it seems to us that Wolf Larsen is made the incarnation of our present competitive system. With gigantic constructive or destructive power, bestial materialism, utilizing all the scientific and literary knowledge of modern society, but only for the purpose of individual personal gain, he stands as the apotheosis of the individualistic capitalism of today.

MANASSAS, A NOVEL OF THE WAR, by Upton Sinclair. *The Macmillan Co. Cloth. 412 pp. \$1.50.*

This is not an historical novel in the ordinary sense of the words. It is rather a sort of idealized history. It seems probably that it is a suggestion of what fiction will be in the days to come, when men and women have grown too old intellectually to be longer amused by literary puppet shows, and historians dare to tell the truth. The plot, as novelists commonly use the word, is slight. The real plot is the great Civil War. The son of a southern slave holder goes to Boston to college. The new environment makes him an abolitionist. He goes back home and his struggle with the horrors of slavery finally end in his taking up arms for the North when the war breaks out. The artist's canvass is a tremendous one and the figures are of heroic size. The whole plan and execution are epic in their scope. We are glad to learn that this is but the first of three volumes. Taken together, it should form a tremendous epic history of the most crucial period that has yet appeared in American history. Strange as it may seem to those who know Comrade Sinclair, the strongest criticism we would make of the book is that it is not historically accurate at just the point where accuracy would be expected of a socialist. According to *Manassas* the Civil War was fought to abolish slavery and the abolitionists were the real driving force. But the little group of abolitionist idealists in New England played but a small part in the Titanic struggle between Northern owners of white wage slaves and Southern masters of negro chattels. During that battle the form of servitude for the negro was changed, not because of the love of human liberty, but because such a change was a necessary move in the military strategy of the war.

L'ORGANIZATION SOCIALISTE AND OUVRIERE EN EUROPE, AMERIQUE ET ASIE, by the International Socialist Secretary. *Paper, 524 pp. fr. 3.50.*

This is just the sort of a handbook that has long been wanted in the International Socialist movement. It contains a statement of the strength, history, method of organization and general condition of all the Socialist parties in every country. As a general thing these are the reports furnished to the International Congress, and as a whole are very satisfactory. That of the United States is perhaps as imperfect as any. The complete summary of the Socialist vote of the world, by countries, and by years, which was originally published in the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*,

then copied, without credit, by the national organization, is here again copied, without credit, and has since been repeatedly recopied, almost always, uncredited, by several socialist papers. Not one of all these who have thus appropriated the work of others have taken the trouble to even add up the figures which they took, and assumed credit for, or they would have discovered a couple of slight errors, which we do not so much regret, since they have served to show the carelessness and the—well the extreme elasticity of literary conscience, possessed throughout the socialist world. The work, however, is something of greatest value, and arrangements should be made for its translation into English—with perhaps some extensions and corrections of the portion applying to the United States.

THE OPEN SHOP, by Clarence S. Darrow. Hammersmark Publishing Co. Cloth. 32 pages. 10 cents.

The subject matter of this pamphlet is certainly a live one in the trade union world today, and it is difficult to imagine a much stronger indictment of the open shop policy than the one which the author has prepared. In logic, literary style, and general form of presentation the booklet fills an excellent place in trade union literature.

WOMAN'S SOURCE OF POWER, by Lois Waisbrooker. *The Alliance*, Denver, Colo. Paper. 48 pages. 25 cents.

This is one of a kind of books which we have all too many. The author is absolutely ignorant, at least so far as is shown by this booklet, of the investigations which have been made into the evolution of sex relations, she knows nothing of modern psychology or of scientific socialism, yet writes a book which deals with all these subjects.

THE BIBLE AND SOCIALISM, by Rev. Geo. W. Woodbey, "the negro socialist orator." Published by the author, Los Angeles, Cal. Paper. 96 pages. 20 cents.

An argument to show that the Bible teaches socialism. It is probable that the theologians would complain of the interpretation placed upon biblical passages as much as socialists have reason to complain of the implied definitions of socialism. The work, however, makes no pretensions to scientific accuracy, but is written purely for propaganda purposes. As such it may serve a useful purpose, while introducing those, whom religious prejudices would otherwise hinder, to a reading of standard socialist works.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

"The Recording Angel."

Printers and proof-readers are now at work on Edwin Arnold Brenholtz' great socialist novel, "The Recording Angel," and we expect to have copies ready for delivery on March 15.

Meanwhile we have decided to make a special limited offer, which will be open to every reader of the International Socialist Review. For one dollar received before March 13 we will send the Review one year, either to a new subscriber or one renewing, and will also mail a copy of the book upon publication.

We have a double reason for making this offer. The author has presented this manuscript as a free gift to our co-operative publishing house. But to bring out the book requires a cash outlay of five hundred dollars. People ordinarily put off buying a book until it has been out long enough to get the opinion of others who have read it. We want to avoid borrowing money by making a sufficient inducement for at least five hundred people to send the money in advance.

The other reason is that the book is one that will sell itself in every socialist local when once it is introduced, and the best advertisement we can give it is to have one or two comrades in each local read it for themselves.

"The Recording Angel" presents a striking contrast with Comrade Raymond's "Rebels of the New South," of which a discriminating review by Comrade Untermann appears on another page. Raymond's hero is a socialist through sympathy for the suffering of others, and the scene of the story is laid in the peaceful South, just awakening to the existence of modern capitalism. Brenholtz' hero is a workingman, striking for his own rights as well as those of his fellows, and the atmosphere of the story is tense with the class struggle. The scene is laid in a great industrial city, and the actors are proletarians on the one side and trust magnates on the other.

The title might suggest the mystical, and so it is worth while to explain that the "recording angel" from which the book takes its name is an automatic graphophone which takes down the secret conversation of two "captains of industry" when, believing themselves safe from any ear, they are arranging the necessary details for the "removal" of an obnoxious labor leader.

Remember that "Rebels of the New South" sells for one dollar, subject only to the usual discount to stockholders. "The Recording Angel" will sell at the same price after publication, and to take advantage of the offer made above it will be necessary to order soon.

Socialism and Modern Science.

This work by Enrico Ferri proves that the principles of international socialism are not opposed to the truths of evolution, as claimed by Spencer, but on the contrary are, to use the author's words, "only the practical and fruitful fulfilment, in the social life, of that modern scientific revolution which—inaugurated some centuries since by the rebirth of the experimental method in all branches of human knowledge—has triumphed in our times, thanks to the works of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer."

A second edition of this work has lately been issued. We do not publish it, but we have just purchased a hundred copies on such terms that we can supply it to our stockholders at 85 cents by mail or 75 cents by express, the price to others being one dollar.

Rhymes for the Times.

We have had many requests for books of selections suitable for recitation at socialist meetings, and until now we have been obliged to reply that we knew of nothing we could recommend. Comrade Henry M. Edmiston of New York City, a stockholder in our co-operative publishing house, has lately published a book entitled "Rhymes for the Times," containing a large number of verses admirably adapted to this purpose. A few of the titles are "Awake from Slumber," "Barriers Swept Away," "Dream of the Socialist," "Expansion," "How We are Buncoed," "Just Common Folks," "Labor's Reward," "Our Share," "Slaves to Mammon," "The Banker's Dream," and "The Writing on the Wall."

The book is well bound in cloth with gold stamping, and sells for a dollar a copy. The author has contributed fifty copies to help along the work of the publishing house, and we therefore offer them to stockholders at the same rate as our own publications, that is, sixty cents postpaid or fifty cents if sent at expense of purchaser.

Another and smaller book of verses, also adapted for recitations, is called "Workaday Poems, by a Worker." The price is ten cents, postage included, but it is not subject to discount.

Socialism and Human Nature.

The leading article by Murray E. King in the Review for December attracted wide-spread attention for the admirable way in which it covers a point heretofore somewhat neglected in our propaganda, and that issue of the Review was exhausted almost as soon as it was off the press. The article is now reprinted in a handsome pamphlet at ten cents with the usual discount to stockholders.

The Company's Finances.

A complete statement of the receipts and expenditures of our co-operative publishing house for the year 1904, together with the assets and liabilities on December 31st, was sent to each stockholder. We cannot take the space in this department for publishing it in full. It may be of interest however to state that the book sales during 1904, amounted to \$9,947.65, the money received for the International Socialist Review, to \$2,445.31; the sales of stock to \$2,479.82, and the contributions toward clearing off the debt to \$1,610.76, besides a like sum contributed by Charles H. Kerr of the amount due him from the company.

There was an error in carrying forward the receipts "previously acknowledged" in one month's issue of the Review, so that the total for the year in last month's issue was erroneously given as \$2,959.52, instead of the correct amount of \$3,221.52.

As announced in last month's issue Charles H. Kerr has extended until March 31st his offer to duplicate the contributions of all other stockholders. The contributions received under this offer since the first of January are as follows:

Morgan Solvsberg, Iowa	\$ 1.00
Sorem Madsen, North Dakota .....	.50
Frank Carrier, Nebraska	1.00
A. A. Heller, New York	15.00
H. B. Weaver, California	1.00
Edward Upton, British Columbia	3.00
Frank Page, Idaho	1.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois	22.50
Total	\$45.00

It will readily be seen that if the debt to outsiders, now reduced to eight hundred dollars, is to be cleared off, the contributions during February and March must come in at a much more rapid rate. It is perhaps fortunate for the future democratic control of the company that no one individual has seen fit to put in any large sum of money, but if we rejoice over this we must accept the consequent obligation upon each one who realizes the importance of the work this publishing house has to do.

Standard Socialist Series

Classics of Socialism in Permanent Library Form.

1. **Karl Marx: Personal Memoirs** by William Liebknecht. Translated by Ernest Untermann.

This book is thoroughly charming in the simplicity of the true story it tells of the private life of Marx in his home and among his friends during the years of poverty and exile when his greatest works were written. It is full of side lights on the origin and growth of the Socialist movement.

2. **Collectivism and Industrial Evolution**, by Emile Vandervelde. Translated by Charles H. Kerr.

On the whole the best book yet published for putting into the hands of an inquirer who wishes to get in one small volume a systematic explanation of the whole Socialist philosophy and program. The author starts out with a survey of modern industrial conditions. He then shows the economic necessity of Socialism, and discusses the possible means by which the working class through its elected officers may acquire the means of production.

3. **The American Farmer**. By A. M. Simons.

The pioneer book on a subject of immense importance to the Socialist movement of America. It is needed by city wage-workers to show them that the vast majority of the American farmers are closely bound to the proletariat by their material interests. It is needed by the farmers to show the absurdity of the dread that Socialists upon coming into power might want to confiscate the small farms.

4. **The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association**. By Isaac Broome.

This narrative is an excellent illustration of what modern Socialism is not. It is a graphic account of the last conspicuous attempt to start an earthly paradise on a small scale, with the usual result.

5. **The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State**. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermann.

The progress of the modern working class toward emancipation from class rule is greatly hampered by the current ideas concerning the stability of the present social and political institutions. This book shows how closely a people's methods of race propagation and political organizations are connected with the way in which they produce the material requirements of life. Whenever there occur essential changes in the modes of production, corresponding changes are perceived in the form of

sexual relationship and in the political organization.

This is a standard work of the highest value to any one desiring to understand and apply the Socialist philosophy. Our translation is the first that has ever been made for English readers.

6. **The Social Revolution**. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons.

The first part of this book, "Reform or Revolution," draws a distinction which needs to be kept clearly in mind by every Socialist who has to explain the difference between our party and any of the other parties which take up certain portions of our program. The second part, "The Day After the Revolution," is one of the ablest answers yet given to the difficult question of what the proletariat could do with the resources at its disposal after first getting control of the public powers.

7. **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling, D. Sc.

This work ranks with the Communist Manifesto as one of the original statements of the central Socialist principle of Historical Materialism. Those who imagine that Socialism is nothing but a vague yearning for a time when selfishness will disappear, or who suppose that Socialists have a ready-made scheme for making society over, should study this work of Engels.

8. **Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy**. By Frederick Engels. Translated, with Critical Introduction, by Austin Lewis.

This work of Engels is an indispensable contribution to the development of the theory of Historical Materialism, and it also deals with the relation of the Socialist philosophy to religion.

9. **American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty**. By Isador Ladoff.

This book is a thoroughly satisfactory answer to the widespread demand for an analysis of the last United States Census in the light of the Socialist philosophy. It is full of just the facts that the Socialist agitator needs.

10. **Britain for the British (America for the Americans)**. By Robert Blatchford.

This is one of the most valuable propaganda books in the literature of Socialism. It has the charming style of the author's earlier book, "Merrie England," but it has the further merit of showing the reader that no substantial relief for the working class can ever be reached through the old parties controlled by the capitalist class.

These ten books are handsomely bound in cloth, uniform in style, and are sold at \$5.00 a set or 50 cents each, postpaid.

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NO. 9

Evolution of the Theory of Evolution.*

HUMAN history is not only economic history, but also natural history. The economic history itself would not be possible without the foundation which is the special domain of natural history. The study of human evolution, therefore, requires an analysis of the biological development of mankind as well as of its economic development. From this point of view, man's development in society and his general position in the universe appear as parts of the entire world-process.

My method of investigation is that of historical materialism. Just as in the study of economics and politics we trace certain ideas, and their application in practice, back to economic facts, so in biology we trace certain ideas back to the material facts of the earth and of the rest of the universe. In this way, we obtain a universal key to the entire intellectual activity of mankind, and a sound basis for the solution of all the riddles of the universe.

I speak as a proletarian and a socialist. I make no pretense to be a scientist without class affiliation. There has never been any science which was not made possible, and which was not influenced, by the economic and class environment of the various scientists. I am, indeed, aware of the fact, that there are certain general facts in all sciences which apply to all mankind regardless of classes. But I am also aware of the other fact, that the concrete application of any general scientific truth to different historical conditions and men varies considerably, because abstract truths have a general applicability only under abstract conditions, but are more or less modified in the contact with concrete environments. I make this statement in order to anticipate the criticism that there can be no special science for the proletariat different from any other science. Of course, a propo-

*A lecture delivered at the Institute of Social Studies, Chicago, Ill.

sition in Euclid is true, whether demonstrated by a proletarian or by a capitalist. But it is true in theory and in practice only so long as the practical application of the general conclusion of any Euclid proposition does not interfere with the interests of the ruling class. If it did and a proletarian mathematician were to argue that what is true for the capitalist class must also be true for the working class, the capitalist class would speedily reply that it was not at all a question of 'abstract truth, but of concrete power to demonstrate this truth.

Moreover, I am also aware that all my ideas are tinged by my past and present environment. I cannot speak, therefore, without showing in all I say, that I am a member of the class-conscious proletariat, a member of that part of the proletariat which has escaped from the spell of capitalist thought. I realize that a science, however true may be its theoretical conclusions, does not exist for that part of mankind who cannot apply its abstract truths in their practical life. The proletariat has no science unless science steps into its ranks or develops out of its very life, for the purpose of combining scientific theory with proletarian practice.

In this sense, then, I declare that my science is a proletarian science. Not that I do not appreciate what the bourgeois scientists of the past have accomplished, or what the bourgeois scientists of today are doing in the way of accumulating material for the storehouse of human knowledge. But proletarian science is the expression of the revolutionary fact that the proletariat has learned to think for itself, that it refuses to accept the teachings of members of other classes without critical reservation, that it prefers to think for itself in all other sciences as it does in economics and politics, that it interprets the facts of its terrestrial and cosmic environment as it sees them from its own standpoint.

Proletarian science is the Declaration of Independence of the proletarian mind from the control of the capitalist mind. And since the proletariat is historically the most revolutionary class in society, and the future man in embryo, proletarian science is the most revolutionary science and the embryo of the future world philosophy. If this science finds that its conclusions agree with those of the bourgeois scientists so much the better for their science. If the two do not agree, then let the best science win.

Since economic activity is based on biological necessities—primarily on food, clothing, and shelter—we must understand biological facts as well as sociological ones in order to obtain a full understanding of our nature and development. Bourgeois statistics tacitly acknowledge this by dwelling on biological facts, such as births, marriages, diseases, deaths, crime, prostitution.

But bourgeois scientists conveniently overlook the revolutionary suggestions which come from their tacit combination of sociology and biology.

The proletarian scientist, on the other hand, recognizes the vital connection between economic and biological facts. He understands that the very consciousness of his own class interests, and of the historical mission of the proletariat, is not only a sociological, but also a biological problem, and that his proletarian environment molds his physical qualities and brain processes differently from those of a prosperous and well-fed bourgeois living in a beautiful home and standing aloof from the uncouth impressions of a slum environment.

It is important to emphasize this, because attempts have been made by certain bourgeois scientists to justify the existence of different economic classes, and the rule of privileged masters, on the ground of biological evolution. But the formation of economic classes is not a biological necessity. It results originally from economic changes. The economic advantages then produce biological advantages, and the interaction of these two causes then continues to favor the economically ruling class, up to the time when excessive wealth leads to the atrophy of essential organs and functions, partly from disuse, partly from physical excesses.

In order to present the subject as a part of the entire world-process, and constantly keep in mind the universal application of our method, I shall discuss everything under the aspect of environment. We then see that the world process consists in a struggle of various parts of the universe against one another, and in the gradual ascendancy of certain parts over all the other parts of their environment. And since man is to us the most important part, we shall observe HIM in his struggle for the control of his environment.

"Definition is the rock upon which seventy-five per cent. of the system of isms fail to pass." Thus Mr. Mangasarian, a teacher of indefinite, but by no means undefinable ethics pretended to demolish a certain kind of socialism of his own construction which he did not define. Let us, then, above all start from a secure foundation by defining our terms, before entering into a discussion of man's conquest of his environment.

What do I mean by man? What do I mean by man's environment? In attempting to answer these questions, we must have a definite point of departure. The navigator who heads his vessel for the open sea, traces his first course on his chart from some lighthouse, cape, or other prominent and well-known point, the exact latitude and longitude of which are known. We, too, are setting out on a voyage into the open sea, the sea of un-

known ideas. Where is the first point from which we can take our departure?

Man is body, mind and soul, so we are told by those who claim to have received this revelation direct by wireless message from the unknown. But if we are trying to locate the exact bearings of either mind or soul, we soon discover that the experts disagree about the latitude and longitude of these two points. However it is generally admitted that the brain, the organ of the intellect, is their headquarters.

The human brain, then, is our point of departure. It is tangible and its location is fixed. About its internal processes, we need not trouble ourselves for the present, any more than the navigator requires a knowledge of the internal nature of the lighthouse from which he marks his first course. The brain and its location are definitely known quantities, definite enough to make good points of departure for our inquiry.

We know that this brain is a part of man's anatomy. It has for its immediate environment all the other parts of the body. It is, for instance, directly connected with the central nerve system, and through this system with the heart, the lungs, the liver, the stomach, with the muscles, the connective tissue, the bony skeleton, etc. The physical brain, and the other physical parts of the human body, constitute the individual man with whom I am here dealing. And this individual and all his fellow-men, are the collective man whose conquest of his environment I undertake to study. Only this physical man and no other.

Now, what is the environment which this physical man is to conquer? In explaining this I must mention a few things which may seem trivial. But there is nothing that is trivial in this study except the things which science cannot grasp by inductive and analytical methods. The most trivial things in the environment of man have a greater influence than most of us realize.

Man's environment, then, consists of the clothes that cover his skin. The house in which he lives and its furniture and fittings. The food that sustains him. The other men, women and children that live around him. Further, the village, town or city where his house stands, and all the inhabitants and their houses in the same locality. Then the county, state, nation, with their entire population, their social organization, their historical conditions. Furthermore, the air which man requires for breathing, the climatic conditions of his locality. the soil, grass, flowers, trees, animals, springs, lakes, rivers, seas, mountains, not only those near him, but on the entire surface of the globe; the cosmic conditions immediately surrounding this globe; then the moon, the planets, the sun, the fixed stars, the Milky Way, the comets, and all the rest of

the universe, whether he perceives it or not. All these things, always considered as physical things, form the environment of the physical brain.

On the other hand, my brain is a part of the environment of any or all these things. Each part belongs to the environment of all the other parts of the universe, and neither would be just what it is without all the others.

But, some one may say, mind and soul and all the rest of the unknown things of the world are also parts of the universal environment of our brain. True, even if mind and soul were but imaginary terms, they would still be parts of our brain's environment. But so are the unknown quantities x , y and z parts of the environment of some algebraic formula. And in attempting to find the value of the unknown quantities of any algebraic formula I must rely on the known quantities for a solution of the problem. And frequently it is found in the process of the solution that one or all of the unknown quantities are equal to zero. It is not at all improbable that in solving the equation of man and his environment I may find that the so-called mind and soul, as currently conceived, spell zero.

At all events, in the attempt of solving my equation of man and his environment I must operate with the quantities which are known. And if I use the terms mind and soul occasionally I refer to them simply as brain activities, identical so far as our discussion is concerned with any other brain activity connected with thought. Whether mind and soul are anything else but brain activities we shall be better able to tell at the end of our journey.

With man's material brain for a starting point we now set out on our discussion of the evolution of theories of evolution.

Three great riddles have from time immemorial puzzled this brain. These riddles are the origin of the universe, the origin of life, and the origin of man. And the solution of these riddles is supposed to answer the questions: What will be the fate of the universe? What part is death playing in relation to life? Does individual life imply individual immortality? And the efforts made in the ages past to solve these problems constitute the essence of all theories of evolution.

Evolution means development. It is frequently understood to signify development in a forward direction, progressive advance in a straight line. But the movement of universal evolution does not proceed by uninterrupted steps of all forms of matter. It is rather made up of advance and retreat. At any stage of the world-process, certain parts of the universe are on the upward grade of their career, while others are on the downward grade. But out of the general interaction of the sum of for-

ward and backward movements, there seems to develop a gradual supremacy of one part of the universe over another, so that things which were the controlling element at one epoch are gradually superseded by others, until the concentration of the control of the entire process by one factor changes the anarchic interaction of apparently aimless elements into a consciously directed and organized movement toward a preconceived aim.

This interaction of two movements, of progress and reaction, pervades every particle of the universe. It is going on in conglomerations of masses as well as in the most minute particle. Is it a wonder, then, that the same fluctuations are also observed in the ideas of mankind, as we find them registered in the pages of history?

Birth, growth, decay, and death, are the great stages in the existence of all things of this world. This observation was the basis for the early ideas on transformation. But these ideas were vague and crude, as vague as the natural history and as crude as the tools of early man. A glance at the maps of ancient Greek and Roman geographers shows that their knowledge of the surface of this globe was very limited. Astronomy was then still in its swaddling clothes. Its scientific instruments consisted of sand glasses, astrolabes, sun dials, and the like. General education did not exist. Means of communication and transportation were in an embryonic state. The intercourse between nations through navigation and commerce was never very extensive, even at the most flourishing period of ancient history, compared to modern standards. Men, animals, and plants, and their products, seemed to be the only things of a passing nature, while all other things seemed imperishable and eternal.

At this stage, the three great world problems could be answered only in a speculative way. Positive facts bearing on them had not yet been collected. And since man's thoughts were naturally centered on himself, nothing was more logical than that he should consider his temporal abode, the earth, as the center of the universe and himself as the center of all life. This earth was to him a flat disc, bounded on the West by the Pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar), and later, with the extension of Phoenician commerce and the Roman empire, by the Atlantic Ocean; in the East by the fabulous Cathay (India), which was supposed to extend no farther than about the 75th degree of longitude east of Greenwich; on the North by the 55th degree of latitude; on the South by the Sahara desert. What lay beyond these boundaries was never heard of, except in fables and legends. To this primitive knowledge of the earth's surface corresponded the Ptolemaic system of the world, conceived toward the end of

the Grecian period by Ptolemy of Alexandria. The heavens, according to the current conceptions before him, were placed over the disc of the earth like a section of a hollow globe. The stars were fixed to this globe, or were steered across it by heavenly pilots, as were the sun and the moon. The origin of life and of the universe was darkly hinted at in mysterious legends or religious phantasies. The Grecian legends of gods and demi-gods, as well as the Buddhist legends, and later the German and Norse legends, reflect this stage of human philosophy. Man was dominated by mysterious forces, and his fate after death was as mysterious as the unknown forces themselves. Whatever men could not explain in their environment, they translated into objects of worship and awe. Ptolemy attempted a scientific solution of astronomical problems, and did remarkable work for his time, the period following the death of Alexander the Great. But historical conditions were against him.

When familiarity with iron, bronze, and wood work led to a perfection of tools and to a greater division of labor, when the ancient gentile groups with their simple blood relationships were undermined by these economic changes, when local division and property distinctions appeared in the place of the fraternal relations of the former members of a tribe, when the means of life became abundant and a class of leisure freemen thrived on the shoulders of a working population composed of slaves, then the study of world problems entered a new stage. The evolution of the tools profoundly influenced the evolution of man's ideas, in those primordial days as well as ever after.

We then find growing up, simultaneously with the gradual disintegration of the old faiths, schools of thinkers who base their ideas on a closer observation of tangible facts. The correctness of the current conception of the world is then doubted. With the growing tendency to solve the riddles of the universe by inductive methods and experienced facts, there also develops a critique of human relationships, a probing into the meaning of right and wrong, good and bad. When polytheism becomes pantheism, materialism meets idealism on the field of thought. And this growing materialism is but the first faint reflex of a class struggle in ancient society. And all philosophies of the world, no less than all sciences, have ever worn the imprint of this struggle. It is seen in the writings of Confucius. It cries out from the mouths of the Jewish prophets. And it has left its mark on the philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome.

In ancient Greece, it is the time from about 750 to 450 B. C., which gives expression in philosophy to the transition

from gentile brotherhood to early class rule. And among the materialist philosophers of those 300 years of primitive Grecian history, none are more interesting for the modern proletarian than Anaximander, Heraklitos, and Empedokles.

These philosophers were the first among ancient Greeks to seek for a natural explanation of the universe. Their philosophy was a natural philosophy and was logically limited by the scientific knowledge of their period. This knowledge, in its turn, was limited by the development of the tools and the corresponding process of production. With the tools of that period, and with slave labor for a basis of society, natural philosophy quickly found that its powers of perception were very limited. Hence none of the early Grecian philosophers could offer any other solution of the world problems than very daring hypotheses. It is characteristic of all these thinkers that they complain about the untrustworthiness of human sense perceptions.

Anaximander assumed that innumerable world bodies developed by the rotation of matter and by condensation of gaseous substances. The earth, according to him, came into existence in the same way. Thus he anticipated the nebular theory of Kant, who 2,400 years later, in 1755 A. D., published his "Natural History and Theory of Heaven." And Anaximander is not only the prophet of Kant and Laplace in cosmogony. We also find him hinting at biological ideas, which were later developed by Lamarck and Darwin. He asserts, for instance, that the first living beings of the earth were produced by the influence of the sun on water, and that animals and plants gradually evolved out of those primitive living forms. Man, according to him, developed out of fish-like animals.

About 100 years after Anaximander, similar thoughts were expressed by Heraklitos. He claimed that a continuous process of development pervaded the entire universe; that all forms were in constant flow, and that "struggle is the father of all things," thus expressing the idea of Darwin in regard to a struggle for existence.

A little later, Empedokles developed these ideas still more. In his didactic poem, he sings: "Long, long ago, whether boy or girl, I may have been in a flower, a bird, or a fish . . ." Hate and love were to him the two active principles which determined the evolution of all things. This is an embryonic conception of the subsequent theory of atomic interaction by attraction and repulsion. And it is remarkable that Empedokles believed in a development of all forms by purposeless interaction and thus indicated the problem, which Darwin solved in his "Origin of Species," the problem: How can pur-

poseful forms arise mechanically without the control of some universal guiding mind?

With the victorious conclusion of the Persian wars, the industries and wealth of Athens grew apace. With them grew also the distinction of classes and the intensity of the class struggles. The small property owners, representing the principles of "Democracy" (only among freemen, however), opposed the aristocratic tendencies of the wealthier freemen. And these struggles are reflected in the ideas of the sophists following those early natural philosophers, more especially in those of Demokritos, Epicurus, and their reactionary opponents, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

In the ideas of Demokritos, the influence of the early materialist philosophers is still plainly visible. According to him, nothing exists but atoms and empty space. The atoms are infinite in number and in form. They are in constant motion, falling through space the faster the larger they are. In their fall, the larger atoms strike the smaller ones. These are thrown aside by the force of the contact and continue in their whirling motion, thus forming the beginning of the first globes by gathering other atoms in their revolutions. The atoms, according to Demokritos, do not experience any internal changes. They react upon one another only by pressure or shock. The soul of man is composed of fine, smooth atoms, similar to those of fire. These atoms penetrate the whole human body and produce the phenomena of life.

The theories of Demokritos contain in the germ all the fundamental principles of modern materialism. And just as he represented the evolutionary element in the society of Athens, so in later historical periods the revolutionary elements of society have always found in materialist science their strongest weapons, while reaction has ever relied upon idealist and metaphysical philosophies. And be it said at this point: It is not at all necessary that the individual idealist or metaphysical philosopher should have consciously aimed at reactionary political results by means of his philosophy. The mere presence of idealist and metaphysical ideas suffices to make them useful in the interest of reaction, whether the philosopher intends it or not.

Socrates, for instance, who developed out of the ranks of the sophists and opened the attack on them when the aristocratic counter-revolution in Athens grew apace, was not conscious of the fact that he was attacking the intellectual props of democracy by attacking the humanitarian and natural philosophy of the sophists. And while in his teachings, he ostensibly sought to reform the moral life of his countrymen by *true* science, he was in reality, by means of this meta-

physical conception of science, furnishing the aristocratic reaction with its intellectual weapons against the empirical science of Athenian democracy. But neither Socrates nor the sophists could get out of the vicious circle of their ideas, because both Athenian democracy and its aristocratic enemy were based on slave labor and sought to derive absolute concepts, true for all time, out of relative conditions which were based on a fundamentally unethical principle, slavery. The internal contradictions of this economic structure of democracy and aristocracy in Athens caused the downfall of both of them, and with them fell also the philosophies of their times.

So much is evident from the testimony of history. Whenever any proletarian movement attempted to steal the reactionary thunder of supernatural philosophies or religions, as the early Christian movement seems to have done, it fell so much the quicker under the blows of reaction, for it carried within itself the historical weakness of the ruling class mind. On the other hand, a rising class other than proletarian that takes recourse to materialism in its political struggle against a declining ruling class quickly drops materialism and espouses idealism, when materialism threatens to further the interests of the proletarian revolution. This is true, for instance, of the modern capitalist class. At the beginning of its struggle against feudal rule, it was compelled, by the historical connection of the medieval church with feudalism, and by the requirements of its own commercial interests, to call in the help of empirical science and materialist philosophy. But now that this same philosophy is becoming the weapon of the rising proletariat, capitalism once more allies itself with metaphysical philosophy and mystic religion. Materialism is the handmaid of revolution, and without it no proletarian movement complies with the historical requirements of its evolution.

The reactionary character of the anti-sophist philosophies became very plain in the further evolution of the followers of Socrates. While the Cynics and Cyreneans strayed into practical ethics and neglected the speculative side of the Socratic philosophy, Plato, and later on Aristotle, gave to this philosophy its typical character of speculative metaphysics. This philosophy marks the complete downfall of Athenian democracy, the failure of the early attempts at a materialist monism, and the temporary victory of the metaphysical conception of mind and of idealist dualism over empirical science. And the reactionary character of Plato's philosophy is stamped on every page of his utopian "Republic," which he intended to realize by the help of foreign tyrants without asking for the co-operation of his fellow-citizens. The

political pupils of Socrates went the whole length of their reactionary logic, and names like those of Xenophon and Alkibiades were execrated by the Athenian democracy, because their bearers allied themselves with feudal Sparta against the onward march of democratic industrialism.

Aristotle, in his works on natural history, was led back to nature. This contact with natural things compelled him to recognize, in his philosophy, the interaction of mind and matter. Therefore he sought to reconstruct the dualism of Plato, who had placed mind entirely outside of matter, by making mind the superior and essential principle of matter. In thus combining natural science and philosophy Aristotle became the *beau ideal* of all subsequent apostles of reaction, who are compelled, by the onward march of empirical science, to adjust their metaphysical beliefs to the facts of experience. The Platonic-Aristotlean philosophy, by its pseudo-scientific character, became the pet of the Constantinian reaction against proletarian Christianity and the legitimate boon companion of the scholastic thinkers of medieval feudalism.

With Epicurus, materialist monism made one last great effort to rehabilitate itself in the Grecian world. But at his period, this world was already in the final stages of disintegration, as a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great. Epicurus tried to represent the mind as a part of the atomic world, as a tangible object. Here we also find a first faint attempt to check the crude fatalism and predestinarian logic of Demokritos by giving to this materialist mind a limited scope of free will through the admission of the possibility of accident. While Demokritos believed in merely two primitive movements of his atoms, a falling and a rebounding motion, Epicurus introduced the idea of a deviation of the atoms from the straight line. But his philosophy, as well as that of all his predecessors, suffered from the insufficiency of empirical data for the substantiation of his theories. And with the dissolution of Grecian civilization, Grecian philosophy fell into the hands of men representing other classes and other environments. The result was an adaptation of Grecian philosophy to the requirements of these new men and conditions.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

(To Be Continued)

Socialism and the Negro.

By E. F. Andrews, of Montgomery, Ala.

THE sensible article on "Negro Locals," by Comrade Vidrine, in the "INTERNATIONAL" for January, emboldens me to touch upon a subject which I have heretofore thought it wise to avoid, inasmuch as it does not properly belong to the Socialist propaganda. Socialism is primarily an economic and industrial movement, the object of which is to secure to every man, white and black alike, economic justice and equality in the full enjoyment of the product of his labor. It has no direct concern with questions of social equality, whether between individuals or races. If I object to associating with a person because he has blue eyes or red hair, I may be acting foolishly, but nobody has a right to compel me to do otherwise so long as I accord my blue-eyed or red-headed brother the economic justice that Socialism claims for him. Similarly, if I object to consorting with a man because he has a black skin or a red skin or a dirty skin, nobody has a right to coerce me, so long as I leave him in undisturbed possession of the fruits of his labor. And by parity of reasoning, it seems to me that any interpretation of the national constitution of the Socialist Party which would make it infringe upon the right of every individual to choose his own company, by making a mixture of the races in the locals obligatory, would be as unsocialistic in principle as it would be disastrous in effect to the interests of the party in the South.

Socialism has made headway slowly in the Southern States, not because our people are lacking in intelligence to appreciate its claims, but because of the prevalence of conditions which have forced the whites into an iron-bound political solidarity that left no room for independent initiative and held it fast in blind allegiance to the only party which seemed to offer aid in a situation of peril so imminent as to thrust economic and industrial questions into the background. But the collapse of the old Democratic fetish in the last election has cleared the way for other gods. The farmers, left helpless by the downfall of their old political Baal, and their precious panacea of "restricting production having worked itself out to the logical absurdity of making themselves rich by burning their cotton, are running hither and thither, vainly inquiring "What shall we do to be saved?" Socialism alone can point out to them the true way of political salvation. There never was such an opportunity offered to any party for the success of its propaganda as is opened to the Socialist Party to the South today, and it would be the height of polit-

ical folly to choose such a moment for flaunting the red rag of "social equality" in its face; for nothing is more certain than that neither Socialism nor any other philosophy will ever make headway at the South which seems to carry with it the menace of a repetition of our terrible reconstruction experiences.

It is difficult for a Southerner to discuss the social phase of the race question intelligibly with our Northern comrades, on account of the difference in the point of view. When a Northern man talks about the negro, he too often means Booker Washington, or some other distinguished member of the race, who is perhaps the only negro that he knows anything about. When a Southerner talks on the same subject, he means some eight millions of more or less civilized people, belonging to a race in a stage of evolution so far removed from our own that for aught we can see at present, assimilation must be impossible for an indefinite period. Now, it would seem but reasonable to suppose that people who have lived in actual contact with eight million negroes all their lives are better qualified by experience to establish the social relations of the races on a satisfactory working basis, than those of our comrades whose ideas are influenced by what they have heard about some few exceptional negroes. It would be just as reasonable to attempt to measure the average white man by the standard of Shakespeare or Victor Hugo. It is not a question here of dealing with a few picked individuals of either race, but with the rank and file of several millions of ordinary human beings in widely different stages of evolution, and the feeling that induces two races so distinct to seek separate social relations is not a mere local or transient prejudice, but a biological fact as old as the first dawn of life. "Each to its kind," is a law of nature so rigidly adhered to throughout the whole scale of animate existence that it must have served some useful purpose in the scheme of evolution, and we have no reason to infer that it can be violated by us with impunity.

This social cleavage along the lines of ethnical cleavage is not necessarily an expression of antagonism or contempt on the part of the dominant race towards the people so segregated. The Jews, for instance, the most gifted race the world has ever known, are today, even in civilized countries, living in a state of more or less complete segregation from their gentile neighbors, and yet, whatever stupid and wicked prejudices may have led to this separation in the first place, no one will claim that there is, in any civilized community deserving the name, any vestige of ill-will between the two peoples. The Jew regards the descendants of his mediæval persecutors without bitterness, and certainly no modern man in his senses, least of all a Socialist, would dream of looking down on a race that has given to the world three such names as Moses, Jesus and Karl Marx. Such being

the case, we may regard the sentiment that still keeps Jew and Gentile two separate groups in civilized America, as an inherited survival from the ages of superstition. Now, if a purely psychological impression of this kind, which we know to have been artificially acquired within historic times, can be so persistent that generations have not been able to efface it, how can we expect to extinguish at will that inveterate biological law of like to like which nature herself has interposed between widely differing races, and without which the evolution of life as we now know it, would have been impossible?

The moral of all this is that the Socialist Party keep itself free from unnecessary complications with the race question and all other side issues that do not immediately concern it. Its duty to the negro is to insist that he gets full economic justice. If he prove as efficient a laborer as the white man, he will get under Socialism, the same reward; if he prefers to be idle and inefficient, he will get precisely the same treatment as the idle and inefficient of the white or any other race. But his social status is not a proper subject for legislation any more than it would be to legislate you or me, or our friends Tom, Dick, and Harry, into the society of the Astors and Vanderbilts by an act of congress—a step that would prove as little acceptable to you and me, no doubt, as to the Vanderbilts and Astors themselves. Matters of this kind can be settled only by the free will of the parties concerned, and so the question of mixed or separate organization for locals of different races should be left entirely to the option of the locals themselves. If a community in Wisconsin or Massachusetts desires to have a mixed local of whites and blacks, that is their affair; and if a community in Alabama or Louisiana prefers to have mixed locals, that also is their affair; and if a community, in Alabama or Louisiana prefers to have separate locals, that also is their affair, and nobody has a right to coerce them. If the national constitution should be held to take any other ground than this, it must be frankly admitted that the effect upon the prospects of Socialism in the South would be disastrous. As one who has long been working for the cause in this section, I will state that I have met with more opposition on this one point than all others. There is a fear—in many cases, a settled belief, that the Socialist Party stands committed to a repetition of the Republican blunders that have proved so fatal in the past, and it would greatly strengthen the hands of Southern workers if the National organization would convey some explicit assurance that it will not commit itself to anything so contrary to the principles of Socialism as would be an attempt to coerce the people of any race or section in matters that should be left to the social conveniences of the communities concerned.

Montgomery, Ala.

E. F. ANDREWS.

Socialist Unity in France.

ONE of the most important fruits of the Amsterdam Congress is the unification of the Socialist parties and autonomous federations of France, now approaching consummation. It is interesting to note that the reasons stated for this unification by the Amsterdam Congress are as applicable to the United States as to France. The Amsterdam resolution said, that "in order to give the working class its full strength in its struggle against capitalism, it is indispensable that in every country, standing opposed to all bourgeois parties, there shall be only one Socialist party as there is only one proletariat." Any one who will read the industrial organization manifesto, recently issued from Chicago, and signed by many leading members of the Socialist party, and then read Daniel De Leon's "Burning Question of Trade Unionism," which may fairly be taken as stating the position of the Socialist Labor party on the same subject, will find it hard to believe that the chasm between the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor party is any wider than that which has hitherto yawned between the *Parti Socialiste de France* (Guesdists) and the *Parti Socialiste Français* (Jauresists).

In *La Vie Socialiste* for January 5, 1905, Comrade Pierre Renandel gives the text of the declarations of all the various Socialist bodies adopted as a basis for the proposed union, and also the text of the proposed joint declaration drawn by a joint commission and submitted to the various organizations for ratification. Of the preliminary declarations, the only one of special interest to us is that of the *Parti Socialiste Français*. It has been obvious all along that the rest of the French Socialists were ready to act together along the lines of revolutionary Marxian Socialism, but the opportunist, reform, fusion tendencies of Jaures and other deputies of the *Parti Socialiste Français* have presented serious obstacles to Socialist solidarity. The declaration will show us how much the Jauresists have learned by bitter experience of ministerialism and opportunism, and how much they are ready to concede for the sake of unity of Socialist action. Here it is:

Declaration of the Parti Socialiste Français.

The *Parti Socialiste Français* declares that it is ready to conclude with the *Parti Socialiste de France* (Guesdists), the *Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire* (Allemanists), and the autonomous federations, a treaty of entire union, of complete fusion, of definitive unity.

The *Parti Socialiste Français* intends to conform with the most entire good faith to the resolution of the Amsterdam Con-

gress relative to unity. It is thus that it has always observed the decisions of the General Congresses of the Socialist organizations of France and of the International Congresses as mandatory rules of action; that it has never, for its part, aggravated differences; that it has always regarded the cordial agreement and union of all Socialists as the most sacred of duties.

In giving importance to the immediate demands of the proletariat, in defending public liberties, the acquired rights of citizens and workingmen, the *Parti Socialiste Français* has never put means and tactics above principles, above the final goal and the future of the labor movement. Always, on the contrary, the *Parti Socialiste Français* has regarded party unity as a primordial necessity, as a principle which eliminates all divergence in action, which must be accepted as a measure of public safety.

The fact is that the unity of the proletariat results from the very evolution of modern society, from the increasing socialization of the means of production, from the class struggles which opposes the proletariat sometimes to a fraction only of the bourgeoisie, but more often to the whole capitalist class. This unity of the proletariat as a class implies a collective economic and political action, a mass mode of defense and aggression, it requires complete unity of organization.

The *Parti Socialiste Français* declares then that the unification of all the forces of the Socialist party in France may be accomplished with little delay, on the following bases:

First—The Socialist party is a class party. It has not for its object the reform of the present society; it proposes to itself on the contrary to socialize the means of production and exchange, to transform capitalist society, as rapidly as possible, into a collectivist or communist society. It organizes the workers for their emancipation and for the conquest of political power. Thus, by the goal which it pursues, the ideal at which it aimed, by the means which it employs, the Socialist party is not a party of reforms, but, in the exact sense of the word, a party of revolution.

No alliance is therefore possible between the Socialist party and any faction whatsoever of the capitalist class. If, under exceptional circumstances, coalition may appear necessary, the party will have to apply the resolution of the International Congress of Paris in 1900:

Resolutions—1. Alliances—The Congress reaffirms that the class struggle interdicts every species of alliance with any fraction whatever of the capitalist class.

"Though it is admitted indeed that exceptional circumstances render necessary, in places, conditions (it being clearly understood without confusion of programme or tactics), these coalitions, which the Party must strive to reduce to their minimum, until they shall be completely eliminated, can be tolerated only in so far as their necessity shall have been recognized by the local or national organization to which the groups engaged are responsible."

*This resolution was proposed in the Paris Congress by Jules Guesde.

Second—The (deputies) elected by the party form in Parliament a unique group, distinct from all the groups of the bourgeois parties. They must meet together and plan together, in order to realize, so far as possible, unanimity in voting and to inspire themselves, under all circumstances, with the principles of the party and the decisions of the Congresses (French and International).

The (deputies) elected by the party must refuse to the government all means which assure the domination of the bourgeoisie and maintain it in power. If certain budgets, as those for public instruction, for social assistance, for public productive services, are of particular interest to the proletariat, it is not the less true that these particular budgets have, as well as the others, a class character, and that the budget, in its entirety, is the affair and the instrument of the dominant class.

As a consequence, the (deputies) elected by the party will refuse to vote for the budget as a whole, for the war and naval budgets, for credits for colonial conquest and for secret appropriations.

The refusal to vote for the budget is especially a vote of opposition; yet it is rather a question of tactics than a question of principle. The general political situation, the reforms incorporated in the budget, if they assure to the proletariat decisive advantages for its organization and its development, may authorize exceptions. These exceptions can be admitted only when decided upon by a three-fourths majority of the parliamentary group.

For the party political and parliamentary action has not for its only object protestation and agitation, it must also preserve and extend the political liberties and rights of the workers, must accomplish by a constant and methodical effort reforms which ameliorate the conditions of existence, of struggle and of progress of the working class.

But the activity of the party cannot confine itself to the pursuit of reforms, even the most profound, of the economic and political organization of the workers. While putting forward the immediate interests of the proletariat, the party must always push its propaganda for the final goal of Socialism, the transformation of private property in the means of production and exchange, into social property, must constantly strive toward its ideal, not utopian, but real, since it results from the evolution of capitalist society itself.

Those elected by the party to Parliament, to the general and municipal councils, are placed under the control:

First, in the case of each person elected, of his Federation: second, in the case of the parliamentary group and the general the municipal councillors as a whole, of the Congress.

The Congress examines the report of the parliamentary group and of those elected in the departments and communes; to it belongs the general direction of the party.

The *Parti Socialiste Français* declares, moreover, that the delegation of the Left (a coalition of Jauresists and non-Socialist Radicals) has been, on its side, only a temporary practice, which has seemed to it to be useful and necessary in a given political situation; that, in fact, this delegation has ceased to function and will not be renewed; yet, in a political crisis which should threaten the interests of the proletariat, the Socialist party should not interdict itself from a momentary coalition against reaction.

Third—(This plank, devoted to the press, merely approves the resolution of the Congress of Paris in 1899.)

Fourth—The *Parti Socialiste Français* deems finally that it is indispensable to co-ordinate organization, propaganda and parliamentary action. For this reason it believes that it would not be well to exclude absolutely the parliamentary fraction, as such, from the general political direction. * * * Nevertheless, the parliamentary fraction shall be represented in the deliberations of the Central Council only by a delegation, which cannot exceed the third of its members, and the third of the members of the Central Council.

Such are the necessary bases, according to the *Parti Socialiste Français* for the complete and definitive unification in the state, the department and the commune of all the Socialist forces.

It is most refreshing to read so clear a proletarian and revolutionary declaration as this from the French party, which is notorious for ministerialism and opportunism, and for its frequent coalitions with various bourgeois elements. If the Jauresists will live up to this declaration, French Socialist solidarity is assured. I confess the declaration would inspire me with greater confidence were it not for the phraseology in which it is couched. Such phrases as "the most sacred of duties" remind me unpleasantly of some of the masterpieces of some of our own Intellectuals and heaven-sent leaders.

The proposed declaration drawn by the joint commission, to be submitted to all the organizations for ratification follows:

Project of a Declaration.

The delegates of the French Socialist organizations: *Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Revolutionnaire*, *Parti Socialiste de France*, *Parti Socialiste Français*, the autonomous Federations of Bouches-du Rhone, of Bretagne, de l'Hévault, du Nord, de la Somme et de l'Yonne, empowered by their respective parties and their federations to bring about unity on the bases laid down by the International Congress of Amsterdam, declare that the action of the

unified party must be guided by the principles which have been established by the International Congresses, particularly the more recent, *i. e.*, those of Paris, in 1900, and of Amsterdam, in 1904.

"They hold that the divergent views and the differing interpretations of tactics which have manifested themselves up to the present time are due especially to circumstances peculiar to France and to the absence of a general organization.

"They affirm their common desire to found a class struggle party which, even though it utilizes to the profit of the workers the secondary conflicts of the possessing classes, or chances to combine accidentally its action with that of a political party in order to defend the rights and interests of the proletariat, remains always a party of fundamental and irreducible opposition to the whole of the bourgeois class and to the state which is its instrument.

"Consequently the delegates declare that their organizations are ready to co-operate immediately in this work of the unification of the Socialist forces on the following basis, fixed and accepted by a common agreement:

"First—The Socialist party is a class party, which has for its goal the socialization of the means of production and exchange; that is to say, the transformation of our capitalist society into a collectivist or communist society, and for its means the economic and political organization of the proletariat. By its goal, by its ideal, by the means which it makes use of, the Socialist party, while pursuing the immediate attainment of the reforms demanded by the working class, is not a party of reform, but a party of class struggle and revolution.

"Second—The (deputies) elected by the party to Parliament form a unique group standing, opposed to all the bourgeois political factions. The Socialist group in Parliament must refuse to the government all the means which assure the domination of the bourgeoisie and its maintenance in power; must refuse, consequently, military credits, credits for colonial conquest, secret appropriations and the budget as a whole.

"Even in case of exceptional circumstances, the deputies cannot bind the party without its assent.

"In Parliament the Socialist group must devote itself to the defense and the extension of the political liberties and rights of the workers, to the pursuit and realization of reforms which ameliorate the conditions of existence and of conflict of the working class.

"The deputies, like all elected by the party, must hold themselves at the disposition of the party for its activity in the country, its general propaganda for the organization of the proletariat and the final goal of Socialism.

"Third—The (official) elected is subject individually, just as every militant Socialist is, to the control of his federation.

"The whole number of those elected as a group are subject to the control of the central organism. To all cases the Congress judges sovereignty.

"Fourth—Freedom of discussion is complete in the press on all questions of doctrine and method; but concerning action all Socialist journals must conform strictly to the decisions of the Congress interpreted by the central organization of the party.

"The journals which are or shall become the property of the party, either as a whole or in the Federations, are or will be naturally placed under the control and inspiration of the permanent organism, established respectively by the party or the Federations.

"The journals, which, without being the property of the party, proclaim themselves Socialist, will have to conform strictly as regards action to the decisions of the Congress, interpreted by the federal or central organism of the party, and they will have to insert the official party communications.

"The central organism will have power to recall these journals to the observation of the policy of the party, and, if there is cause for it, to propose to the Congress to declare broken all relations between them and the party.

"Those elected to Parliament cannot individually be delegated to the central organism, but they will be represented there by a collective delegation equal to the tenth of the number of delegates, and which will not be in any case less than five.

"If there is an executive commission, they cannot form part of it.

"The Federation can send as official delegates to the central organism only militant members living within the limits of the Federation.

"Sixth—The party will take measures to assure, on the part of those elected by it, obedience to the Imperative Mandate. It will fix their obligatory assessment.

"Seventh—(This plank gives the basis of representation for the proposed Unity Congress. It is rather complicated, providing that the number of votes cast may increase the number of delegates to which the number of dues-payers would entitle a given organization.)"

The result of the vote of the various organizations on this declaration was to be announced by the International Bureau on the 13th of January. While the writer has not chanced to see this announcement, it is safe to assume that French Socialist unity on a most satisfactory basis is now an accomplished fact.

It is noteworthy that both of the declarations here translated

make the economic organization of the proletariat part and parcel of the business (one of "the means") of the Socialist party.

The example of our French comrades should inspire us in America with a determination to put an end to the scandal of the continued existence of two Socialist parties in America. The separate existence of the S. L. P. in the past may have (in the opinion of the writer, it has) served a useful purpose, but the day has surely now come when, in the words of the Amsterdam resolution, "it is indispensable that standing opposed to all bourgeois parties, there shall be only one Socialist party, as there is only one proletariat."

Comrades of the S. P. and of the S. L. P., be honest and candid. Is it not a fact that when you chance to meet one another, it is rather a matter of difficulty for you to rake up points on which you honestly differ today? Past quarrels are a matter of history; it is ours to live and work in the present and the future.

ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE.

Religion of Science—Science of Religion.

FROM the point of view of to-day's civilzarian it is very desirable that all of us should be taught to regard life as a struggle for existence, and not for mind or manhood or social conscience and cosmic unity. And so long as we consent to limit life to a struggle for itself, we may be sure that the dark intellectuals will keep the majority of us in hopeless ignorance and indifference to the possible glories of the present world and its democracies, and we may be sure we shall be trained into the graves of untasted and unfinished lives by the sacrifice of man to a struggle among ourselves for the lowest standard of living, and for the insanity of seeing who shall resist least, give most and get nothing.

When live men are disputing what is best for them as men, live men should always be understood; just as in a conference of lawyers, clergy or doctors the men conferring begin with a professional status, they do not abdicate the diploma or the ordination and consent to remain struggling for the recognition of that status by virtue of which alone they are in conference. It is not sane and it is damnably wicked to hold a grown up world still in the struggle for physical existence. But this is the savage and amazing religion of bourgeoisie political economy with a dash of the athanasian creed in it, with the prayer books and churches handed down from past ages and man murder in their hearts, the creed of limitless giving inculcated to the people by parasitism, the creed of blood redemption, blood-shedding, blood thirstiness, more blood and more brutality. This is the religion which the requirements of the topmost class of world market merchants require today, and to this Bloodyard Kipling and William Booth respond; the one with a poetry and the other with a soldier sect all dripping red. These men stand, the two representative men of today, because they breathe in heaven through the nostrils of battle, and imperialism, and then exhale only heaven to the people keeping with much content the whole imperialism for themselves. No religion can be scientific by falling short of, or going beyond religious requirements. If religion is human it must stand for all that is human. If it falls short in its measures it falls short in its men; if it falls far in its measures it falls short of its men. In these respects the Bloodyard Kipling-Booth combination, in which the whole of the Christian churches are so admirably summarized, has come in response to the market, and they shall go out with the demand, leaving the bruised democracy the unquenchable question of the soul, to be settled by democracy only and by no other power; for there is no other soul but the soul of

democracy. And no class religions on earth can survive the states of fraud and force which nourished them apart from democracy. When they are all gone, like phantoms hideous of the night, humanity will remain and humanity will be its own religion.

The science of religion must be that of a great conservatism, its conservatism will be that of emotions, intentions and means to one end, the humanization of knowledge and of all social forces, a conservatism to this world and the life inhabiting it. The wild idealists may soar to imaginary regions but scientific religion will stay at home, considering only the affairs of man and his fellow creatures on the earth, a science of human utility and the involution of all things upon manhood. For a long time to come such a religion will consist of resistance and of giving. Of the religion of resistance I have written in a former issue of *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*. Concerning that of human giving, and its corollaries of receiving, the best thought of socialists is now called for. What we give we can know, what we receive will be quite as real, but not so necessary to know. The new and all self-conscious ego so made, will never be greatly concerned to define itself or its increases.

Granting "the cause" of religion to be found once and for all in the cause of the world's workers, socialism becomes, with all its developments, the religion of humanity; and the externalization of self's activities in this cause is to be forever the spiritual program of the religious man.

Labor is the ground and pillar of truth during the transitional period between false and true religion; and upon this cause must be expended all the giving power of the man who is to be sanctified and made part of the wholeness of humanity and of his universe.

Fellowship is the aim of all created things; and in them all, as well as in human beings, desire is the working power for its accomplishment. The trees are blindly stretching out their arms looking for other trees. The eyes and ears of all animals are their extensions, their outgoers and seekers outside for this thing of fellowship. The birds, the insects, the winds, the flowing waters are but couriers of fellowship, and all the sounds of nature are desire songs for fellowship. The intellect and the words of man are but instruments for its accomplishments, and money, though for a season it tends only to degrade and shatter the race by becoming an end in itself, is in its true self only the sacrament and vehicle of fellowship. Governments by which men are now forcibly yoked together in slavery or mastery is but the germ of a loyal hand grasp of communities in fellowship. Commerce, though now a despoiler, is but the opener of highways, and labor, though now only the despoiled, is to be the ligature of

human fellowship. And all the varieties of the so-called mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms are but the stepping points in the realization of cosmic fellowship. Religion, though it has hitherto, for the most part, been a divider and an assassin of commonality, has hitherto endured only by the fellowship of men which priestcraft has invoked for the benefit of priestcraft's masters. Yet the means so invoked shall survive the ends of its invocation and itself become the religion to which it has been forced to play the part of an auxiliary. The desire for fellowship, the great seed which initiates all life, is itself to be the last and best product of all life. Fellowship is the cause and effect of life. I will not strip myself of the universe, neither will I strip the universe of me, for I believe there is a whole universe, and an I; and that between these there is humanity, the wedding ring of Cosmos and me.

We are familiar with the devices of the mind by which each one investigator seeks to get out to the universe by logical structures of words by intellectual verbalisms, which we call laws of nature, laws which, whether invented by Aristotle or Darwin, have no such place in the universe as they have in the inventors' minds. Yet between us and nature they are thus far true that they bespeak a mutual approach, which is ever in activity between man and his universe; between universe and its man. The thing used, whether it be a balloon, a thermometer, a telescope, a quadrant, an acid or a syllogism, is a vehicle or motograph by which the traveler mind seeks a way out to its universe, and the effort is its science. I believe that humanized knowledge and effort constitute the science of religion; and that knowledge is scientific only so far as it is humanized. The way to get to science is through humanity and back. What other knowledge is there that is not waste of thought? What is science? What religion but that which serves the yet unserved humanity. Unserved humanity has been waiting for ages to be brought into spiritual intercourse with its wholeness, without which intercourse it is a cripple and even so Cosmos has been in the birth throes of struggling ages to be brought into spiritual acquaintance with all its persons without which it is a cripple. Each part and all the rest are in labor to take up the mind and impart the will of each to each. This is the burden and the satisfaction of all life; this is the true program of science, religion, monism.

Questioning the validity of the word program, as just used, may help me to better get in rapport with monism; which is about all I hope for, as I never expect to get Cosmos, with its humanly expressed monism so deftly at my finger tips as to become a literary critic of all that is not monistic.

What is not monistic will be very hard for a monist to declare without setting a limit upon monism itself, so far as human

words may do that. Any limitation would obviously be that of the verbalists' own consciousness of monism. Out of the "all things" that work together as monism, how far goes our ability to observe and appreciate the monistic relation? And this answered gives the intellectual basis for the positive religion of the future. The thing for us to know and have is our part of the Cosmic urge. It is in human affairs or it is nowhere; to us as human beings it must be more in human affairs than anywhere. It is but scientific foppery to be "stuck" on Cosmic "processes" and "laws" that are not obviously relevant, or on the way to structure and use, in human affairs. Just as capitalism includes and uses for its own nourishment the activities of every man and body of men, whether we like it or not, whether we know it or not, for the nourishment of its own system; so monism includes all. But just as there is one thing which capitalism cannot include; that is, the desire, the protest, the resistance of its own begotten proletarian mind; so there is something which the sum of Cosmic and long historic human experience begets to work out its own progress of salvation, apparently and consciously apart, that something is Cosmos itself expressed in human desire for structure. The structural mind, the desire, will or spirit of man for sociality on the one hand, and the antagonism to what appears destructural on the other. This desire, the psychology which runs counter to undesirable conditions and is begotten of them, is the nemesis of capitalism and sure hope of the laboring class; it is a condition of the soil of the mind. Desire for structure takes in the greater part of all human activities. As an animal instinct it procreates the species; not that the instinct goes to bed with thoughts of structure, but of the many active desires into which the soul of structure runs. Some are so much more directly essential and justified to the whole race than others, that they become the elected and the delectable desires. Unconscious of their purpose, but because of the delight they have in their own function, these structural forces or instincts forming the subconscious energies of man are going on forever. Corresponding to them are all the armed defensive forces of fatherhood and motherhood set up against that which seems to them destructive of them and theirs. So far then as we carry a monistic program, it is the desire for all that pertains to and defends the structural life of man as a person or a society. I do not deny that these human dynamos may become subjects of logical statement and disquisition; but I have no doubt that the pen of the philosopher, the literary monist and critic plays a smaller part in monistic determinism than many things that look as insignificant as a lady's hair pin beside a gilded volume. The man who balances on his head a monistic philosophy like a ten-foot griddle had better let it drop and carry it home in pieces. Let us be content to do our end of the monistic relation, and as we

go we shall know. No true science is ever very much ahead of the times, and a monistic philosophy too much extended by the brain of a writer may easily stultify the man and not so easily help practical Socialism.

During the whole historic property period the private life has been opposed to the social so that there appears in the mind an antithesis between the whole and the part. This dual psychology of a prolonged crime has to be changed before philosophy can make monism all clear. Those who religiously skein the threads of science for human use, those who religiously will to know the universe, that knowing it, we may make things more effectually and consciously relateable to man; those who religiously ignore the vertebræ of science until they have found the human bread and butter of it; those who are resolute to decline and resolute to resist unsocial, nonstructural or neutral knowledge; those who enlist themselves to fight in the ranks of the present day proletarian class struggle, which has for its end the elimination of class conflicts in society over the possession of bread and wealth, such are the men who are doing the seasonable and, therefore, reasonable work of monistic philosophy. Until the struggling brain of the race is extricated from the debris of the class struggle, no great books can be written on this philosophy, but books on practical Socialism. The thing of interest and value in the two relations consists in knowing that there is and must be a continuous approaching, with effect, between the person and Cosmos, and between Cosmos and the person, and that there are ways of approach peculiar respectively to the greater and lesser lovers. The motographs of Cosmos and of the man may differ in form, while they are becoming similar. Whatsoever they be like their likeness is outlived and limited by their purpose in this—they are one religion. On man's side it is the science that enables a person to contain the world will; on the Cosmic side it is the science that enables nature to take up the person's wont and will. In accomplishing this the universe has acquired a habit or way of moving towards man which is its religion. This, as a whole, is not known to man, but its intent may be secretly known. Man, in the same journeying, consciously or unconsciously, has formed certain habits, ways and wills of thinking which, on the surface of them, may change often, but behind them there is being steadily formed the outlines of the best way, whose keeper is democracy. Behind in the deeper subconsciousness of the person there is humanity, wherein is being formed a permanent will, experience and habit of the best. Science stands for no other accuracy than its fitness to serve this purpose of mankind; it is an effort only put forth to humanize persons and their knowledge and their will. Is your science an effort to so accomplish? Is it a deliberate strain to humanize knowledge? Has it motive? Has it this motive?

If not, it is not science; it is not religion. Is it an endeavor to enclose nature and the larger life of humanity into, for the use and in behoof of every person? If so, it is science, it is religion; for science can surely be nothing else than the humanization of knowledge, and this can be no other than religion. The link between the person and Cosmos is humanity; the link between Cosmos and the person is humanity. There is no other way, oh, ye squirrels of the race; there are no parasitic holes for you in the walls of the human homestead; only as part of the human homestead itself can you think at all. Only thus can you learn to become humanity.

There is a man who thinks that the single mind is a foundation for science; that the personal mind has of itself all the required parts and fittings which is completeness put together; that if the instruments were as good as his mind, he could see all things by the complete single mind, that he could summon to his sight and service a complete science and a complete universe, and yet have not a care for man. But what is the single mind? Is it not a patchwork of other people's experiences? What is the human intellect? What but a number of vitally human points observed in others, and thus become common to many persons? What is the private understanding? A highway and a will acquired and trodden by many persons together. The best thought is a human contact. Next below that is the thought which is an effort after such contact, and next is that which shows the means of contact. This knowledge is science; the life ensuing is religion. Science first, because its means are practical humanic; and religion, because its facts are willed out and correlated for humanity. Thus in its last stage and in its intervening intent, true science is religion, and no part of true religion can be separated from this sort of science. The religion of earthly wings bound for somewhere superhuman is but a farce and a famine of the soul.

Not by piecing my own mind together, but by appreciating that which is largely vital in all other minds; not by drawing in diversities and harmonizing them with myself, but by going out to diversity and harmonizing myself together with them am I built up. For the true mind is outside; it is not personal, but human; it is the wedding ring of thought, which marries us all together. When the single mind has brought forth its form or expression of this unit of experience, it has but attained to one of the myriad blossomings of the experience it presumes to comprehend, and from the moment its blossom is finished it begins to cast off for a new and another flower. But the day approaches when the intellect of man shall no longer be a slave to its words; when it shall itself be the bloom of the whole man. Then will we be no longer under the necessity of modeling our snow flowers in the night, only to see them melt into the undefined and forgotten

with the sunshine experience of another day. When the intellect of man is a vital desire; when it is more than single mind, more than words, more than dead and doomed petals; when speech is the flexible and faithful expression of our feelings and will, the full weight symbol of our whole life story,—then the blossoms may not change so often, but shine out, illuminating the night with its white splendor as the Agave of many ages. Mind, emotion and world will shall then be one and one in every man. as each person receives he gives, as he is created from the historical and physical sources of experience he renders the essence of himself into that larger life of himself—humanity—and as he gives on the man side of his existence, he receives from nature. Nor am I presuming too much upon the dignity of man when I say that in the act of receiving from Cosmos he is no parasite, for there is no giver which does not get more, and the universe is enriched by the emotion of every man who kisses the grass.

Here, then, have we in sight two cables of the double circuit, whereby is led the mutually responsive life of man and nature, nature and man, *via* humanity.

There is to me a great, deep and lovely lake, of most fragrant essence, into which constantly trickles the last corrected and essential moment of each life. I think of it as a lake surrounded by the entire universe of time and space; I think of the glistening starlight of time and all the moon-bathed nights of the world that ever man or beast or flower saw or felt; I think of all the music thrills of great instrumental and natural concerts, of bird songs, of the love whispers of all times, of the lispings of baby lips just opening, of the scibbilant insects and the infinite music of rustling leaves; I think of the color glories, the rapture of sunsets, the tender heart-healing green of the springtimes, the mellow, motherly hues of autumn, the white, waiting austerity of winter, the ravishing glories of all the royal and courtly birds; I think of the bloom of all the flowers that ever saluted the soul of man or paid solitary homage to their mother sun; I think of the various tones of heart-speaking voices, articulate and non-articulate; I think of all the various speech that never spoke to ears; I think of the grand procession of the seasons through times eternal and their responses all trickling down into the great reservoir of earth's elected essence, *humanity as a whole*. If you think of that whole thus accomplished, you will, like me, be feeling after the way of humanized knowledge.

I have said nothing of sorrow, of agony, of horror; I have said nothing of woeful heartaches and the shrieks of worlds wronged, of lacerated slaves under great avalanched rocks of mastership, of the many unconsecrated forces rolling down like bloody boulders; nothing of the soul-rending episodes of secret and open battle. Only here I suggest them because they, too,

for weal or woe, have been and must be found in the mixed chalice of humanity. Whatsoever I am is there; whatsoever all man have been is there and there is nothing, nothing, nothing lost. Now let us make this pictured summary of an eternity of cause and effects bound into life as it really is, and we see humanity, which you and I are feeding out of Cosmos; which is feeding you and me back again out of other selves of ours, and out of ourselves and back again out of a Cosmos, which means all of the feeders and all of the fed; the ever-moving whole.

Or will you have for a unit picture of this great humanity a great, round, lovely peach. You know what an organism for sipping flavors and colors and fragrances out of the sunbeams and the darkness; and the insipid things around it is this lovely peach. You know that nothing escapes it, and that it escapes nothing. And yet what a sweet summary it is of sour, clammy earths and gravels and all the things most dissimilar which surround it. It is no game of chance which is played by the myriad atoms on that surface of honey makers. It is not all out of the earth nor all out of the air that these cunning chemists make their sweetness and send it in and draw it out. And what that peach is to the tree and to the lips that taste it, humanity, as the resultant unit of common experience is to all nature and to me. But now you may say enough of metaphor, what is the practical message of all this to me? And your challenge is most lawful, for that which is not translatable into the very body, blood and bloom of man is not worthy of reading.

The only generally admissible formulæ for the control of human thought known to me is a simple, practical ethic of cause and effect, viz., *private cause, public effect; public cause, private effect*. Unconsciously, whether we will it or not, these two in alternate and succeeding continuous order is the history of everything personal and public which we do. And the business of the moral philosopher is to make that a matter of intention and will, which is anyhow a matter of destiny. Whatsoever a man or a community sows that shall men and communities reap. The public character and will is the combined result of each man's doing; the private character and will is the local result of the doings of the larger public units; the man is a state maker, the state is a man maker, and there are no other makers to be considered but these two; there is nothing else in process of formation by human and physical forces but man and state.

The state or nation for the time being is the practical objective upon which the man operates, just as the person is the practical objective upon which the state operates. If with a single eye upon their proper objectives these two perform their daily functions, the state shall at last form a will for the private life, and the person shall form a will for the public life. Behind the former

there shall abide that great spiritual reservoir, the unit of common experience, behind the latter that great spiritual reservoir, the altruistic will.

We have been much exercised in these, our juvenile days of moral thinking, by the apparent irreconcilability of selfishness and altruism, a difficulty which has arisen out of the unmanagably small ego which ages of private property have left us. But it was always easy for the single intellect to enlarge that self to the great advantage of self; it was intellectually easy, and it was practically easy.

First let us have integrity of faith that self and its preservation are sacred and right (and nothing but the perverse confusions of propertyism could ever have led mankind to think otherwise), and it only becomes a question as to the best method of self-preservation. During this present time man's willing mind—that is, his morals—is a hybrid of feudalism and the predatory anarchy of the jungle, both depraved by a ravenous disregard for aught but private property. To save self from the turbulent vicissitudes of such a reign of riot is impossible. There is no stability for any self, good or bad, to be found in a life whose energies are spent in dodging catastrophes. In such a world of violent negations the first thing to be done for the salvation of self is its formation.

Laying aside the property pack of cards in which the so-called self has been supposed to win out, one day king and the next day knave, the self is to be found outside of self; not in a pack of cards or in bundle of dollars, but in a *cause*. Be sure, oh, brother man, yourself is not enclosed by your possessions, but your cause. The shrine, the holiest shrine for your pilgrim feet and your pilgrim heart today is the cause, and if you are to save yourself and stand self-balanced forever with the unit of human life, you must take scrip and staff and scallop, or sword or ballot, and go forth to find yourself as it is most surely enshrined in some one cause, to-day, outside of you.

The process of translating yourself into a cause is both philosophically and administratively the most potent thing that you can do for and with yourself, specially is it most practical in an age of nebulous egos like our own.

A good example of the success of this method may be taken out of the history of the man called priest. First he has faith in the validity of himself. He erects his cause and believes it to be the pillar and the ground of truth in a world which can only live by truth. Putting himself forever aside, he devotes everything that he can cozen or control to a cause which calls the church, *and to that cause only*. He plays politics, he plays business, he plays war, he plays philanthropy in the ways peculiar to each nation, but only that he may render them all tributary to the

strengthening of that one cause which he believes to be in the last analysis the cause which will be practically found, and now does spiritually include them all. His present interest is logically to individualize everything else human and prevent formidable organizations until his cause is strong enough redemptively to enclose them all. His process is logical and humanly scientific, whatever we may think of his cause, and I think on the whole that mankind has gained more by the method than it has lost by the cause; and may yet gain still more by discarding the cause and faithfully pursuing the method.

In an age of nebulous egos, any well-formed film will gather and keep millions around it by mere virtue of its formation. This is a sure postulate in the science of structural humanics. The way to find self is to go outside—the way to keep it is to keep it in a cause outside; and the way to strengthen and establish it forever is to identify it with the largest cause.

Bearing in mind that nothing else in human life is so dominantly so fatefully true as cause and effect, and nothing else is in course of formation but ego and humanity—absolutely for this science nothing else—a man's energies should be directed above all to public human affairs, and to any and to every other so-called science, only as they are subsidiary to this.

Need I say that we have not far to look for the all inclusive cause—the cause of labor. Here self may find its roots and here out of this soil the superman shall bear his fruits at last. Labor is the present sacred conservator of all this; it is to yet generate the assured and unsullied self. Here into this chalice of history the essentials of all morality have been from everlasting distilling. Shut your eyes to the clamors of all politicians. Turn away from every other trail. Root and settle yourself deeply in the mother soil of labor. Follow the example of the church, and know no country, no cause, no righteousness but that of labor. Join yourself in life-long wedlock to this one only cause and you will save your selfishness and all that is worth saving for all other men in the world.

PETER E. BURROWS.

The Miners' Strike in Germany.

THE strike of the coal miners in the Ruhr district, begun January 9, came to an end February 12. At one time during this period there were 200,000 miners not working. But the strike was in no way so general that all mining operations ceased in all the mines. In fact, the number of organized miners was so small in comparison with the unorganized mass, that the more far-seeing of the organized men warned their impetuous comrades not to precipitate the strike at this time. But the conditions had become so unbearable that the strike developed almost spontaneously and simultaneously in the entire district, even without being organized. It is little short of marvelous, and speaks volumes for the good nature of the working men, that there was very little friction between the organized and unorganized men, and that few of the unorganized went back to work after they had once joined the strikers.

It was a universally understood fact, which was commented upon even by fair-minded reporters of the capitalist press, that there was more discipline and good nature in districts under the control of socialists than in others. It was there, also, where the organized and unorganized workers were on the best of terms. On the other hand, the clerical papers sought to prevent a co-operation between the catholic unions and the socialist unions, and the liberal and radical bourgeois press tooted into the same horn and sought to divide the strikers by religious or sentimental ideas even while they were lined up against a common enemy.

In this strike, as in all others, the socialist press stood uncompromisingly on the side of the strikers and espoused their cause, and only theirs. And representatives of the German Social Democratic party in various municipalities moved that the public treasury grant assistance to the strikers. Wherever the socialist aldermen were in the majority money was voted to the strikers out of public funds. *Vorwärts* reports that the curator of the university of Bonn, who appealed to the public for funds to aid the strikers, was disciplined by the minister of public instruction for his humane action. The class character of the Prussian government showed itself in many ways. For instance, the strikers, as usual, were willing to arbitrate the matter. The mine owners insolently refused to negotiate with any representatives of the miners' organization. The emperor expressed his wish that the mine owners show a willingness to settle the difficulty amicably. With due regard for his fairness, the socialist press as well as the leaders

of the strikers nevertheless recognized that the emperor's wish to blind the workers as to the class character of his government had as much to do with his public expression of sympathy for the strikers as his desire to appear as a fair and unbiased ruler. Anyway, words are cheap and do not mean anything without deeds to back them up, as Roosevelt has so well said and demonstrated by his actions on a similar occasion. The mine owners paid no attention to the emperor's wish at all, and this worthy evidently did not expect that they would. And we have not yet heard that he fulminated against them for disregarding his authority, as he would have done had the strikers, or the socialists treated him in the same way.

The strikers had elected a committee of seven to act as their representatives during this strike. Two members of this committee belonged to the organized miners. Shortly after the emperor had expressed the wish that the warring parties should settle their differences amicably, the committee of seven informed the prime minister that they had telegraphed to the mine owners, expressing the willingness of the strikers to return to work immediately on condition that the following demands should be granted to them in place of the demands first made by them: A 15 per cent increase of wages; in case no agreement should be made with the organizations, an average daily wage to be paid uniform for all classes of laborers; no discrimination against strikers after return to work; good coal free to miners, also to needy invalids and widows of miners; humane treatment. The prime minister replied that he would be pleased to act as mediator, provided the strikers first returned to work. That is always the "fairness" of the public spokesmen of the masters. "First produce profit for us, and then we will talk to you." This is the method pursued by Roosevelt in the Pennsylvania coal-strike. And it always ends in the same result for the strikers: A practical defeat, so far as an improvement in their condition is concerned. The only tangible result of this strike, as of all others fought under similar conditions, is a better organization of the miners, and a better understanding of their class interests. And the increase of class-consciousness and class solidarity is after all the only gain which will at last turn defeat into victory.

When the feeling and resentment against the brutality of the mine owners and the impassiveness of the Prussian government ran high among the strikers, a statement was launched in the capitalist press to the effect that the government would present to the Prussian parliament a bill for the protection of the miners and for the reduction of hours of la-

bor, and another defining more clearly the civic rights of labor organizations. Nothing definite was made known about the content of these bills, but from the scant hints which leaked out through official channels it was very evident that these bills were nothing short of deliberate attempts to pacify the workers by a trick. *Vorwärts* ridiculed the idea of the government of trying to ameliorate the condition of the workers by asking a capitalist parliament for legislation in the interest of the class that was just then striking against those same capitalists.

One of the mine owners pretended not to know what grievance the strikers had against him, and boasted that he would pay three shifts' pay, held back by him, and an extra bonus from the benefit funds (maintained by stealing whole carloads of coal from the miners) to any striker who would tell him frankly why he went on strike. *Vorwärts* advised the strikers to frankly state their reasons and asked the mine owner to write down the statements of the strikers and publish them.

The police created much trouble by interfering with strikers' meetings, trampling down school children, and standing by strike breakers who tried to incite the strikers to violence. But the strikers remained peaceable in the face of all provocation. If there was no bloodshed, little thanks are due to the guardians of "Law and Order," for they tried their best to precipitate it.

The strike had to be called off, because there was not sufficient organization to carry it through, and funds were lacking for the support of the strikers. No sooner did it become evident that the strikers would return to work when the government seemed to become less interested in the pending mining legislation, and the "Herren Haus" (Upper House) closed for a vacation. The miners will not be very much disappointed if it should take several years more before that legislation is realized, perhaps at some future strike when the government wants to express its sympathy for the working class.

While the capitalist papers are jubilant over the "defeat" of the strikers, *Vorwärts* encourages the workers to organize better and renew the battle when they are strong. For "working men will not get justice until they chase the arrogant lords out of the temple. Down with your assumed class superiority! Down with class parliament! Down with all class rule! This is what we shall shout into the ears of the working class, now and all the time, till some day they will listen to us and will use their power in the right way.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

The Woman Question.

THE bourgeois has thought and still thinks that woman ought to remain at home and devote her activity to supervising and directing the housekeeping, caring for her husband, and manufacturing and nourishing children. Even Xenophon, at the time when the bourgeois was newly born and was taking its shape in ancient society, traced the main outlines of this ideal of woman. But if through the course of centuries, this ideal may have appeared reasonable, because it corresponded to economic conditions which prevailed, it is no longer anything more than an ideological survival, since these conditions have ceased to exist.

The domestication of woman presupposes that she fulfills in the household certain numerous functions which absorb all her energy; now, the most important and the most exacting of these domestic labors,—the spinning of wool and linen, the cutting and making up of clothing, laundry work, baking, etc.,—are carried on by capitalistic industry. It furthermore presupposes that man by his contribution to the family capital and his earnings provides for the material needs of the family; now, among the comfortable bourgeoisie, marriage is as much an association of capitals' as a

(1) The dowry has played an important role in the history of woman: at the beginning of the patriarchal period the husband buys her from her father, who has to refund her purchase price if for any cause whatever he repudiates her and sends her back to her family; later this purchase price is returned to him and constitutes her dowry, which her relatives are accustomed to double. From the moment when the wife enters into her husband's house with a dowry, she ceases to be a slave whom he may dismiss, sell and kill. The dowry, which in Rome and Athens became a legal charge upon the property of the husband, was, in case of her repudiation or divorce, to be restored to her in preference to any creditor. "No pleasure is derived from the riches which a woman brings into the household," says a fragment of Euripides, "they only serve to render divorce difficult." The comic authors ridiculed the husbands, who as the result of a suit over the dowry, fell into dependence upon the wife. A character in Plautus says to a husband who is talking against his wife, "You accepted the money of her dowry, you sold your authority—*imperium*." The wealthy Roman matrons carried their insolence to such a point that they did not trust the management of their dowry to their husbands, they gave it over to stewards, who sometimes fulfilled with them another service, as the evil-speaking Martial states.

Adultery on the part of the wife involved a legal divorce and the restitution of the dowry, but rather than come to this painful extremity, the husbands preferred to close their eyes to the foibles of their wives; at Rome and at Athens the law had to strike at them in order to recall them to their marital dignity; in China a certain number of bamboo strokes were applied to the soles of their feet. The penalties not being sufficient to encourage the husbands to repudiate their adulterous wives, the law, in order to prop up masculine virtue, permitted those who denounced the infidelity of the wife to retain a part of the dowry; there were then men who married only in prospect of the adultery of the wife. The Roman women evaded the law by having themselves enrolled in the censor's book on the list of prostitutes, to whom it did not apply. The number of matrons inscribed became so considerable that the Senate, under Tiberius, passed a decree forbidding "women who had a patrician for a grandfather, husband or father to traffic in their bodies." (Tacitus, *Annals* II., 85.) Adultery on the part of the wife in the patrician society of antiquity, as well as in the aristocratic society of the eighteenth century, had become so general that it had so to speak entered into the social customs. It was looked upon lightly as a corrective and accompaniment of marriage.

union of persons and often the capital contributed by the wife exceeds that from the husband, and in the small bourgeoisie the gains of the father of the family have fallen so low that the children,—girls as well as boys,—are compelled to earn their living in business, railroad offices, banks, teaching, civil service positions, etc., while it often happens that the young wife continues to work outside in order to help out the resources of the housekeeping, when the earnings of the husband do not suffice to cover the expenses.

The daughters and wives of the small bourgeoisie, as well as those of the working class, thus enter into competition with their father, brothers and husband. This economic antagonism, which the bourgeoisie had prevented from developing by the shutting up of the wife into the family dwelling, is becoming general and is intensified in proportion as capitalistic production develops; it invades the fields of the liberal professions—medicine, law, literature, journalism, the sciences, etc.,—where man had reserved for himself a monopoly, which he imagined was to be eternal. The laborers, as is always the case, have been the first to draw the logical consequences of the participation of woman in social production; they have replaced the ideal of the artisan,—the wife who is nothing but a housekeeper,—by a new ideal,—woman as a companion in their economic and political struggles for the raising of wages and the emancipation of labor.

The bourgeois has not yet succeeded in understanding that his ideal is already long since out of date and that it must be remodeled to correspond to the new conditions of the social environment; nevertheless since the first half of the XIX century the ladies of the bourgeoisie have begun to protest against their inferior position in the family, so much the more intolerable in that their dowry places them on a footing of equality with the husband; they rebelled against the domestic slavery and the parsimonious life to which they were condemned, as well as the deprivation of intellectual and material enjoyments which was imposed upon them; the bolder ones went so far as to demand free love and to ally themselves with the utopian sects which preached the emancipation of woman.¹ The philosophers and the moralists had the simplicity to believe that they would stop the woman movement by opposing to it the sacred interest of the family, which they declared could not survive without the subjection of woman to the labors of the household, the sewing on of shirt buttons, the mending of hose, etc., her duty was to devote herself to these obscure and thankless labors, in order that man

(1) The Saint Simon manifesto of 1830 announced that the religion of Saint Simon had come "to put an end to that shameful traffic, that legal prostitution, which under the name of marriage often blesses the monstrous union of self-surrender and egotism, of light and of ignorance, of youth and decrepitude."

might freely unfold and display his brilliant and superior faculties. These same philosophers, who lectured the rebellious ladies on the cult of the family, sang the praises of capitalist industry, which, by forcing the wife away from the domestic hearth and her child's cradle to condemn her to the forced labor of the factory, destroys the working-class family.

The bourgeois ladies laughed at the sermons, equally imbecile and ethical, of these solemn philosophers; they kept on their way and attained the end they set for themselves; like the patrician lady of ancient Rome and the countess of the eighteenth century, they threw off the cares of housekeeping and of the nursing of the child upon mercenaries, that they might devote themselves wholly to the toilet, that they might be the most luxuriously arrayed dolls in the capitalist world and in order to make business move. The daughters and wives of American plutocracy have attained the extreme limits of this sort of emancipation; they are transforming their father and husband into an accumulator of millions, which they squander madly. Since the toilet does not exhaust the entire activity of the ladies of capitalism, they find amusement in defacing the marriage contract with strokes of a pen-knife, in order to assert their independence and improve the race. The Communist Manifesto remarks that the innumerable divorce suits in which adultery is alleged are indisputable proofs of the respect inspired in the bourgeois of both sexes by the sacred bonds of marriage which the "licentious socialists" talk of loosening.

When the daughters and wives of the small bourgeoisie, obliged to earn their living and to increase the resources of the family, began to invade the stores, the offices, the civil service and the liberal professions, the bourgeois were seized with anxiety for their means of existence already so reduced; feminine competition would reduce them still further. The intellectuals who took up the defense of the males, thought it prudent not to start afresh with the ethical sermons which had miscarried so piteously in the case of the wealthy bourgeois ladies;—they appealed to science; they demonstrated by reasons which were irrefutable and loftily scientific that woman cannot emerge from the occupations of housekeeping without violating the laws of nature and history. They proved to their complete satisfaction that woman is an inferior being, incapable of receiving a higher intellectual education and of furnishing the combination of attention, energy and agility demanded by the professions in which she was entering into competition with man. Her brain, less voluminous, less heavy and less complex than that of man, is a "child's brain." Her less developed muscles have not the strength for attack and for resistance; the bones of her fore-arm, her pelvis, her femur, and in fact all her osseous, muscular and nervous system do not

permit her to undertake more than the routine of the household. Nature designed her in all her organization to be the servant of man, just as the ugly god of the Jews and Christians marked out the race of Ham for slavery.

History contributed its startling confirmation of these ultra scientific truths; the philosophers and the historians affirmed that always and everywhere the wife, subordinate to the man, had been shut up in the house, in the woman's apartments: if such had been her lot in the past, such was to be her destiny in the future, was the positive declaration of Auguste Comte, the profoundest of bourgeois philosophers. Lombroso, the illustrious comedian, went him one better: he seriously declared that social statistics proclaimed the inferiority of woman, since the number of female criminals is below that of male criminals; while buried in these figures, he might have added that the statistics of insanity demonstrate the same inferiority. Thus we see that ethics, anatomy, physiology, social statistics and history riveted forever upon woman the chains of domestic servitude.

II.

Bachofen, Morgan and a crowd of anthropologists have revised the opinion of the historians and philosophers upon the role played by woman in the past. They have shown that everywhere the paternal family, which subordinated woman to man, had been preceded by the maternal family, which gave the first place to woman. The Greek language contains the record of her two conditions: while the Spartans, among whom matriarchal customs persisted, still continued to call her *despoina*, the mistress of the house, the sovereign, the other Greeks gave to the wife the name *damar*, the subdued, the vanquished. The Odyssey, in characterizing Nausicaa, says that she is *parthenos admes*, the girl not subdued, that is to say, without a husband, without a master. The modern expression "yoke of marriage" preserves the ancient idea.

Hesiod, in opposition to Homer, who tells only of patriarchal customs, preserves precious recollections of the matriarchal family; he tells us that when it existed man, even if he were a hundred years old, lived with his prudent mother,—he was fed in her house like a great child. (Works and Days, V. 129-130.) It was not the woman who then had the "child's brain," but the man: everything seems in fact to prove that her intelligence was the first to develop. This intellectual superiority caused her to be deified before man in the primitive religions of Egypt, the Indies, Asia and Greece, and caused the first inventions of the arts and trades, with the exception of metal working, to be attributed to goddesses and not to gods. The Muses, originally three in number, were in Greece, even in preference to Apollo, the goddesses of poetry, music and the dance. Isis, "mother of corn ears and

lady of bread," and Demeter, lawgiver, had taught the Egyptians and Greeks the tillage of barley and wheat and made them renounce their anthropophagic repasts. The woman appeared to the free patriarchal man, like the Germans whom Tacitus knew, as having within herself something holy and providential, a *liquid sanctum et providum* (Germania VIII). Her prudence and foresight gave her this divine character. Must we conclude that this intellectual superiority, which manifested itself when the economic environment is rudimentary, is a natural phenomenon?

But, in any case, it may be asserted that the vitality of woman is superior to that of man. The life insurance companies of the United States, England and Holland, which do not base their calculation upon scientific fairy tales of the intellectuals but upon mortality tables, pay woman an annuity below that which they give man, because her probabilities of death are less. Here for example is the annuity paid for a capital of \$1,000 by American and Dutch companies:¹

Age.	NEW YORK.		HOLLAND.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
50 years.....	\$ 76.47	\$ 69.57	\$ 76.80	\$ 73.60
60 years.....	97.24	88.03	98.50	93.50
70 years.....	134.31	122.48	142.00	136.70
80 years.....	183.95	168.00	222.70	211.70

It may be objected that man, leading a more active life, is more subject to accidents, diseases, and other causes of death, and that consequently the prolonged life of woman does not prove the higher vitality of her organism, but the advantages of a life less subject to accident.

The answer to this objection is found in the statistics of the various nations. There is in no country a perfect equilibrium between the number of women and that of men: for 1,000 men there are in Belgium 1,005 women, in France 1,014, in England 1,062, in Scotland 1,071 and in Norway 1,091. Nevertheless in these countries with the feminine preponderance there is an excess of masculine births: of the whole of Western Europe for every 1000 girls there are born from 1,040 to 1,060 boys. If, in spite of this excess of masculine births, more girls survive, it is because the greater mortality of the boys shows the balance in favor of the girls; and this higher mortality cannot be explained by the life of man being more subject to accident, since it is observed at an early age, notably during the first two years. All the diseases of childhood, with the exception of diphtheria and whooping cough, are to a perceptible extent more fatal among boys than among girls; from zero to five years the male sex is particularly frail; at all

(1) The French companies make no differences between the sexes because they pay very small annuities. La Générale, the most important one in France, gives for \$1,000 at the age of 50 years an annuity of \$64.20; at 60 years \$80.80; at 70 years \$118.50; at 80 years \$143.70. Thus it realizes immense profits; its shares which in 1819 were worth 750 francs each were quoted last January at 31,300 francs.

ages, except between ten and fifteen years, the male mortality is in excess of the female.

The superior vitality of the female sex is also noticeable in the greater ease with which it builds up its organism. M. Iribe, superintendent of the sanitarium of Hendaye, to which are sent Parisian children from three to fourteen years of age, who are afflicted with anaemia, incipient tuberculosis, scrofula and rickets, reports that at the time of their dismissal, at the end of six months, the progress in weight, girth and chest development is incomparably higher in the girls than in the boys, the increase in weight is double and often more.

The same statement has been made by other superintendents of sanitariums. (Bulletin Medical, No. 81, 1903.)

Woman undeniably possesses a greater vitality than man. M. Gustav Loisel has made inquiry "as to whether this difference existed in embryonic life, and what may be its cause?" He has communicated the results of his inquiries to the Biological Society of Paris, which published them in its Bulletin of November 6, 1903.

M. Loisel availed himself of 792 weights and measurements made upon 72 foetuses at the Maternity Hospital of Paris by M. E. Legou;¹ from the following weights of the foetuses at three, four, five and six months he obtains the following figures:

	MALES.	FEMALES.	DIFFERENCES.
	Grammes.	Grammes.	Grammes.
Total weight	1908.18	1708.11	200.07 in favor of males
Kidneys	16.87	17.19	0.32 in favor of females
Suprarenal glands	5.15	6.43	1.28 in favor of females
Liver	88.35	96.31	7.90 in favor of females
Spleen	2.59	2.38	0.21 in favor of males
Thymus	3.89	3.97	0.08 in favor of females
Heart	10.97	12.60	1.63 in favor of females
Lungs	47.29	44.62	2.67 in favor of males
Brain	236.94	235.17	1.17 in favor of males

"These figures thus show us," says M. Loisel, "a preponderance already existing in favor of the females as regards the kidneys, the suprarenal glands, the liver, the thymus and the heart; this predominance is the more noticeable since the total weight of the body is larger in the male than in the female."

If now we take the relation between the total weight and the weight of the organs which are heaviest in the male, we find that the proportion is still in favor of the female:

PROPORTION OF TOTAL WEIGHT.			
	Males.		Females.
Spleen	1	to 736	1 to 718
Lungs	1	to 40	1 to 38
Brain	1	to 8	1 to 7

The organs here examined, brain included, are thus absolutely or relatively heavier in the female foetus than in the male foetus.

(1) E. Legou. "Some Considerations on the Development of the Foetus." Paris, 1903. The weights and measurements of M. Legou were made for official use.

M. Loisel has also examined into the proportion of the weights of the different organs to the total weight according to the age of the foetus. He has prepared a table, from which I take only the figures concerning the brain:

AGE	TOTAL WEIGHT		Proportion of weight of brain to total weight.	
	Males Grammes	Females Grammes	Males	Females
3 Months.....	58.33	65.96	$\frac{1}{6.5}$	$\frac{1}{7}$
4 Months.....	167.25	182.58	$\frac{1}{7.3}$	$\frac{1}{6.6}$
5 Months.....	336.33	295.00	$\frac{1}{7.6}$	$\frac{1}{7.5}$
6 Months.....	732.58	636.00	$\frac{1}{8.3}$	$\frac{1}{7.8}$

The weight of the male foetus, which is below that of the female foetus, at three months, when the sex has just been determined, grows more rapidly and the proportion between the weight of the brain and the total weight is always to the advantage of the females from the fourth month on.

"To sum up," says M. Loisel, "all the organs are heavier in the female foetus than in the male foetus up to about the fourth month. The predominance then passes over to the male, but only for the lungs and the organs for sex-union, thus the cardiac muscle always remains heavier in the female. The organs which are of real service to the individual during the embryonic life always remain more developed in the female sex.

"If now we consider that the differences in favor of the females are especially in the liver, the heart, the superrenal glands and the kidneys, we shall come to the conclusion that the greater vitality of the female organisms corresponds to their being better nourished and better purified."

III.

The superior organization possessed by woman at birth assuring her throughout her life a much greater vitality, is probably demanded by the part she plays in the production of the species, a part altogether more prolonged and exhausting than that of the man who, when fertilization is accomplished, has no more to do, while then the travail of woman begins, to continue during long months, through pregnancy and after birth. The women of savage tribes suckle their children for two years and more. It sometimes happens that the male pays dear for his inutility; after

(1) The latest observations upon ants and bees tend to prove that the fertilized eggs would give birth to females and to workers; and the non-fertilized to males, which consequently would be born from eggs that are less complex.

union, the bees kill the males, and the male spider must hastily take himself off that he may not be devoured by the larger and stronger female. Among the Sakawas, at the annual feast of Mylitta Anaitis, they sacrificed at Babylon the handsome slave who had just united with the priestess who incarnated the Assyrian goddess. This bloody religious ceremonial must have been a reproduction of an Amazonian custom.

The life of savagery and barbarism permits woman to develop her superiority from birth; each sex there has its special function; it is the division of labor in embryo. The man, whose muscular system is more developed, "fights, hunts, fishes and sits down," according to the Australian native, he regards all the rest as under the jurisdiction of woman, whose function puts brain activity into play at an earlier epoch. She has charge of the communal house, which often shelters a clan of more than one hundred individuals; she prepares clothing from skins and other raw materials; she charges herself with the cultivation of the garden, the rearing of domestic animals and the manufacture of household utensils; she preserves, economizes, cooks, distributes the provisions, vegetable and animal, which have been gathered during the course of the year; and like the Valkyries of the Scandinavians and the Ceres of the pre-Homeric Greeks, she accompanies the warrior on the field of battle, aids in the fray, raises him up if he is wounded and cares for him; her assistance is so appreciated that, according to Tacitus, the barbarians who under the leadership of Civilis revolted against Vespasian, were seized with pity for the Roman soldiers because their wives did not accompany them when they marched to combat. Plato likewise who, like the chosen ones initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, was more informed regarding ancient customs than is supposed, makes the women to be present in the battles of the warriors of his republic.

These multiple and diverse functions, which obliged woman to reflect, to calculate, to think of the morrow and to look ahead at long range, must necessarily have developed her intellectual faculties; thus the craniologists say that only a slight difference exists between the cranial capacity of the two sexes in the negroes, the Australians, and the red skins, while they find that it goes on increasing among civilized people. Woman is for the careless and improvident savage, a providence; she is the prudent and prescient being who presides over his destinies from birth to death. Man, making his religions with the events and the intellectual acquisitions of his daily life, was thus obliged to begin by deifying woman. The pre-Homeric Greeks and Romans had placed their destinies under the control of goddesses, the Fates—Moirai, Parcae—whose name signifies in the Latin language

"sparing," "economic," and in the Greek the part which falls to each one in the distribution of food or of booty.

If we relieve the rich and poetical Greek mythology of the symbolical, allegorical and mystical lucubrations with which the philosophers and the poets of the classical epoch and the Alexandrine period have overloaded and complicated it, and which the German mythologists, servilely copied by those of France and England, have carried on to their own more perfect confusion, it becomes an inestimable storehouse of prehistoric customs which preserves the memory of the manners which travelers and anthropologists now observe living again among the savages and barbarous nations of Africa and the New World. The mythological legend furnishes us with information of the relative value of feminine and masculine intelligence among the Greeks, before they had entered upon the patriarchal period.

Jupiter the "father of the gods," as Homer, Hesiod and Aeschylus call him, after having driven the feminine divinities from Olympus, enthroned there the patriarchate, which for some generations had been established upon earth, the religious heaven always reflects terrestrial manners as the moon reflects the light of the sun. But Jupiter, who like every barbarian, knew how to use his fists (*Iliad* XV. 228), who boasted that he was the strongest of the gods, and who to dominate the others kept next his throne two servants, Force and Violence, always ready to obey his orders, was inadequately prepared by his intellectual qualities to replace woman in the government of the Olympian family; in order to supply the capacities which were lacking to him, Hesiod tells us that he married Metis, "the wisest among mortals and gods." The savage and the barbarian, that he may take into himself the courage of a fallen enemy, devours his throbbing heart; Jupiter carried off Metis to assimilate her cunning, her prudence and her wisdom, for her name in the Greek language has these diverse meanings; these qualities were considered as belonging to woman.

But the assimilation took time for its processes, if we may judge from the rascally farce played upon him by Prometheus. The latter killed and butchered an enormous ox, in one pile he placed the flesh which he covered with the skin upon which he deposited the entrails; in another pile he put the bare bones which he adroitly concealed under heaps of fat. "You have divided the parts very badly," said the father of gods and men. "Most worthy Jupiter, greatest of living gods, take the part that your wisdom counsels you to choose," replied the astute Prometheus. The ruler of the heavens, listening only to his gluttony, laid both hands upon the heap of fat amid the laughter of the Olympians; his wrath was terrible when he saw the bare bones. (*Theogony* 435 *et seq.*) Such a farce would hardly have been played in the Olympian

heaven had it not been that on the earth similar tests had been required to prove to the Father that his intellectual faculties did not justify him in taking the place of the Mother in the leadership of the family and the management of its property.

The higher position in the family and society, which man conquered by brute force, while it compelled him to a brain activity to which he was little accustomed, at the same time put at his disposal opportunities for reflection and development which constantly increased. Woman, "subdued," as the Greek expression has it, shut up in the narrow circle of the family, the leadership of which had been taken from her, and having little or no contact with the outside world, saw on the contrary a reduction to almost nothing in the means of development which she had enjoyed, and to complete her subjection she was forbidden the intellectual culture which was given to man. If in spite of these fetters and these disadvantages, the disastrous effects of which cannot be exaggerated, the brain of woman continued to evolve, it was because woman's intelligence profited through the progress realized by the masculine brain; for one sex transmits to the other the qualities which it has acquired; thus pullets of certain varieties inherit the spurs which are highly developed among the cocks, while in other varieties they transmit to the males their exaggerated crests. "It is fortunate," says Darwin upon this point, "that the equal transmission of the characteristics of both sexes has been a general rule in the whole series of mammals, otherwise, it is probable that man would have become as superior to woman in intellectual power as the peacock is to the female in ornamental plumage." (Descent of Man—Sexual Selection, VIII and XIX.)

But defects as well as valuable qualities are transmitted from one sex to the other: if woman has profited by the brain-growth of man, he has in his turn been retarded in his development by the sluggishness in the development of woman's brain, produced by the reduction to the smallest minimum of intellectual activity to which he has condemned her. The breeders who seek the choicest results are as careful to have irreproachable females as males; amateur cockfighters attach as much importance to the selection of the pullets as to the cocks, they produce only from those which are armed with spurs and which have the fighting spirit. It may be said that humanity, since it emerged from communism of the clan to live under the system of private property, has been developed by the efforts of one sex alone and that its evolution has been retarded through the obstacles interposed by the other sex. Man by systematically depriving woman of the means of development, material and intellectual, has made of her a force retarding human progress.

In fact if we study and compare the different periods of savagery and barbarism, we cannot but observe the continuous and re-

markable progress in human mentality, because women and men, exercising freely their physical and mental faculties, contribute equally to the evolution of the species; this has been retarded ever since humanity entered into the period of civilization and private property, because then woman, constrained and confined in her development, cannot contribute to it in so effective a way. The senile stagnation in which China has vegetated for more than a thousand years can only be attributed to the degradation of woman, which has gone to the point of the cruel mutilation of her feet that she may be imprisoned the more closely in the woman's quarters. Europe also suffers from the degradation of woman, since in spite of the extraordinary material progress of these last two thousand years and the increasing and no less extraordinary accumulation of human knowledge, it cannot be maintained that the brain of the civilized modern exceeds in power and capacity that of the Greeks of the classic epoch, which extends from the seventh to the fourth century before the Christian era. It is certain that a Victor Hugo, a Zola, or any university graduate or doctor has stored in his brain an abundance of positive and various conceptions not possessed by Aeschylus, Anaxagoras, Protagoras and Aristotle, but that does not prove that his imagination and his intelligence, or that of his contemporaries is more rich, more varied and more vast than that of the generations of Ionia and Attica, who were the artificers of that incomparable budding and blossoming of science, philosophy, literature and art at which history marvels and who reveled in that subtle and paradoxical play of sophistical philosophy, the like of which has not again been seen. The sophists—Protagoras, Gorgias, Socrates, Plato, etc., stated, discussed and solved the problems of the spiritualistic philosophy and many others besides: yet the Hellenes of Asia Minor and of Greece had emerged from barbarism only a few centuries before. Many reasons may be cited to explain this arrest in human development, but the principal one is the subjection of woman.

IV.

Capitalist production, which takes charge of most of the labors to which woman devoted herself in the gentile house, has levied into its army of wage-workers in factory, shop, office and school-room, the wives and daughters of the working class and of the small bourgeoisie, in order to procure cheap labor. Its pressing need of intellectual capacities has set aside the venerable and venerated axiom of masculine ethics: "to read, write and count ought to be all of a woman's knowledge;" it has required that girls like boys be instructed in the rudiments of the sciences. The first step once taken, they could not be forbidden to enter the universities. They proved that the feminine brain, which the intellec-

tuals had declared a "child's brain," was as capable as the masculine brain of receiving all scientific instruction. The abstract sciences (mathematics, geometry, mechanics, etc.), the first whose study had been accessible to woman, were also the first in which they could give the measure of their intellectual capacities; they are now attacking the experimental sciences (physiology, physics, chemistry, applied mechanics, etc.), in America and Europe there arises a throng of women who are marching on a level with men in spite of the inferiority of the conditions of development in which they have lived since their first infancy.

Capitalism has not snatched woman from the domestic hearth and launched her into social production to emancipate her, but to exploit her more ferociously than man, so it has been careful not to overthrow the economic, legal, political and moral barriers which had been raised to seclude her in the marital dwelling. Woman, exploited by capital, endures the miseries of the free laborer and bears in addition her chains of the past. Her economic misery is aggravated; instead of being supported by her father or husband, to whose rule she still submits, she is obliged to earn her living; and under the pretext that she has fewer necessities than man, her labor is paid less; and when her daily toil in the shop, the office or school is ended, her labor in the household begins. Motherhood, the sacred, the highest of social functions, becomes in capitalistic society a cause of horrible misery, economic and physiologic. The social and economic condition of woman is a danger for the reproduction of the species.

But this crushing and pitiful condition announces the end of her servitude, which begins with the establishment of private property and which can end only with its abolition. Civilized humanity, oppressed by the mechanical mode of production, turns its face toward a society, based on common property, in which woman, delivered from the economic, legal and moral chains which bind her, may develop freely her physical and intellectual faculties, as in the time of the communism of the savages.

The savages, to forbid primitive promiscuity and successfully restrain the circle of sexual relations, found no other means than to separate the sexes; there are reasons for believing that the women took the initiative in this separation, which the specialization of their functions consolidated and emphasized. This was manifested socially by religious ceremonials and secret languages peculiar to each sex and even by struggles; and after having taken the character of violent antagonism, it ended in the brutal subjection of woman, which still survives, although it is progressively attenuated in proportion as the antagonism of the two sexes

(1) A. W. Howitt, who observed among the Australians a species of sexual totemism, says that it often happens that the women and men of one and the same clan fight, when the animal that serves as the totem for one sex is killed by the other sex.

becomes more general and intense upon the economic field. But the modern antagonism will not end with the victory of one sex over the other, for it is one of the phenomena of the struggle of labor against capital, which will find its solution in the emancipation of the working class in which women as well as men are incorporated.

The technique of production which tends to suppress the specialization of trades and functions and to replace muscular effort by attention and intellectual skill and which, the more it is perfected, mingles and confounds man and woman the more in social labor, will prevent the return of the conditions which in savage and barbarous nations had maintained the separation of the sexes. Common property will put an end to the economic antagonism of specialization.

But if it is possible to catch a glimpse of the end of female servitude and of the antagonism of the sexes and to conceive for the human species an era of incomparable bodily and mental progress, brought about by women and men of a high culture in muscle and brain, it is impossible to foresee the sexual relations of free and equal women and men who will not be united nor separated by sordid material interests and by the gross ethics engendered by such interests. But if we may judge by the present and the past, men, in whom the genetic passion is more violent and more continuous than in women—the same phenomenon is observed in the males and females of the whole animal series—will be obliged to play the part of exhibiting their physical and intellectual qualities to win their sweethearts. Sexual selection, which, as Darwin has shown, fulfilled an important role in the development of the animal species and which, with rare exceptions, has ceased to play this part in the Indo-European races for about three thousand years, will again become one of the most active factors in the perfecting of the human race.

Motherhood and love will permit woman to regain the higher position which she occupied in primitive societies, the memory of which has been preserved by the legends and myths of the ancient religions.

PAUL LAFARGUE (Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

Thank God for Dreams.

Thank *God* for Dreams! For dreams when wide awake—
Delightful banishers of those that quake
The slumbering body with earth's horrors shown
Thrice magnified, and made so much our own
That slumber from our senses cannot shake.

These dreams of happier days soul's thirst shall slake
These dreams, from happiness of man shall take
No atom. Ah! if such thou yet hast known,
Thank God for Dreams.

Long may we dream!—till dreams come true and make
This earth the spot where hearts need never break.
Wide-eyed, while dreaming, see! our fears have flown
Swift-winged beyond our ken; our heart's high throne
Is tenanted by Hope. For mankind's sake—

Thank God for Dreams.

—*Edwin Arnold Brenholtz.*

Hymn to Peace.

Abide with us, O Peace! Consign black War
To deep oblivion. Heal thou the scar
Left by his wild dominion over us.
With thee our queen, the memory of loss
Through ages past will perish at thy feet.
Allure us to a worship that is meet
For thee, whose wondrous beauty holds the eye
Of even those who, frantic, seek to die
By horrid hand of War. Rule thou our hearts
With thy sweet will, and save us from the arts
Of the great tempter, Greed. Awake in us the love
Of noble things. Raise thou our thoughts above
The vain advantages of strife, and lead
Us on through furrowed fields to cast the seed.

H. DUMONT.

101 Sansome St., San Francisco, Cal.

EDITORIAL

The Revolution in Russia.

The eyes of the revolutionary world are just now turned on Russia. There is no doubt but that we are here witnessing the birth of a new era. As is pointed out by Th. Rothstein in the *London Social Democrat* it is one more tremendous demonstration of the truth of the Marxian position. A few years ago the Russian revolutionists were rather inclined to sneer at Marxism. They were certain that the *Mir* with its collectivist form was going to offer a means of transition directly from primitive communism to socialism. The peasant was going to rise as soon as he heard the new gospel and overthrow autocracy and establish a co-operative commonwealth. The autocracy was supposed to be really superimposed upon this collectivist base. If given a few blows it would tumble over and leave room for the new society or rather for the re-assertion of the old freedom. Out of this philosophy sprang first, the peasant movement (a semi-Populist agitation), and second, terrorism. By the beginning of the 80s this philosophy had run itself out. The peasants showed no disposition to rise. Terrorism had spent its force and autocracy still reigned. Then it was that the Marxians pointed out that socialism must, whether or not, enter into the promised land of the co-operative commonwealth by the hideous doors of capitalism. For a few years the Marxian movement spread rapidly among students but the true Marxian realized that this too was an artificial movement and that if anything really effective was to be done a factory proletariat must be the motive force. This was the situation in 1898. Here a quotation of Comrade Rothstein is enlightening.

"Yet it was precisely at that very moment that the bastard movement called the Revolutionary Socialist Party first made its appearance. These were the old familiar 'Populists' still enamoured of the peasantry and the village community, who, being no longer able to dispute the existence of capitalism or the strength of the proletariat, conceived the happy idea of combining all the three things that were "good" in the programmes of the preceding three revolutionary parties in Russia, viz., the ideal of peasant communism of the Land and Liberty Party, the idea of the revolutionary proletariat of the Social-Democracy and—the ingenuity of it!—the conception of terrorism as the means of the revolution, of the people's Will Party! How these three things, so logical, taken by them-

selves, in their original respective programmes, were in practice to be amalgamated into one mixture; how, for instance the proletariat could be made revolutionary on behalf of the ideals of the peasantry, or how the conspirative exercise of terror could hang together with a class movement, all this remains a mystery to this day; the only practical solution which the Revolutionary Socialists have given to the difficulty was by establishing a separate organization (alas in many cases, mythical!) for carrying on terrorist acts (thus making the revolution doubly sure!), by instigating the peasantry to riots in the name of Land and Liberty, whilst at the same time preaching to the proletariat the class war. As a result we have a double or even treble system of revolutionary book-keeping, which finds its counterpart in the language which they speak to European and Russian audiences respectively, and a continual spasmodic oscillation, now towards terror, then towards peasants' riots, then again towards propaganda among the proletariat, and last, but not least, towards compromises with bourgeois parties."

Such a condition as this was but indicative of the economic confusion from which it sprang. Soon capitalism, however, brought about modern class divisions. Then a social democracy based on proletarian and Marxian philosophy could and did arise. In an article by Th. Dahn in the last issue of *La Vie Socialiste* (which number is given up entirely to a symposium on the Russian situation) the duties and present attitudes of the Russian Social Democratic Party are sketched. It seems that the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Russia, about which we hear so much, has been very bitter toward the Social Democrats because they refused to completely merge their existence in the conglomeration. When, however, we learn that at the conference where unity was proposed and where many of the organizations did join the question of universal suffrage was carefully shoved in the background and the whole movement was directed toward an effort to obtain an aristocratic bourgeois government, the attitude of the socialist is understood. When the actual fight began, however, it was no longer the Revolutionary Socialist party who led, but the Social Democracy. The reason for this is evident. The fighting here as everywhere had to be done by the proletariat and in this case the proletariat proposed to fight for themselves and not merely for a change of masters. The Social Democracy by its attitude has made impossible the proposed compromise with bourgeois principles. Comrade Dahn declares that "The Social Democratic Party has held firmly from the beginning for these things; the calling of a legislative assembly, based upon universal, equal and direct suffrage with secret ballot and this has now become a national demand accepted even by those portions of the progressivist parties which not long ago were still hostile or indifferent towards them."

Comrade Ferri has a short article in this same number of *La Vie Socialiste* which sums up in an eloquent yet scientific way the striking features of the present situation:

"When some years ago I saw in a great factory in Belgium machines,

tools and locomotives being manufactured for Russia I thought to myself, These are the revolutionary microbes that old Europe is injecting into the veins of the feudal Russian colossus.

"The events of these last few days at St. Petersburg and elsewhere tell us that the revolutionary microbe of capitalist industrialism is beginning to do its work.

"In the culture medium that the previous generation of students and nihilists have prepared, this proletarian microbe—the inseparable product of industrialism—gives a revolutionary character to the manifestations which would otherwise have been isolated and sentimental.

"The heroism of the individual gives way to the collective heroism. The intellectuals unite with the workers. The hour of deliverance is sounding.

"The barbarous and shameful ferocity and bloody suppression is but a sign of the social daybreak, even though the rays of the sun are still touched with the color of blood.

"The protestations of the whole civilized world against the disgrace of bloody and fratricidal Czarism goes out to our brothers in Russia to encourage them in their supreme struggle to realize that regime of liberty already attained by other European nations. This in turn will be but a necessary step for the preparation and organization with accelerated speed, of the socialist regime, the final object of all popular agitation.

"Perhaps for a little time the military bureaucracy of the Russian empire may be able to resist the revolutionary microbe. But this will be only for a moment. The condemnation of the feudal regime is irrevocable."

In the very excellent survey of French socialist unity by Comrade La-Monte which appears elsewhere in this issue, there is one sentiment expressed with which we wish most emphatically to disagree. This is the proposal for unity with the S. L. P. based on the supposed identity of the proposed industrial organization, the manifesto of which appeared last month, and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. We have no desire to enter into a detailed discussion of the demerits of the latter organization. We believe, however, that its unsavory name has been deserved and is not due to its socialistic character, but to the personal make-up of those in control and the methods which it has pursued. Nothing would more thoroughly damn the work of the conference which meets in Chicago next June than the prevalence of the idea that it was an attempt to revive the S. T. & L. A. That conference is not called for the purpose of inviting labor men, either in or outside of existing unions, to unite with some already existing organization. It is for the purpose of founding a new industrial organization. Those who have issued the call will be nothing more or less than members of the conference once it has been called to order. The conference is not for the purpose of uniting the A. L. U. to the S. T. & L. A. and then asking the rest of the trade union world to accept the domination of those now in control of these organizations.

If this were the purpose there would be no need of such a conference. The A. L. U. has certainly played a valuable part in the trade union movement, but it was because it was felt that it was inadequate for the work before it that the conference was proposed. The S. T. & L. A. has never proved itself anything but a nauseous nuisance in the labor movement. As a labor organization, it has never had any existence; as a convenient annex to De Leon's work in the S. L. P. it has played a part, and a by no means admirable one, in socialist and trade union discussion. Nothing shows the correctness of our position on this point more fully than the eagerness with which every enemy of the proposed industrial organization has circulated the statement, as evolved by the capitalist press, that the object of the Chicago conference was to organize a socialist trade union to fight the existing unions, and that it was to be simply another S. T. & L. A.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The Hon. David M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Citizens' Alliance, has issued another confidential circular letter to leading capitalists inviting them to step up to the captain's desk and plank down their initiation fees and dues and save the country from going to the demnition bowwows. The cause of the Hon. David's alarm is the contemplated "destructive and revolutionary labor legislation at Washington and at the different state capitals." He boasts that "nobody has ever questioned that it was the National Association of Manufacturers that beat the eight-hour law and anti-injunction bill at Washington last winter," and adds that the fight must be kept up against "such revolutionary schemes," which are "subversive of the very principles of our government," and that "the whole tendency toward collectivist and paternal legislation needs to be stopped." When he speaks of "paternal legislation," Parry, of course, does not refer to tariff pap and subsidies, land grabs and financial jugglery, railroad grants and river and harbor grafts, salary boosts, pensions, junkets and the hundred and one schemes that are worked by the political bunco-steerers for the benefit of themselves and their capitalistic masters in the game of separating the people from the wealth they produce. The Parryites are howling "stop thief" against organized labor to cover up their own wholesale grafting, although the laborers are only asking for a few little crumbs of justice—an eight-hour law on government work and the muzzling of injunction-throwing courts that are ushering in a new slavery with their jug-handled justice and autocratic mandates. It is unlikely that the eight-hour bill will be considered for some months—probably not until autumn—as the Bureau of Commerce and Labor is killing time in preparing data, and then several miles of red tape will have to be unwound to learn what the courts think about the constitutionality of the government designating under what conditions its work shall be done. Where legislators are naturally hostile toward a measure, no matter how meritorious it may be, there are always plenty of schemes to be worked to delay action. The anti-injunction bill that the union-haters are making so much fuss about will quite likely be abandoned by the politicians and a gold brick administration measure substituted. From descriptions sent out by Washington correspondents the proposed anti-injunction bill that is said to have received Roosevelt's stamp of approval, and is also endorsed by certain "labor leaders" whose names are not given, has nothing "anti" about it. Stripped of all its husks in the form of the usual legal verbiage, this administration measure simply proposes to prohibit courts from issuing injunctions without giving the labor side in a controversy an opportunity to be heard. In other words, the secret, dark-lantern methods that are at present practiced by employers in procuring temporary injunctions are to be abolished. But judges whose instincts and interests are capitalistic—who uphold the present system of private ownership of the means upon which the people must depend to live—will continue to grant temporary injunctions, after going through a more or less farcical hearing, just as they now issue permanent in nearly

every instance, even though labor is given a voice in the final hearing. No intelligent workman will be deceived by this transparent political trick that is to be turned by Roosevelt despite the o. k. that may be given it by "labor leaders" who hide their names. An anti-injunction measure can only be considered satisfactory that will give labor the same rights as the capitalists, that will give the workers the right to enjoin the employers from doing certain things, or that will compel the courts to keep hands off entirely in industrial disputes unless both sides are agreed to allow interference, as in arbitration cases. Such even-handed justice, however, will not be established so long as workmen weekly vote capitalists or their agents into office on Republican and Democratic tickets.

In discussing the evil of government by injunction and other oppressive methods that are used against organized labor by the capitalist class, the politicians and lawyers and editors and others of the tribe who delight to rub close against the fat men and their money bags declare with one accord that if unions would incorporate, so that they could sue and be sued, all would go well with labor. The unions, they say, are irresponsible and cannot be compelled to carry out their contracts and consequently have no standing in court. If that is true, why do they drag unions into court? In injunction proceedings organized labor has been compelled to face a sort of drum-head court martial. Sentences are promulgated before trials take place, a la Russia. In strikes men are gagged by court decrees and then imprisoned and fined for contempt if they make the least effort to stand up for their constitutional rights of free speech and assemblage, and no questions are asked whether their organization is incorporated. They are prosecuted as criminals, just like escaping slaves. Moreover, the unions are being proceeded against in civic cases, as has already been shown in the REVIEW upon a number of occasions, without regard as to whether or not they are incorporated. A friend in Vermont has sent me an abstract of the decision recently rendered by the Supreme Court of that state which is of vital importance as showing that organized labor is considered entirely responsible for damages sustained by employers even where no contract exists and the employers make use of their right to quit work and inform their friends and sympathizers of the unfairness of any concern. It will be recalled that something like two years ago the machinists employed by the Patch Manufacturing Co., of Rutland, Vt., went on strike. Shortly after the trouble began the company went into court and prayed for damages alleged to have been sustained because of the strike and boycott. A bitter legal battle was fought, and, although the union was unincorporated, and for that reason "irresponsible," the Patch company was awarded \$2,500 damages. The case was appealed, and last month the Supreme Court upheld the actions of the lower court and instructed the defendants to pay the money. Now Mr. Patch threatens that, if the union does not satisfy the judgment, he will attach the property of the individual members, one after another, until he secures the amount. A few of the men have their own homes, and if the organization refuses to settle the sheriff will swoop down upon them. This case has been closely watched by the unionists, employers and legal fraternity in the eastern country, and there is no disguising the fact that it establishes a dangerous precedent so far as organized labor is concerned. The Vermont decision will serve to greatly strengthen the plaintiffs in the case of the hatters, who have been sued for something like \$340,000 damages by a Connecticut concern, and it might be stated that the hatters have already lost several points in the preliminary court skirmishes. In the West also the damage suit industry is taking root. A couple of weeks ago a case was fought out in the courts at San Jose, Cal. A lumber company sued the Building Trades Council in the foregoing city for damages sustained because of a boycott and also asked for a perpetual injunction. The defendant organization is not incorporated, but nevertheless it was permanently enjoined from boycotting and assessed

the nominal damages of \$1.00 and costs. Thus a precedent was also established in California that may soon come to be regarded as good law. The cases against the United Mine Workers brought by the Victor Coal and Iron Co., in Colorado, in which a total sum of about a million dollars is wanted by the latter concern, have been followed by the filing of twenty-one suits in Alabama by non-union workmen for a total of \$147,000 damages. The plaintiffs inject a brand new wrinkle into legal warfare. They claim that because the union made certain demands of the Alabama Consolidated Iron & Coal Co., they were turned out of their homes and many of them deprived of the necessities of life. As the Democratic politicians of Alabama have made boycotting a misdemeanor, the miners' union can look for no more justice or sympathy in that state than in Colorado, where the Republican union-smashers are in control of the legal machinery. As I have said before, the studied silence of our so-called trade union leaders relative to this new method of attack is beyond my understanding. Perhaps our officials fear if the question is discussed generally it will tend to further weaken their wornout policies and encourage the rank and file to clamor for political action along class-conscious labor lines, just as the Taff Vale decision is causing the British workers to declare for socialism and go into politics *en masse*. Perhaps also our great and conservative labor leaders are waiting for the National Civic Federation brethren, two of whom are said to be stockholders in the Victor company, to harmonize these cases and call off the dogs of law. But while our dignified leaders may loftily wave aside every suggestion of grappling with the new danger, or entirely ignore it, in their ignorance and conceit, they can rest assured, nevertheless, that capitalism's sappers and miners will continue to perfect schemes, lay traps and steadily encroach upon our organizations until we are hemmed in on all sides and have our backs to the wall and are forced to meet oppressions such as the devil himself is able to concoct.

Speaking of the National Civic Federation, it looks as though that grotesque body has come to regard the industrial questions that it set out to settle with a blare of trumpets, as of secondary importance, and that its chief mission, after all, is to smash socialism some more. Whether the leading spirits have been seeing handwriting on the wall, and the scheme, is to rally the capitalists of the nation to the support of and grant temporary concessions to those labor officials who attack the socialists, is not as yet thoroughly established, but all signs point in that direction. At the late convention in New York the socialistic spectre haunted some of the principal speakers, the official call issued prior to the assembling of that very distinguished body sounded shrill notes of warning against socialism, and subsequent issues of the official monthly organ of the N. C. F. contained ill-tempered denunciations of socialism and its adherents. One of the latest methods of propaganda against the growing new movement is to circulate a little leaflet among those capitalists who are likely to come under the spell of the civicers by being properly alarmed and then assured that their privileges will be properly safeguarded by the great N. C. F. The leaflet is entitled "Socialism and Its Ablest Foe." On one page it contains excerpts of the views of Jack London, expressed in a magazine article, and on the opposite page is printed the "stinging blow" administered to socialism—by whom, do you suppose? Kaiser Wilhelm, Czar Nicholas, or some recognized capitalistic political economist? No! The "ablest foe" is none other than our good old friend, Sam Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor and vice president of the National Civic Federation, and the "blow" delivered is the paragraph so widely quoted in the capitalist press, and plastered upon dead walls by politicians in some sections, from Gompers' speech in the Boston convention (before the returns came in last November), which reads as follows:

"I want to tell you, Socialists, that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orator, and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve, and I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy. Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility."

That's the "blow" of the "ablest foe." I have watched you; I know what you have up your sleeve; I have heard you; I have read something; I am a mind reader and know what you think; I am the great I am; I'll slap you on your wrist, so there! Isn't it a singular thing that, after all the years of attacking and denouncing, the "ablest foe" has never attempted to discuss the principles of socialism, which he claims are unsound and impossible? Mere assertion, unaccompanied by tangible evidence, cannot be accepted as proof of the unsoundness of a cause in any court. To declare that the earth is flat as a pancake requires demonstration before intelligent people believe the theory. I have heard Gompers speak on the political question in half a dozen conventions, but never once has he touched the fundamentals of socialist philosophy. Indeed, he usually disclaims any intention of discussing the principles of socialism, just like many other opponents who still have the cheek to pose as knowing all about it, but contents himself with showing to his own satisfaction what a lot of bad boys those trade unionists are who believe in socialism. If the "ablest foe" really has studied socialist philosophy and discovered that Marx and many of the master minds of the past and present have been and are wrong, why in the name of common sense doesn't he do the world a favor by exploding the fallacious principles of socialism that many millions of people imagine are fundamental? If the centralization of wealth, modern production, capitalistic exploitation, unequal distribution and other indictments brought by the socialists who point out the logical tendencies and finality of the competitive system—in a word, if social evolution is unscientific—why doesn't the "ablest" court undying fame by sweeping back the tide, instead of singling out some individual here or there for attack, because he may happen to be bow-legged or cross-eyed or belong to some secret society or church, or have some new thought or idea that may not square with fossilized opinions? There is not much profit in indulging in personalities, or even finding fault with tactics. Let us have at least one speech or one article confined strictly to the principles of socialism from Mr. Gompers. I am sure that his capitalistic friends of the National Civic Federation would be very glad to have him point the way out of their dilemma to destroy socialism, root, as well as branch.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Russia.

The executive committee of the International Socialist Bureau has issued the following proclamation:

"An inexpressible crime has been committed against an entire people. 'Thousands of laborers, still believing in the feeling of humanity of him whom they call Father, and who has been called the 'Czar of Peace' and upon whom they have set their hopes have arisen. They demand the conclusion of an unholy war, the betterment of their miserable condition; the introduction of elementary political reforms such as all western lands have already obtained.

"Nicholas II and his advisers have given them bullets for their answer. On a day of blood and sorrow men, women and children, a peaceful and unarmed body sunk down beneath the shots of a barbaric soldiery, the ignorant tools of the most horrible of tyrannies. Today, 'order reigns in St. Petersburg.' The imitator of Abdul-Hamid rules now upon the corpses of his people.

"But between Czarism and all those who from now on this common feeling of unconquerable resistance unites, an abyss has opened which new oppression can but widen. Those who have not drawn back before murder in order to maintain an accursed system of government will find themselves deceived in the hopes of damming up the movement that has now seized upon all classes.

"In vain have they added to the horrors of massacres, the injustice of wholesale arrests. From now on a decisive battle has begun and the heroic courage of the Russian proletariat,—this advance guard of the Revolution—is a security that it will be carried to the bitter end until the overthrow of a government which is today a hideous anachronism and a most dangerous menace to the freedom of all Europe. In this battle our Russian brothers must be able to count upon the support not only of our moral solidarity but the actual cooperation of the Socialist Parties of the whole world.

"The battle in which they lead is ours also. The enemy that oppresses them is the enemy of mankind.

"To all those who can contribute by whatever means of immediate action whether of influence or agitation, for the work of freedom and the realization of one of the greatest and most fruitful events of history, the International Socialist Bureau issues a warm appeal.

"When Nicholas II ordered the massacre of St. Petersburg he signed the death-warrant of Czarism.

"Down with autocracy; hurrah for international socialism."

The executive committee of the International Socialist Bureau, Emile Vandervelde, Edourd Anseele, Victor Surway.

France.

On another page of this number Comrade LaMonte gives the details of the unification of the French socialists. It is specially noteworthy that

this new formation practically marks the disappearance of the opportunist phase of the movement in France, which has so long been a source of disorganization throughout the whole International Socialist movement. This is confirmed by a dispatch which appears in the Berlin *Vorwaerts* to the effect that the executive committee of the united organization has now forbidden the delegates in the Chamber of Deputies to act with the Ministry. This is the end of the famous *bloc* which has been second only to the question of the ministry as a source of dissension. The only disagreeing voice that we notice is that of Comrade Lagardelle in the *Mouvement Socialiste* which has lately been taking a somewhat antagonistic attitude toward political action and an impossibilist position in general as to socialist tactics. He thinks that the reform wing is not sincere in its conversion and that a unity which unites as diverse elements as he believes compose the present organization is not a suitable or desirable one. He thinks "that we shall see new formations until finally there will be a socialist unity which will be definitely parliamentary or revolutionary." He seems to mean, by these terms and others which he has used, to consider a revolutionary party one which entirely rejects parliamentary action and relies either upon revolt or a general strike.

MANIFESTO OF THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

"Czarism has been stricken unto death. The Russo-Japanese war, criminally begun and disastrously conducted, has already shaken its very foundations, and roused the whole Russian nation to the vices and treason of an incapable and corrupt bureaucratic despotism.

Now Czarism and the Czar are threatened in the very heart of the empire by a people, awakened at last to the necessity of freedom and the possibility of its attainment.

The revolutionary action of the organized proletariat has decided the fate of the autocracy. In lending its support to the more or less definite demands of all the liberal forces of the nation, the working class gives a new impulse to the liberating movement and at the same time stamps it with a new character.

Thanks to them it is now certain that the revolution will not stop until the day when democratic liberties are assured, and when the workers will have the means with which to push on in their struggle, side by side with the proletariat of other countries, to final emancipation.

Neither wholesale arrests, nor Cossack charges, nor volleys of rifles that cover the snow of the streets with thousands of corpses, nor systematic violence decimating strength and intelligence, can prevent the downfall of Czarism.

The proletariat of the whole world must now unite in an international movement for the support of the Russian proletariat in the struggle for freedom.

This is especially true of the French proletariat, where successive governments of the bourgeois republic have pretended to form a reactionary alliance, of which neither the nation nor its representatives, have ever known the terms or lent their approval, and this proletariat feels itself united heart and soul to the working class of the empire of the Czar.

What is demanded is not simply protestations against the massacres, but an energetic determination to break an odious alliance, which places the capitalist forces of France at the disposal of Czarism for the suppression of a Russian revolution. We must undertake to prevent at any cost and by all means any violation of neutrality by France, or any entrance into an armed conflict. We must maintain a continuous activity and unbroken solidarity with our brothers in toil and misery and against the governmental allies and reactionaries of both Russia and France.

Comrades: The proletarians of Russia fight not for themselves alone, but for us also.

When Czarism is overthrown, the great strength of counter-revolution is broken in every country; and the era of socialist activity unhampered by frontiers will begin.

Let us not permit ourselves, comrades, to be deceived by the tricks of a lying press, or the schemes of a servile diplomacy, but let us by an incessant agitation, show our hatred of our oppressors and murderers, and fight with revolutionary solidarity for our freedom.

There must not be a single commune in France, where there are either workers or socialists which remains silent. By resolutions and meetings, show your sympathy with the socialists and laborers of Russia, and your detestation of the murderous Czar.

A BAS L'AUTOCRATIE! VIVE L'INTERNATIONALS OUVRIERE!

Le Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire.

Le Parti Socialiste de France.

Le Parti Socialiste Français

Les Fédérations Socialistes Autonomes.

Japan.

It is items such as those below that speak most eloquently of the Internationalism of socialism. What would Marx and Engels say could they rise today and know that the words which they penned in Germany a half century ago had already become the rallying cry of a people then living in another historical epoch?

Sunday, January 29, 1905.

FAREWELL OF THE HEIMIN SHIMBUN.

This is the last issue of the *Heimin Shimbun*! We have now preferred to stop intentionally the publication of our paper by this number rather than to wait to be suppressed by the government, although the trial is still going on at the Supreme Court.

We now recollect the well known "**FAREWELL OF THE NEW RHEINISH GAZETTE**" of Marx and Engels. "Farewell, but not forever farewell! They can not kill the spirit." "We will rise on the field where we fell, more boldly to fight out another."

Fortunately some of our comrades are publishing a weekly paper entitled "*Chokugen*," which means 'speaking straight-forwardly.' It should be looked upon hereafter as the central organ of Japanese socialists.

Now, we will throw away our pen for a time, but a few words more we should like to proclaim. "Japan is a highly civilized country making war against the barbarous Russia for the sake of Justice and Humanity. Yet, no freedom of opinion is here enjoyed!"

A few months ago, we had received many hundred copies of socialistic pamphlet from the Russian comrades in Switzerland and America. They were intended for the distribution among the war prisoners in this country. And we, after a long delay from several reasons, recently succeeded the purpose. We hope that the prisoners may return some day to their country well versed with socialistic ideas, and may come to add great impetus to the revolutionary spirit prevailing through all the Russia.

Who would have even predicted five years ago that socialism would reach Russia via prisoners of war taken by Japan?

BOOK REVIEWS

A Soul's Love Letter. By Mabel. The Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass. For sale by Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago. \$1.00.

It is easy to see why the author's full name is not on the title page. For the story is obviously fact rather than fiction. Many would call it a common-place story; it certainly contains not one incident that seems improbable. Yet there is something about the book that lifts it out of the commonplace,—and that is that the unknown author combines two qualities of mind that as yet are rarely found together; she has a clear scientific insight into the historical and economic forces that mold human motives, and she has the warm, vital, versatile human sympathy that can transmute the prose of life into poetry. "A Soul's Love Letter" is not a great book; it is distinctly amateurish if judged by literary standards, yet it is better worth reading than many of the successful novels of trained writers, and it is in a sense a prophecy of great books that will be written in the eventful, inspiring years that are just ahead.

Problem of Monopoly. By John Bates Clark. The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 128 pages, \$1.00.

This work consists of a series of lectures first delivered at Cooper Union, New York. The titles of the chapters give the scope of the book very well: "The Growth of Corporations," "The Sources of the Corporations," "Power for Evil," "Great Corporations and the Law," "Organized Labor and Monopoly," "Agriculture and Monopoly," "Governmental Monopolies." On the analytic side there is much of value in the work and its reading would give a better understanding of the trust problem. On the whole the attitude is that of the ordinary radical reformer and as such really presents little that is new.

"History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850," Vol. V. James Ford Rhodes. Macmillan Co. Cloth, 659 pages, \$2.50.

Few things are more instructive of the changed historical point of view, brought about fundamentally by industrial evolution, but secondarily largely through the influence of socialist doctrine, than is presented by a comparison of this volume with the four preceding ones of the same work. The previous volumes are almost wholly political history. Yet one who looks through them sees a constantly increasing importance paid to the industrial and social factors. In this last volume politics, diplomacy, and military affairs are relegated to the background, notwithstanding it was the Civil War period which is being discussed and main emphasis is laid upon social factors. Sherman's March to the Sea is treated not simply as a brilliant military exploit, but as a tremendous engine of industrial destruction and the picture which is given of the effect of the March to Savannah and the almost equally important, but ordinarily neglected, march northward to Columbia and Charlestown, is treated primarily from the side of its industrial effects. But the two chapters of greatest value are the ones on Society at the North and at

the South respectively. There is nothing in the whole field of historical literature in any way comparable to these two chapters, treating of these very important subjects. In the North the war opened with the panic of 1857 still casting its shadow over industrial conditions. For a time the greatest suffering prevailed. Then about 1862 the effects of army contracts began to be apparent, simultaneously with the beginning of the new cycle of capitalist prosperity. The carnival of fraud and corruption which reigned throughout the North is described. Especial emphasis is laid upon the illicit cotton trade with the enemy and its effect in prolonging the war. In this chapter as also in the one on Society at the South he has made extensive use of the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies." This mine of information has never before been utilized on these points and the students of industrial evolution during the Civil War owe a debt to the author for his work. In Society at the South we see the slow death of an industrial community insufficient in its organization and unable to exist when cut off from the outer world.

It becomes evident that the South was defeated not so much by the killing of its men on the field of battle as by the complete breakdown of its industrial organization. This was due not alone to the blockade of the southern ports and the raids through southern territory, but also to the form of industrial organization which was unable to adjust itself for the production of the necessities either of its people or its armies. The North on the other hand grew constantly stronger, wealthier, more compact and self-sufficing as the years of war passed by. These things which were really the fundamental features of the great struggle are usually almost completely neglected by historians.

The chapter on Reconstruction is much less satisfactory. This is largely because the author really has no grasp of the great class struggle which was finding expression in these events. He does not see that reconstruction was simply capitalism in the saddle running amuck. Indeed this criticism would apply throughout the work. He does not analyze northern and southern society back to the industrial elements of its organization, to discover therein the sources of their respective strength. To him the war was fought over slavery. He is blind to the class interests that were really battling for supremacy. Nevertheless the work is one for which nothing there is in print can in any way be substituted, unless perhaps it might be that Schwab's work on the Southern States to some degree covers the same matter as in his chapter on society at the South, yet the present work is, although briefer in its treatment, many times more satisfactory than the earlier volume.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Towards Democracy.

Edward Carpenter has thus far been known to American socialists mainly by his masterly treatment of the sex problem entitled "Love's Coming-of-Age," his keen satire called "Civilization, its Cause and Cure," and his group of essays collected under the title of "England's Ideal." But his fame as a writer rests mainly on his volume of poems, "Towards Democracy," a work begun in 1883 and enlarged with successive editions until it makes a book of 507 large pages. We have just imported an edition, and now offer it for the first time.

Carpenter's literary form resembles that of Whitman, yet Carpenter is no mere imitator; he has improved the instrument he borrowed, and his free rhythm is in many ways the most satisfying of poetic forms.

A few extracts will give a clearer idea of the book than pages of description:

You cannot violate the law of equality for long.

Whatever you appropriate to yourself now from others, by that you will be poorer in the end

What you give now, the same will surely come back to you.

If you think yourself superior to the rest, in that instant you have proclaimed your own inferiority.

And he that will be servant of all, helper of most, by that very fact becomes their lord and master.

* * *

Believe yourself a Whole.

These needs, these desires, these faculties—

This of eating and drinking, the great pleasure of food, the need of sex-converse and of renewal in and from the bodies of others;

The faculty of sight, the wonderful panorama of the visible, and of hearing;

The inquisitive roaming brain, the love of society and good fellowship;

The joy of contest, the yearnings of Religion, the mystic impulses of night, of Nature, of solitude;

All these and a thousand other impulses, capacities, determinations, are indeed Yourself—the output and evidence and delineation of Yourself. They cannot (in any permanent sense) be peeled off and thrown away;

They spring inevitably deep down out of yourself—and will recur again wherever you are.

There is no creature in the whole range of Being from the highest to the lowest which does not exhibit these and similar capacities, or the germs of them, in itself.

You are that Whole which Nature also is—and yet you are that Whole in your own peculiar way.

This complete edition, including Part IV, "Who Shall Command the Heart," is now for the first time offered to American readers. Our price is \$2.50 postpaid; to stockholders \$1.50 by mail or \$1.25 by express at purchaser's expense.

The Recording Angel.

In a previous announcement of this forthcoming novel by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz, we promised to publish the opinions of George D. Herron and of A. M. Simons, both of whom had the privilege of reading the manuscript. Comrade Herron writes from Locarno, Switzerland, as follows:

"I am glad you are to publish Brenholtz's novel. He writes because he has deep and urgent things to say, which we socialists as well as all who set their hopes beyond the great human wrong, would do well to read for our enlargement and purification. The spirit and purpose of the novel are nobly and beautiful, and can do only good."

Comrade Simons says: "In reading the manuscript of 'The Reecording Angel,' I was struck, first with the novelty of its plot, second with its power in arousing and sustaining the interest of the reader, and third, with the skill with which the author has permeated the work with the Socialist philosophy, without doing any preaching. Whoever reads the opening chapter will finish the book, and when he has finished it, if a socialist he will have enjoyed a rare treat, if he was an opponent of Socialism he will be one no longer than it will take for the thought of the book to produce an impression upon his mind."

Up to the time of going to press we have received advance orders for 334 copies of "The Recording Angel." This is exceptionally encouraging in view of the fact that March 15 has been named in our advertising as the date of publication, and many intending purchasers are doubtless waiting to take advantage of our special offer at the last minute. This special offer is that for one dollar received before the book is issued we will send the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW one year and a copy of "The Recording Angel." The printing of the book is nearly completed, but on account of the large number of advance orders, it will be impossible to fill all of them by March 15, and we will therefore extend the special offer to March 25. After the latter date, there will be no discount on the book from the price of one dollar, except to our stockholders.

The Finances of the Publishing House.

Just before going to press we have received five hundred dollars from Comrade James C. Wood, of Illinois as a loan at four per cent. This money has been used to take up a corresponding sum on the Wisconsin bank loan previously referred to, leaving only three hundred dollars on which the company still has to pay seven per cent. This amount should be paid off by special contributions during March. The offer of Charles H. Kerr to duplicate the contributions of all other stockholders is limited to March 31, 1905. The contributions to the end of February have been as follows:

Previously acknowledged (from January 1, 1905)	\$ 45.00
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Total	\$205.48

Alexander Kerr and Charles H. Kerr have voluntarily reduced the rate of interest on money due them from the co-operative publishing house from five per cent to four per cent. The only loan of any size on which a higher rate than four per cent is still being paid is \$1,600 due to Comrade Becker of Wyoming. He is so situated that he could get a higher rate than this for his money where he is located. He is leaving it with us for the present because he does not wish to embarrass the publishing house by withdrawing it, but it is desirable on both sides that this loan be paid off as soon as possible. When our whole debt can be placed on a four-per-cent basis, we can safely use any new capital that may be subscribed for publishing new and important works that the socialist movement needs. Plans in this direction are developing rapidly, and we expect to make important announcements in the next issue of the REVIEW.

Meanwhile we desire to remind several hundred readers who have long been intending to take stock in the company that, in the words of the old-time country editor, "Now is the time to subscribe." A thousand socialists have already put their resources together and have accumulated the largest and best stock of the literature of international socialism to be found in the English-speaking world. A new stockholder gets an immediate return in the shape of exceptional discounts on the books he needs. And what is more important, he helps make it possible for the co-operative publishing house to expand at an ever-increasing rate its work of making clear-headed socialists.

A SOUL'S LOVE LETTER

BY MABEL

We do not publish this book, but we recommend it. That we should not do if it were not a great deal better than its title.

It is not one of the world's great books, but we recommend it because it is one of the first books we have seen telling of life and emotion with a frank and clear recognition all the way through of the socialist principle of historical materialism.

If any one fears that socialism will take the poetry and romance out of life and leave nothing but plain prose, he should read this book.

It is published by the Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass., in cloth at one dollar. We have copies for sale and will mail the book promptly on receipt of price; our stockholders can have the same discount as if we published it ourselves.

See review on page 572.

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sexual relationship and in the political organization.

This is a standard work of the highest value to any one desiring to understand and apply the Socialist philosophy. Our translation is the first that has ever been made for English readers.

6. **The Social Revolution**. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons.

The first part of this book, "Reform or Revolution," draws a distinction which needs to be kept clearly in mind by every Socialist who has to explain the difference between our party and any of the other parties which take up certain portions of our program. The second part, "The Day After the Revolution," is one of the ablest answers yet given to the difficult question of what the proletariat could do with the resources at its disposal after first getting control of the public powers.

7. **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling, D. Sc.

This work ranks with the Communist Manifesto as one of the original statements of the central Socialist principle of Historical Materialism. Those who imagine that Socialism is nothing but a vague yearning for a time when selfishness will disappear, or who suppose that Socialists have a ready-made scheme for making society over, should study this work of Engels.

8. **F Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy**. By Frederick Engels. Translated, with Critical Introduction, by Austin Lewis.

This work of Engels is an indispensable contribution to the development of the theory of Historical Materialism, and it also deals with the relation of the Socialist philosophy to religion.

9. **American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty**. By Isador Laddoff.

This book is a thoroughly satisfactory answer to the widespread demand for an analysis of the last United States Census in the light of the Socialist philosophy. It is full of just the facts that the Socialist agitator needs.

10. **Britain for the British (America for the Americans)**. By Robert Blatchford.

This is one of the most valuable propaganda books in the literature of Socialism. It has the charming style of the author's earlier book, "Merrie England," but it has the further merit of showing the reader that no substantial relief for the working class can ever be reached through the old parties controlled by the capitalist class.

These ten books are handsomely bound in cloth, uniform in style, and are sold at \$5.00 a set or 50 cents each, postpaid.

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DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT
TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. V

APRIL, 1905

NO. 10

An American Socialism.

SOCIALISM is either an evolutionary science or it is no science at all. If it is an evolutionary science it should develop in its most advanced form in the United States where the development of industry is the most advanced.

Karl Marx who has been outgrown in Europe must become an historical reminiscence in the United States. So far America has had no Karl Marx nor is it certain that we shall ever have one. But the Socialist movement in America will certainly develop a philosophical backbone which will mean to America what Marxism has meant to Germany.

More than any other American writer, Prof. Thorstein Veblen has foreshadowed what this backbone will be. A professor in the most American of all cities, Chicago, on the pay roll of the University founded by John D. Rockefeller, a deep student of international Socialism as well as of the classical and historical schools of political economy and one of the keenest observers of contemporary society in this country, Prof. Veblen is well equipped for the task. He is not a propagandist, but a scientific observer. In this capacity, it is manifestly incorrect to call him a Socialist. But if he is not a defender of any proposed industrial or political changes, it is equally certain that he defends no existing institution, however great its sanctity.

In Prof. Veblen's view the business man, and not the great capitalist, figures as the enemy of society. But Prof. Veblen's business man differs from Marx's capitalist in the most fundamental manner. Though the Professor mercilessly flays the business men, he yet concedes that they are "honorable men, all, most honorable men,"—in other words, that they doubtless believe in themselves. This harmless and, in America at least, just con-

cession to the business man, Marx was never willing to grant. He always impugned their motives. Why, we are at a loss to say. Perhaps the German capitalist is a brutal cynic, as Marx implied. Certainly the American business man is not a cynic, but rather an unsympathetic, unintellectual person, blinded by his own environment and interests. Marx seemed to address the capitalist. Apparently either he wished to make him suffer or he hoped to convert him. The former position is savage, the latter that very Utopianism that Marx pretends to abhor. Veblen does not expect that American Socialists will either address themselves to the ruling class or condemn them. Business men, like all others, are the product of their environment. They cannot be converted. When they have lost their power to the other classes in the course of economic evolution, they will be ignored.

Veblen agrees with Marx that his "business men" are as useless to society as Marx's capitalists. But Veblen attributes to the men that govern industry a dominant motive of an entirely different character, not mere exploitation, but love of exploitation for its own sake and the sincere belief that exploitation is for the benefit of the human race. The American business man not only exploits, he thinks, lives, eats and breathes exploitation. Above all he believes in exploitation and he believes in himself.

Now, what fundamental differences this view must make not only in social philosophy, but in every step, and movement in practical politics as well. If business men seek power for the sake of power, it is impossible to expect them to take any initiative in the remodelling of society, whatever. If they were governed rather as Marx claimed, by their love of gain alone, they might be touched on that tender spot. Veblen's view, then, is not only more evolutionary, but also more revolutionary than that of Marx's.

Veblen's economic standpoint is in the sharpest distinction to that of Marx. Both agree that Socialism is to be brought about a step at a time. But Marx, and still more his followers, have looked forward to the ripening of one industry after another for democratic control. Veblen, guided by the tremendous economic advance of the United States, has seen the lines that divide one industry from another breaking down, all the new trusts and monopolies becoming inter-related and organized capital growing into one complete whole. In other words the men who control the great railroads, banks and industrial trusts are the same. Under these conditions, then, the step at a time is likely rather to lie in the decrease of the power of the smaller business men over the government, in the corresponding increase of numerical importance of the industrial class and the growth of Socialism within that class. The trusts will not bring about Socialism by ripening industries for it one at a time, but will hold it back

by increasing a hundred-fold the difficulty of taking the first step against their consolidated power.

The capitalist system will not fall of its own weight. There is no possibility of a cataclysm. The problem of disposing of the growing surplus for which foreign markets are so urgently demanded, can be easily disposed of by the ruling class. The methods of doing this are two-fold. Either the country can be hurled into international war and all the wasteful preparations that precede and degradations that follow international war, or a benevolent feudalism can be developed. If the trusts continue their present rapid rate of growth, the latter seems the more likely outcome.

How the surplus will be disposed of in that case, Prof. Veblen showed in his recent book on the leisure class in America. Here Veblen conceded that the business man himself does not waste any vast sums in consumption, however wasteful and anti-social may be his operations in production. In consumption it is his wife and children who spend the money. To the possibilities of consumption in this line, there is no limit. If the money-making sport comes to an end on account of the complete organization of industry by the great financiers, then the vast sums formerly manipulated by the business men for various speculative purposes will be entirely turned over to his wife and children who have already made such splendid records in extravagant living and "conspicuous waste."

In the book just mentioned, Prof. Veblen not only shows this waste, but he analyzes its causes. These are an effort to spend money in an emulative manner in order to make obvious to all observers either the amount of wealth owned or the length of time it has been in the possession of the family. Expenditure, in other words, is not for material brute comforts as Marx and all his followers have supposed. To such expenditures there is a physical limit. To the very "spiritual purpose" on the other hand of showing off a supposed social superiority which may take the form of innumerable houses, servants, diamonds, laces, etc., there is no limit whatever. There need be no more crises or underconsumption if capitalists work this outlet for its full value.

Between international war and "conspicuous waste" there is no danger of the capitalist ever becoming seriously embarrassed by the surplus. In Marx's time the petty bourgeois ideal of personal economy and rational living prevailed widely. In our times the ruling element in the ruling classes everywhere are troubled with no such scruples. Even the "simple life" requires enormous expenditures in charity and display of a "quiet" kind.

Veblen has revolutionized the materialistic conception of

history. In a far deeper sense than Marx he sees the dominance of environment on human progress. With Veblen environment not only shapes the interests and opinions of all classes, but it holds the very feelings, tastes and habits of thought of every individual. With Marx possessions and the legal status of an individual fixed his class. With Veblen the man's whole life environment determines his attitude to life. The business man is more deeply perverted according to Veblen than the capitalist according to Marx.

The thinking working people are Socialists not so much because their interests are opposed to those of their employers as because their minds are constituted differently, because they have different standards and different ideals of life. To be sure these were themselves shaped by the material environment. But the immediate and determining force that governs their attitude is not their legal status or lack of prosperity, as Marx claimed, nor even the compelling power of new industrial conditions. It is rather their disregard for the institution of property and for all the "foundations of society" on which the business classes rely to keep them in subjection. With Veblen the material environment has its principal influence through the human mind.

The class struggle of Veblen is not the class struggle of Marx. Marx's class struggle was a conflict of interests. Veblen's is a conflict of minds (not of ideas but of mental character and habit of thought.) There is a crucial test between the two views. If, according to Marx's view, an individual should by any accident or exceptional qualities, be suddenly taken out of one class and put into another, he should, after a very short space of time, become imbued with the principles of the new class to which he was transferred. No such sudden changes are possible if Prof. Veblen is right. The individual so transferred might become silent. He might be bribed into acquiescence. He might repeat in a parrot-like manner the formulas of the new class in which he had arrived, but he could not, if his life had been sufficiently moulded in the other class, become an able or active factor in the defense of the new one. The difference between the classes is not a difference of interests, but a physical, mental and moral contrast in the very nature of the individuals that compose them. It is far deeper than anything Marx or his principal followers have supposed.

Moreover, Prof. Veblen's working class is very differently defined from that of Marx. The only classes, he says, which are certain to be influenced by the extreme socialistic frame of mind are the skilled mechanical trades. On the other side are the lawyers, the bankers, the business men, clergymen and politicians. With these are also the rural population "including the population of the country towns and in an eminent degree the

smaller farmers of the remoter country districts; so also the delinquent classes of the cities and the populace of the half-civilized and barbarous countries. The body of unskilled workers, especially those not associated with the men in the skilled mechanical trades, are not seriously affected." It is not the propertyless classes, the proletarians, the wage-earners, that are affected by Socialist sentiments as Marx claimed, but rather those engaged in industrial or scientific as distinct from pecuniary or business employments. If Marx is right and Veblen is wrong, the majority of the community being without any considerable accumulation of capital, ought to be Socialists at the present moment. But the majority of the community is not only not converted to Socialism, but is radically and fundamentally opposed to it. This is perfectly natural according to Veblen's view since the business men plus the farmers plus the hand trades, and not the machine workers, constitute a majority of the community and will continue to do so for several decades or perhaps a generation to come.

Still Veblen concludes that economic evolution will bring about Socialism. At present only the minority of the community is organized under the new industrial regime as machine workmen, superintendents or scientists. Only these are capable even of grasping the Socialist view. Ultimately, they will certainly constitute the majority. In the meanwhile the business men, from the large capitalists to small farmers or some element between, will continue to control the community.

Socialism, according to Veblen, must base its hopes on the future development of the advanced industries, on economic evolution, rather than on Socialist propaganda. The most that propaganda can do is to educate the industrial classes to the new standpoint. This he believes is being very rapidly accomplished.

"When distrust of principles rises to such a pitch," says Prof. Veblen, "as to become intolerant of all pecuniary institutions and leads to a demand for the abrogation of property rights rather than a limitation for them, it is spoken of as 'Socialism' or 'anarchism.'"

Prof. Veblen does not attempt a closer definition of the Socialist position. He does not even mention the public ownership of the instruments of production, distribution and exchange. No radical Socialist is so suspicious of this public ownership idea as Prof. Veblen, since he ignores it altogether. "The constructive proposals of the Socialists," he says, "are ill-defined and inconsistent and almost entirely negative." In Prof. Veblen's view this is the essence of the scientific attitude of mind and the acme of all praise. The vagueness and inconsistency of their constructive proposals, he says, is only to be taken as evidence that

the attitude of the Socialists cannot be expressed *in terms of the institutions as at present in force.*

In other words, new words and new phrases not yet in use, will have to be found for each one of the elements in the Socialistic position. It is less and less capable of being formulated as a *business proposition*. But Prof. Veblen has shown that practically all business is parasitic in its nature. To say that Socialism is not business-like is to say that it is not based on exploitation. Prof. Veblen explains himself by saying that the vagueness of this Socialist position should not allow it to be confused with mere class hatred or general discontent. Many other revolutionary movements have had these features, but Socialism, though it is a revolt against all existing institutions, always founds its protest on the fact that existing economic organization is outgrown. Prof. Veblen then develops a view of a revolutionary character of the Socialist movement that is as broad, if not broader, than any other that has ever been suggested even by the most revolutionary Socialists.

"The Socialist sentiment," he explains, "is threatening, unprecedented, and perplexing for practical men of affairs to deal with." It not only attacks the "natural rights and institutions of property" as the unions do in a very similar manner, but it is distinguished from the union movement by a similar failure of regard for all "other articles of institutional furniture handed down from the past." It may be observed, however, that the average workman, and therefore the average union, is also pretty well permeated with a lack of reverence for most existing institutions. The Socialists alone have formulated their irreverence into a philosophy.

As to politics, Prof. Veblen says "it seems to be their belief that the community can get along without political institutions. On this head again, the Socialists have nothing consistent to offer." (Remember, Prof. Veblen does not over-value mere consistency). But "their political bias is radically democratic," and they are "completely opposed to the state as the conception is at present understood." That the Professor does not consider their disregard for existing political institutions a sign of unintelligence may be seen in his own treatment of politics which he places among the archaic vocations along with "war, fashion and religion."

Socialism not only attacks the economic and political structure, but also accepted moral truths. It "brings about a weakening of convictions as to the full truth and beauty of the received institutions without much consensus as to what is to be done about it, if *anything*." It is to be hoped that the humor of this paragraph has not escaped any of Prof. Veblen's readers.

Religious conceptions are equally undermined in the work-

ingmen's minds. "The cultural era (beginning in the 18th century) of Natural Rights, Natural Liberty and Natural Religion reduced God to the rank of a 'Great Artificer'." (Because this was the age of the artificer and handicraftsman). "The machine technology is in turn relegating him to that fringe of minor employments and those outlying industrial regions to which the handicraftsmen have been retired."

. Finally, and at the bottom of all, the industrial revolution has completely revolutionized the workingman's way of thinking. Before the machine age the causes of a given effect were not thought of as themselves effects; that is, causes were thought as final. This, according to the present mode of thought, they never are. Similarly, if the cause was the beginning, the effect was treated as the end of a chain and not as itself a cause of succeeding effects. The machine technology has done away with all this. Being a mechanical or material process, it requires the attention to be centered on the process itself and not on the original causes or the final effects of the process. To the machine worker the process comes to count and is the substantial fact that engages his attention. The modern workmen learn to think in terms of the process. They have come to think and to feel as people never thought or felt before.

This American Socialism is not based on any outworn Hegelian logic nor on any absolute and therefore unscientific social philosophy. It is entirely twentieth century science, viewing society as all the rest of the universe as in a perpetual condition of evolution, and forsaking all accepted terms and formulas as unfit for scientific use.

The American people also take a relative view of life. In the limited sphere in which American life has moved, the prevailing views are almost scientific in their character. The American manufacturer has no absolute views with regard to machinery, labor or industry. He is governed scientifically by the working hypothesis. To a lesser degree the same holds true of the whole community. Absolute views do not and cannot prevail in the practical life that dominates America as it never dominated any other nation in the world before.

As Hegel observed fifty years ago, there is no political life in America because no social classes have yet been forced to a lower level of life than they have been accustomed to. The Americans have so far no constructive political idea, no practical aims in politics. But when the nation does turn its attention to politics with the same spirit, the same vigor and the same absolute determination to achieve results with which it has devoted itself to industry and business, who can doubt that the ruling ideas will be practical or relative in their character?

But there must be ruling ideas and working hypotheses, and

none have yet taken hold on the community. Prof. Veblen has done his part to indicate very broadly what these ideas will be. It remains for those who are going to assume the real leadership of the industrial classes to build up with them a practical American philosophy and program. That it will have an international basis, there can be no doubt. That the technical advance of all civilized countries follows along similar lines, there can be no question. Neither will any one deny that industry is gradually being established on the basis of a world market. But especially under the capitalist regimes which govern every nation with scarcely any check to-day, the development will have to be national, the whole world knows that America must lead. The crisis may be more acute elsewhere. The economically trained, the educated, the independent and vigorous people of this country will not require a crisis to make them see the light.

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

Concerning the Chicago Manifesto.

THE Manifesto, beside being a call for a Convention, is a general statement of workingclass conditions, of the principles which should underlie industrial organization, and of the ideal by which such an organization should be animated. That men who have been accustomed to viewing the American Labor Movement from different points should place different interpretations upon the text of the Document, is but natural. Organized Labor is undoubtedly in a critical state of evolution. Various elements, hitherto kept apart by fundamental tactical differences, are now given opportunity to work, if possible, in unison. Perfect accord may be unattainable. But the Manifesto does state certain facts. These facts leave to the June Convention not a formulation of principles, but a definite working out of a plan of organization based upon the principles set forth in the Manifesto. If harmony is to characterize the deliberations of the Convention, the nature of these fundamentals should be settled at once by mutual discussion on the part of those favorably disposed to the new movement. In the following remarks I am forced to take a position quite at variance with that outlined in the leading editorial of the February number of this *Review*. But I believe that I am expressing the opinion of quite a majority of those present at the Chicago Conference.

First, as to the "Timeliness" of the proposed movement. Regarding this feature the editorial in question contains the following statement:

"The one question then is, is the present the proper time for such a change to come? If it is not, then this organization will be a thing born out of due time, a cause of disorder, confusion and injury."

This question of "Timeliness" requires a double answer:

(1) The members of the Chicago Conference quite unanimously held that a Socialist political movement, unsupported by an industrial, classconscious union, is doomed to a hopeless chasing of rainbows. Hence, whenever and wherever the time is ripe for a Socialist movement, it cannot be unripe for industrial unionism.

(2) On the economic field, apart from the Socialist political movement, all that the Editor can mean by putting the question of "Timeliness," is whether economic conditions are ripe for a bona fide Working Class organization instead of a bogus, craft-divided, Capitalist-owned machine. Certain features of the

European Working Class movement may suggest an answer to this phase of the question.

The Socialists of Germany, over thirty years ago, "smashed" the "pure and simple" organization promoted by Schulze-Delitsch, because those organizations were founded upon crookedness and ignorance. Was not this classic bit of "Union-wrecking" timely? But the industry of Germany a generation ago was conducted almost solely by petty capitalist concerns; and the German Working-Class had at that time no experience in organization.

Russia is still in an extremely backward industrial condition. Yet when her officials came to the United States with the purpose of studying the perfect methods here developed by the "Labor Leaders" for keeping the workers in subjection and ignorance; and when those officials returned to Russia and proceeded to make use of the newly-learned methods in preference to those developed by their own Autocracy, shall we question the "Timeliness" of our Russian comrades' opposition to "pure and simplicity?"

In connection with these observations, those interested should not fail to read George Estes' article in the February number of *The Voice of Labor* entitled, "The Wolf Has Shown His Teeth." In it the writer shows to what brutal, horrible lengths the A. F. of L. bosses and grafters are going in their frenzied efforts to destroy the A. L. U. (and, we might add, all industrial unions). No wonder the article contains the most drastic indictment of the A. F. of L. ever penned. "Of course," says Estes, "such utterly disreputable methods as these are so degraded in character that a Zulu, an inhabitant of the Fiji Islands or even a cannibal of the South Sea, would scorn to employ them. * * * The wolf has shown his teeth."

If in Estes' mind there is any doubt as to whether this is the proper occasion to attack the A. F. of L., it does not appear at first reading of this article.

A generation after the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* the A. F. of L. was launched by fakirs and ignoramuses and dedicated to the proposition that slavery should endure forever. When, in the early 90's, a class-conscious Socialist movement had developed it found itself face to face with its most deadly enemy, the Capitalist A. F. of L. To carry the warfare into the camp of this sneaking opponent, and at the same time to train the workers for self-government under Socialism, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was organized in 1895. The teeth of the wolf were then sharper than those which are now sinking into the flesh of the A. L. U. in the West. But no one who then understood the movement questioned the "Timeliness" of attacking the beast with every weapon in the armory of the class-conscious forces. The so-called "Good-Times" of 1897-1902, made the

struggle intensely bitter. By juggling figures the A. F. of L. attempted to prove that it was "raising the wages of the working-class." All but the staunchest opponents chose the "easier road to Socialism." Or, to use Hagerty's newly-coined expression, the "pure and simple political Socialist" movement was launched. And so matters hung for some time. But now the stench of rotting "pure and simpleness" is driving its cleaner adherents to Socialism and industrial unionism.

For a Socialist to attack the leaders of the A. F. of L. and then partially excuse the system of which they are the natural fruitage, is exactly as reasonable as for him to attack the leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties and then hastily make amends to the organizations themselves. Are Gompers and Mitchell "worse" than the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, one of the "constituent organizations" which was organized by the great capitalists for the purpose of beating down at once the small capitalists and the workers? It really does seem peculiar to so often hear it scientifically explained that Dick Croker and J. Edward O'Sullivan Addicks are but the natural product of capitalist politics, and then listen to the same person say, probably in all sincerity, that if the "clique" which rules the A. F. of L., were only dynamited, all would be lovely in the labor unions.

The A. F. of L., considered from the point of view of the workers' interests, is a patchwork of hypocrisy and lies. Such it always has been. And such it will be until destroyed, root and branch, by an outraged rank and file. That the workers put no faith in the fallacy that a few "leaders" are responsible is shown by the desertion of hundreds of thousands who refuse longer to have anything to do with the old thing. (See Manifesto, from Alpha to Omega).

Nor is the transformation from such a negation of all rectitude as is the A. F. of L., to the principles of organization laid down by the Manifesto so easy as at first blush it may appear. As to "boring from within," the editorial in question declares not only that this method should be pursued, but also that "the place for a man is within the union of his craft." How different from this has been the position of those who, all along, have favored industrial unionism. If "the place for a man is within the union of his craft," we wonder what would happen to the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the United Brotherhood of Builders, or any others who wish, through working class organizations, to save themselves from the tar-barrel of craftism. The Manifesto expressly provides that workers who may rebel against the "unions of their craft" may be seated in the June Convention as individuals. For, undoubtedly, many who cannot be represented by delegates, will prefer fighting the wolf from the outside to being swallowed up with the question-

able purpose of directing the brute's movements from the inside.

Furthermore, we are told that "the trade union that connects itself with the new organization need not in any way alter internal organization and management."

The editorial had previously pointed out that the A. F. of L. "official clique," through "highly paid organizers," made it a business "to organize trade-unionists into rings and factions for the purpose of maintaining the rule of the leaders." Now the Manifesto declares that, in the new organization, "All power should rest in the collective membership." Does this not suggest some little alteration as to "internal management?"

Then as to reorganization—the change from craftism to the class-conscious industrial principle so boldly proclaimed by the Manifesto—does this not mean a right-about-face as to the whole nature and purpose of organization? We think it does. The class-conscious spirit is not had for the asking. Its possession on the part of the workers of this country within the next ten years means that all the means of education we can bring to bear must be added to the primal force of present economic conditions.

Finally, no false impression should be created by that sentence of the Manifesto, which, perhaps more than any other, was deemed essential to the success of the new movement:

"It should be established as the economic organization of the Working Class, without affiliation with any political party."

As regards this crucial matter, the Conference provided against possible misinterpretation of the sentence quoted, in other and equally significant articles:

(1) "Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot-box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory."

(2) "It (the present economic organization) is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage-slavery, but where the workers shall own the tools which they operate and the products of which they alone enjoy."

Every industrial unionist who thoroughly understands the deeper mission of his organization, will reach class-conscious political action. An industrial union cannot increase the average wage. In some cases it may be less likely than the craft unions (labor-trusts), to prevent the decrease of wages. Its mighty mission results from the fact that it prepares the way to the Socialist Republic, the final goal of any honest Working Class movement. And this way cannot be traveled without the possession of political power. Many industrial unionists may oppose Socialism through mere ignorance. But most political "So-

cialists" who fight industrial unionism are about as deeply imbued with Socialism as was Judas Iscariot with Christianity. Socialist to the core must the new economic organization be, or the storm of the class-struggle will beat up another wreck on the rocks of "time-serving diplomacy." And when the June Convention has painted the skull and crossbones on 'the door of "pure and simpledom," that last Working Class compromise with Capitalism, there will probably issue a political organization strong in numbers, but stronger in principle, because raised by the revolutionary spirit high above "mere vote-getting subterfuge."

FRANK BOHN,

Organizer Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance.

A Reply.

THESE are some things in the preceding article by Comrade Bohn which require immediate notice. Others will be covered in a later article which I have in preparation for the press on the general subject of industrial unionism, and still others are covered by the editorial in this number. In the first place it should be thoroughly understood that neither Comrade Bohn nor myself speak for anybody but ourselves, at least so far as the industrial union conference or the Socialist Party is concerned. I do not know to how great a degree he directly represents De Leon and the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. As is pointed out editorially the statement that "the Socialists of Germany over thirty years ago smashed the pure and simple organization promoted by Schulze-Delitzsch" is absolutely untrue. These unions were never smashed but are still going on and growing in strength, although very much slower than the Socialist unions. He makes a sweeping statement concerning the A. F. of L.: "A generation after the publication of the Communist Manifesto the A. F. of L. was launched by fakirs and ignoramuses and dedicated to the proposition that slavery should endure forever. When, in the early 90's a class-conscious Socialist movement had developed it found itself face to face with its most deadly enemy, the Capitalist A. F. of L." Such talk as this is pure bosh and utterly unworthy of a man who has shown himself capable of the scholarly work that Comrade Bohn has done in some of his writings. The fact of the thing is that nowhere is Socialism growing faster than within the unions connected with the A. F. of L. If this were not true then the industrial union would have stood little chance of success. To compare the leaders of the A. F. of L. to the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties is also mere vituperative gymnastics. A man who goes into a pure and simple union goes in because economic conditions have forced him to do so. He goes in because he thinks he is fighting his boss and in a great majority of cases he is doing so, the existence of labor fakirs notwithstanding. The capitalist political party organization is formed to carry out certain purposes of the capitalist class in a wholly different field.

Some misunderstanding was possible with regard to my statement that there need be little change in the internal management of unions affiliated with the new organization. Yet even here there is no such transformation as Comrade Bohn talks about. Very many of the pure and simple unions provide for the initiative

referendum and certainly are more nearly controlled by their membership than the S. T. and L. A. Again, if it is true that the new union is to be less powerful on the economic field than the pure and simple unions but is simply to constitute a new Socialist political party jabbering a lot of jargon about general strikes and installing its officers as rulers of the co-operative commonwealth, then it is doomed to a short and sickening life.

A. M. SIMONS.

Evolution of the Theory of Evolution.

(Continued.)

WHILE Grecian philosophy had been climbing to the peaks of its greatness, Rome had been struggling for the control of the Italian peninsula. And now, when Ptolemy Philadelphus continued to build upon the foundations of literature, science, and art, laid by his talented predecessor in Egypt, Rome began its wars of expansion by a first onslaught upon Carthage. Always engaged in internal and external struggles, the rulers of Rome had been compelled to give more attention to the practical side of life than to the speculative. In the further development of the Roman world, internal class struggles and external wars of conquest continued to tax the resources of the Romans for the maintenance of the military power, and it was not until a much later time that a class of such wealth as that of classic Greece gave breathing space to literature and art.

At the time when Grecian philosophy found its patrons among the Ptolemies, the mental life of the Romans had not yet risen above the level of the Homeric stage of early Greece. And when Rome finally arrived at that period of its career where philosophy could become acclimatized in a Roman atmosphere, that is to say, about the middle of the century preceding the dawn of Christianity, Grecian philosophy completely dominated the ideas of all advanced thinkers. Moreover, this philosophy corresponded so fully to the requirements of the Roman empire, that it was simply adopted ready-made. But it was by no means improved upon. For the thinkers of Rome little understood the historical conditions out of which this philosophy had been evolved. The works of men like Lucretius and Cicero were either dreamy reflections of the scientific systems of their Grecian masters, or muddled by the instincts of the social class to which the philosophers of Rome belonged.

The Roman world never arrived at an independent philosophy. No sooner had the Roman emperors taken their seats, than they were called upon to put down rebellions at home and abroad, and to devote the resources of their empire to the maintenance of huge armies. Under these circumstances, science had to give precedence to epics and historical works. Philosophy lived on as a Grecian product. And in proportion as the Roman world disintegrated under the baneful effects of unprofitable slave labor and barbarian attacks, it created an environment in which the warrior survived over the thinker. The mental life of the masses,

which had at no time risen above the barbarian level, dragged along in this deep furrow, and the more the dissolution of the Roman empire proceeded, the farther did the intellectual pendulum swing back towards mysticism and idealism.

Philosophy as a science, in its garbled Ciceronian form, now withstood less than ever the pressure exerted against it by priestcraft and retrogressive obstinacy. Even in the East, where its cradle had been, and where its pulse had always been strongest, it gradually lost all attributes of science and was trampled under the heels of reaction. All pillars of mental evolution gave way, the Grecian and Roman gods lay prostrate, and the obscurity of previous historical stages settled down upon rich and poor alike.

Among the ruling classes, brutal cynicism and anarchist scepticism spread apace. Their education was just far enough advanced to enable them to sneer at heaven and hell. But the masses, untaught and superstitious, could not part with the consolation of mystical beliefs. Everything paved the way for the ascendancy of some new god who should be more powerful than any of the disavowed gods.

As soon as the historical stage had been set for the enactment of this new scene, the actors began to play their parts. Of all the religions then existing, none was better fitted to fulfill the requirements of this historical situation than the Jewish. It had clung steadfastly to its one god, ever since Abraham emigrated from Chaldea to avoid idolatry. It had withstood exile, war, and persecution. The Jewish god had but to be dressed up in a garb acceptable to all nationalities that now mingled in the Roman provinces and in Rome itself. And he needed but an international force that would raise him to the position of its chosen patron. This force was ready at hand. It was the proletariat, composed of freed slaves and impoverished freemen. An international language also existed. It was a mongrel Latin, with which everybody was more or less familiar.

There was a very good reason why this proletariat should rally to the support of some international religion. At various times, and at widely separated places, attempts had been made to overthrow the ruling classes by force of arms. These attempts met with the same fate that has since befallen all similar revolts which were undertaken before the conditions for their success had matured. They were drowned in seas of blood. And the most Draconic laws forbade any organization which was not officered by the overseers of the ruling classes. Political action was likewise out of the question, for the same reasons.

Religion was the only hope of the proletariat. It offered the only possibility of organization which the ruling class would not suppress, nay, which it would promote for the same reasons that rulers have ever had for preserving religion, viz., because

it is an excellent means of dividing the working classes and of strengthening belief in authority.

It was but logical, therefore, that this new religion should first appear in Palestine, and that it should try to justify itself from the ancient records, which had once been the common heritage of all members of the twelve tribes. The carpenter of Nazareth and his followers had but to step into the shoes of the ancient tribal prophets in order to get a hearing among the workers. The very arguments that once served in the mouths of the old prophets against the usurpation of the tribal chiefs, or kings, sounded familiar in the mouths of the new prophets when used against the rulers of Christ's time.

So the new paganism tried to drive out the devil by the help of Satan. Christianity entered history as the first conscious attempt of an international proletariat to hide its revolutionary aims under the cloak of a religion adapted to its mental requirements.

It spread like wildfire among the proletariat of the entire Roman empire, for the soil had been well prepared for it by the historical conditions. Christ is reported to have been crucified about the year 33. About thirty years later, Nero burned Rome in order to set loose the fury of the Roman plebs against the Christians, who were permeating the entire fabric of the Roman world. But religion is a double-edged sword and cannot be overcome by any persecutions. The Roman emperors had ample opportunity to learn this during the next 300 years. In spite of all persecutions, Christianity worked its way into the very heart of Roman society and into the remotest provinces. It thrived on persecution. At last the ruling class discovered that it had neglected its best weapon when it failed to identify itself with this new religious movement. Religion can be overcome only by two things: Either by another religion, or by science. But the ruling class had neither science nor any other religion to oppose to this new creed. In 312, six years after the advent of Constantine to the throne, matters had reached such a climax that there remained only one alternative to the ruling class: Either to succumb between the invading hordes of Goths, Franks, Allemanni, revolts in the provinces, and the Christian proletariat, or to divide and rule.

Naturally, Constantine grasped this last straw. Thanks to 300 years of evolution under the Roman constitution, which was but the political mirror of the then existing mode of production, economic distinctions and religious schisms had arisen among the Christians. The primitive communist practices had become distasteful to many Christians who had acquired property enough to feel more kin to the pagan rulers than to their proletarian brethren. Under the influence of their material interests, these wealthy Christians were only too prone to enter into a protective

alliance with the pagan powers against the proletariat of any and all creeds. The rulers, on the other hand, had reached the stage, where their only safety lay in the domination of the Christian movement by the help of the wealthy Christians. Under these circumstances, we see here a phenomenon, which became quite common later on, and which we noticed once before in Greece: When scepticism, or materialism, became useless for the ruling class, and a hitherto persecuted philosophy or religion useful, the rulers changed their religion as easily as if it were a shirt. The same tendency is once more apparent in our own time, where formerly protestant or atheist rulers are showing an ever more pronounced willingness to enter the fold of the catholic church in exchange for the services of this church against the rising revolution of the modern proletariat.

Whenever the rulers are ready for this step, some great miracle happens. About 1,600 years before Constantine, Moses had suddenly seen a great light in the bush. He saw it several times later, when new property relations demanded imperatively a transformation of the persistent tribal customs into "laws" more in keeping with the interests of the hierarchy. He had not been in close touch with the Egyptian princes and their priestcraft without learning from them. Now it was Constantine's turn to see a great light. Saul had seen the same thing before he became Paul, only for a different purpose. The new Saul became, not a Paul, but a Judas, and the Judases in the Christian movement were lavishly rewarded by him with grants of land and money. The farce was inscribed "*In hoc signo vinces*," and presto, the Christian religion became the church of the ruling class. The Christian proletariat had played with fire and got burned. But it was the best they could do under the prevailing historical conditions. They repeated the same mistake many times after, and they will repeat it, until they learn to use a weapon which no ruling class can wrest from their hands,—proletarian science.

In vain did the proletariat strive to overcome ruling class religion by proletarian religion. No sooner did the ruling class make the Christian religion its own, than its struggling parties took sides in the religious schisms of the Christians, and used them as means for their own dynastic ends. The adoption of the Nicene creed at the council of Nicaea in 325, and the condemnation of Arius who opposed the mystical additions of Athanasius to the primitive Christian creed, marked the complete control of the church organization by the ruling class. And when Julian the Apostate championed the Arian creed in the attempt to hold his position against the intrigues of the Athanasian diplomats, he made the same experience which the Christian proletariat had made before him. In a mystic religion, mysticism always

holds the best trumps. The council at Constantinople, in 381, marked another step in the direction of mysticism, and in the following struggles for and against image worship, it was again the reactionary tendencies which won the day.

We need not get into the details of the evolution of Christianity at this stage. Suffice it to say that henceforth it was lost to the proletariat as a weapon in its struggles against the ruling classes, and has ever since proven itself a bulwark of retrogressive counter-revolutions. Science was tied hand and foot. The strictest regulations were issued, forbidding practices which were then almost the only means of inductive research, such as the anatomical study of human corpses. This was still vetoed by the church in the 15th century. In ancient Greece, natural philosophy owed most of its inductive facts to physicians. Under the rule of the Roman Christians, physicians were practically compelled to take up metaphysics, if they cared at all for philosophical research. Science fell almost entirely into the hands of the priests. It was but natural, that Platonic-Aristotelean philosophy should become the favorite of these religious thinkers, and that under their influence, astronomy should assume the form of astrology, and chemistry that of alchemy.

Nor were economic and political conditions favorable to the inductive modes of scientific research. In the first place, the Huns began their westward and southward march in 374, two years after Ulfila had translated the Bible into Gothic. And in 410, five years after the completion of the VULGATE by Jerome, the Visigoths pillaged Rome. The Huns were beaten on the Catalaunian fields in 451, but in 455, the Vandals paid a visit to Rome. The struggle between the East-Roman and West-Roman empires, the continued invasions of barbarians from the North, of the Arabs from the East, kept Europe in a state of restless ferment. And this condition of things continued from century to century, so long as feudalism, the successor of Roman slavery, endured. Later we have the Moors in the South, the Turks in the East, the Norsemen in the North; the crusades, beginning in 1095; the raids made in the interest of the Mediterranean merchant towns against the Turks. All these disturbances discouraged education at the expense of warrior's virtues. Even late in the middle ages, most of the "noble" heroes were content to leave the despised art of letters to monks and physically weak bookworms.

On the economic field, production lagged along in its feudal slowness, without stimulating the invention of labor-saving machinery, of improved methods of cultivation, or of scientific instruments and processes. Alchemy and astrology occasionally stumbled across some great discovery, but did not know what to do with it when they found it. The stone of the wise, the elixir

of life, the making of gold by laboratory methods, the idea that phlogiston, or fire-air, was the cause of fire, these and similar things mark the scientific methods on which the philosophy of the middle ages based its speculations, which never dared to deviate very far from the religious dogma.

Communication and travel were very difficult and dangerous. Marco Polo, in 1271, was the first great traveler who sought to popularize the results of his travels. Enlightenment inevitably took a religious disguise, as before. This is evident, for instance, in the anti-papal movement of Arnold of Brescia in the middle of the 12th century, and in the struggle of the humanists against the obscurantists in the 15th and 16th centuries. But whatever may have been discovered by inductive methods in the secrecy of the investigator's cell, the outside world never heard about it. Excommunication, the stake, the dungeon, poison and dagger, were always held in readiness by the rulers, and their spiritual advisers, for any daring thinker who might have ventured forth with any startling discovery in natural science. The horrors of bloodshed on every hand were intensified by the burning of "heretics," and to make the terror complete, the "Black Plague" swept across Europe about the middle of the 14th century.

But evolution, though denied official recognition, went its fateful way. Very soon, the church itself felt the giant hand of social progress clutching at its heart.

The church, instead of building its foundation on the Rock of Ages, had built on a far less "eternal" ground, viz., on the exploitation of feudal serfs. Now this foundation had been gradually undermined since the 13th century. More than once, the feudal serfs had stirred restlessly under the heavy yoke of the feudal church. In Great Britain, they had rallied around John Ball and Wat Tyler, about the last quarter of the 14th century, and threatened the rule of the church. On the continent, the wars against the Turks had kept the class struggle more under cover. But along with the decline of the worldly power of the church, there had come a mighty growth of commercial cities. These had taken part in the movements against the oriental rulers who were cutting western commerce off from the resources of India and Persia. Since the 11th century, the Mediterranean cities had tried to capture the eastern ports, such as Alexandria, Jaffa, Tyre, Constantinople, and to control the land routes to India across Asia Minor. But the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 settled the question of the control of these ports and routes in favor of the Turks.

Cut off from the land route to the East, the trading class naturally turned their thoughts to the open sea in the West. The religious fervor of the crusades had gradually given way to

frankly avowed commercial considerations, and in the last crusades, it had not been so much a question of saving the "Holy Sepulchre," as of amassing wealth. And when the possibility of gathering spoils had vanished beyond recall, the desire to keep the grave of Christ in the care of Christian hands had lost its dearest incentive.

But an outlet had to be found for the irrepressible longing to expand which filled the breast of the trading class. It had gradually dawned on the thinkers of Europe, that this globe was a good deal larger than the Ptolemaic system supposed. The travels of Marco Polo, made possible by the unification of Eastern Asia under the rule of Genghis Khan, had revived the ancient wonder-tales which the conquests of Alexander the Great had carried back into the Western world. The invasions of the Huns had reminded Europe forcibly of the fact that there was a vast territory of unknown extent beyond the generally accepted boundaries of the globe, and the temporary control of Eastern ports in the Mediterranean and Black Sea, together with the establishment of advanced trading posts in Asia Minor, had given a substantial basis to the idea that the Eastern world contained fabulous riches. Besides, even in ancient times, the Ptolemaic system had not been accepted by all thinkers as correct. Now the doubts as to its correctness grew still more.

The improvement of shipbuilding had even before this time permitted daring navigators to venture out into the unknown seas of the West. And when it became a vital necessity for the trading class to get in touch with the East by some hitherto untried route, it was not long before exploring trips were undertaken. It is true; no scientific proofs of the unsoundness of the Ptolemaic system had as yet been produced. But the practical navigators did not wait for the theoretical proofs of its unsoundness. On a southward trip made by Bartolomeo Dias in the years 1486 and 1487, the Cape of Good Hope was discovered and the map of the world considerably extended. On October 12, 1492, Columbus landed on San Salvador, Bahama Islands. In 1497, John Cabot discovered the mainland of North America. The year after that, Sebastian Cabot went in search of a Northwest passage to China, and Vasco de Gama landed in India after a successful trip around the Cape of Good Hope. In 1499, Ojeda and Vespucci sailed along the east coast of South America.

The earth had suddenly grown to twice its former size. Columbus had made good his claim that it was a round globe, not flat. The discoveries of other navigators clinched his proof. While the wise men were still debating this stupendous revolution of their ideas, the trading class vigorously pushed forward into the newly discovered territory and began to gather untold wealth. The church winked its eye and pocketed its share. Al-

though these discoveries were the entering wedge which split open the entire dogmatic world-conception, the church did not think of condemning the daring navigators as heretics. Their heresy paid well. Besides, these explorations offered a great field for the expenditure of more religious fanaticism in a new direction. There were new nations to convert by fire and sword, and they were not so hard to "convince" as the Turks, because they could only argue with primitive weapons against the improved arms of the Europeans, who, thanks to Berthold Schwarz, could now lend emphasis to their religious propaganda by the help of gunpowder.

In 1513, Balboa saw the Pacific Ocean from the Isthmus of Panama. In 1520, Magellan sailed through the straits between Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia which henceforth bore his name; in 1521 he reached the Ladrones, and Cortes conquered Mexico. And in 1531-33, Pizarro looted Peru. At the same time, the Turks pushed westward and threatened Vienna.

Every one of these historical events was a nail in the coffin of ecclesiastical feudalism, and the church, being the greatest feudal lord, helped to drive those nails by making itself a party to these looting expeditions, and covering them with the cloak of missionary work.

The mental reaction of these discoveries on philosophy and astronomy followed immediately. In the same year in which Sebastian Cabot set out on his trip across the North Atlantic, Savonarola was killed for his opposition to the church. While Columbus was making his second and third trip to the West Indies, Luther was girding his loins against Rome, and three years before the discovery of the Straits of Magellan, he nailed his theses on the church door in Wittenberg. One year after the conquest of Peru, England threw off the papal yoke, the Anabaptists assembled in Munster, and Luther completed his translation of the Bible. While the foundations of Lima and Buenos Ayres were being laid in South America, the first copies of the translated Bible were on the press, thanks to the invention of printing by Gutenberg, in 1438. The first enemy of orthodox religion, a new religion, had arisen.

Science, the second and more dangerous enemy of orthodoxy, was not slow in following. In 1473, Copernicus had been born. Before De Soto had reached the Mississippi river, Copernicus had completed his life's work, and on his dying day, in the year 1543, he received the first copy of his great work "*De Revolutionibus Orbium Celestium*" (The Revolution of Celestial Bodies). In order to understand the powerful impression made by this work, we must fully enter into the spirit of those times. For centuries it had been a gospel truth that the earth stood still, that it was the center of the universe, that the sun, moon, and

stars revolved around it from East to West. 'Now this daring astronomer claimed that the earth was moving around itself from West to East, and around the sun in a wide orbit, and that the sun was the center of its planetary system. That was contrary to all the established teachings of the dogmatic scientists, it was opposed to the revealed "truths" of the Bible, it was heresy. *Anathema sit!*

But the time was approaching, when the anathema of the church did not stop the wheels of scientific progress any more. The cities needed the help of science and protected their scientific explorers. In 1616, Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, a new step toward an experimental philosophy. When the pilgrims were landing in Plymouth, in 1620, Galileo Galilei and John Kepler were engaged in further undermining dogmatic ignorance by their revolutionary work. Galilei is the founder of experimental physics. He gave a scientific foundation to the theory of gravity, invented the pendulum, a hydrostatic balance, a thermometer, compasses used in designing, and a telescope. In 1610, he for the first time observed the satellites of the planet Jupiter. In 1632, he published his main work, "Four Dialogues on the Ptolemaic and Copernican World Systems."

Perhaps the church would not have cared so much about these scientific revolts against its established ideas of the world, had they remained mere academic discussions. For after all, none of them touched the foundation of the spiritual beliefs of the dogmatic religion, and it would have been easy enough to adjust the spiritual creed to this new science, without losing control of the minds of the masses who believed in the spiritual basis of the church. Even the ideas of Luther might have been tolerated, had they preserved a mere scholastic existence. They were no more dangerous than had been many other religious heresies before that time.

As a matter of fact, though Galilei was tried for heresy on account of the above work, he was treated without harshness, and even his obstinate "*E pur si muove*" (And yet it moves), uttered immediately after the revocation of his theories, did not result in any increased penalty for him. Luther might also have escaped with no more severe penalties than Galilei, had it been merely a question of a religious controversy.

But the class-struggle seized upon both religion and science, just as it had done before, and as it will continue to do so long as class antagonisms exist. To the extent that the merchant class grew in wealth and power, it did not only protect the new world-conception, but also began to question the right of the church to collect taxes and to mismanage church-property. And the ideas of religious reformers became at once the rallying center of bands of revolting peasants and impoverished nobles, who threatened

the holdings of the church in land and movable wealth. This outraged and hurt the hierarchy more than all attacks on established articles of faith and philosophy.

For this reason, it became a matter of self-defence for the Roman church to call reactionary science, religious fanaticism, and the entire apparatus of its organization to its assistance against the new and startling evolution of things and ideas. So Tycho de Brahe entered the arena to defend the Ptolemaic system against Galilei and Kepler. Tetzlaff defended the right of the church to levy taxes. Luther was challenged to defend his ideas at Worms. And the feudal rulers were instigated to gather their armed forces and make war on the burghers and peasants. The Reformation with its economic and mental revolution struck deep into the flesh of the church, and paved the way for the subsequent freedom of scientific investigation which accumulated in the course of the following centuries the basic facts for a consistent theory of evolution.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

(To be Continued.)

Scientific Socialism and the American Working Class.

THE capitalist form of society of all countries has reached its highest development in the United States. From this the following conclusions are logical :

1. Gradual decay of capitalist institutions : political and others.
2. Strong and growing class antagonism.

These two deductions form a basis, from which can be explained most of the contradictions or phenomena of capitalism. Before going into a detailed explanation of the phenomena let us agree that class antagonism does not necessarily mean class-consciousness. The latter is not a direct development of evolution in industry but a result of intellectual progress and must be taught, if it is to exist and grow.

The present workingclass movement outside and inside the trade-unions does not teach classconsciousness, because it lacks the knowledge which springs from the understanding of the principles of scientific socialism. Class-instinct is a vague and senseless term; classconsciousness the very opposite.

All immediate demands of the workingclass are antagonistic to all other classes : plutocracy, middlemen, farmers. If they are expressed and fought out on the political field they cannot win nor get the slightest attention, because on that battleground the workingclass even if united is the weakest. A political movement of the proletariat based on immediate reforms contributes nothing towards its education and will result disastrously, because its ultimate failure will suggest an improper alliance with some other class.

It is on the industrial field and on that only where the proletariat will win some needed reforms such as shorter hours, higher wages, abolition of child-labor and so on. There labor meets the exploiter directly and every day in the year. At the source of exploitation the proletariat is less subject to the corrupting influence of the politician and misleader, because the results of corruption are apparent immediately. The daily intercourse with fellow laborers furnishes the basis for the strongest kind of organization and for the development of classconsciousness.

Twenty years ago the middle class had some influence in politics. Then reforms were possible. Today the Socialist Party by capturing city governments can do no more than aid in educating the workingclass. Today the socialists can use the

ballot only for the purpose of a social revolution. To be fit as instruments of the revolution the working people's standard of living must be raised *during capitalism* and the beginning of such efforts must be made at once.

But political reforms are impractical and become more so during the further development of capitalism. Public ownership may or may not appear before socialism, but in either case the capitalists will be the only factors; the proletariat will be indifferent. An income tax may be practical in Germany where capitalism must share governmental powers with feudalism under conditions which permit but little of that corruption, which exists in the United States.

But the socialist movement in Germany or any other country is qualitatively weak in comparison to the American movement. On the one hand political action of the working-class is the means for the abolition of capitalism. On the other hand the industrial movement contains the germ of new society, and is the means of establishing the cooperative commonwealth.

The first is the basis for the destruction of capitalism; the idea growing gradual, but the action itself must be instantaneous.

The second is the basis for the gradual betterment of workingclass conditions in spite of and during capitalism, and for the final reconstruction of society.

The "modern utopian" may call himself a "scientific socialist" and use the word "revolution" indiscriminately. He will get little attention. The "critic" of the modern utopian may think that it is a good move to flatter with and connive at the mistaken political notions of the average workingman. But he will not be listened to by the workingmen of more than average intelligence. The latter know that their fellow workers cannot become *classconscious*, if their ignorant whims are gratified; they must be educated in spite of opposition coming from their ranks.

Let us hail with joy the new industrial organization of the working-class. It alone will better conditions of the workingclass during capitalist regime and the reflex of those better conditions will be a higher standard of ethics and morals amongst the workingmen. It will develop class-consciousness, which will unite the workingclass and drive it to the ballot box, where capitalism then will receive its deathblow.

And it will have prepared for years the basic foundation for the new structure: the glorious socialist republic. M. D.

Socialism and the Farmers.

The belief is steadily growing that *Regard for the Collective Welfare of the People is the Highest Law*. The capitalist exploiter of labor, even, must, within his own consciousness, assent to this at times when his sense of benevolence and justice pit themselves against his acquisitiveness and greed for private gain.

If this principle, then, regard for the greatest collective good, be applied even under capitalism (the defense of capitalism not in mind) to the ownership and operation of a city's water supply, lighting, street railways and other municipal utilities, the logical situation becomes this:—

If the community, as such, cannot own and operate its public utilities for the greater good of the community, and the individual can do it, it is then best to give the individual the privilege for a limited time to do it with due compensation to himself. This is now done in most cities (the public unfortunately doubting its own better ability) by granting a franchise for a fixed period, but no city would think of giving a perpetual franchise; for, when the time comes that the community can own and operate its utilities to their greater advantage than the individual can or will, the community then owes it to itself to do it, (and this time has arrived for most cities) and the individual owner and operator owes it to the community that he retire, in order that the greater good may accrue to the community. To refuse to then retire, rightful compensation for his interests being offered, is to be selfish to the detriment of the public.

This same principle applies also to the ownership and use of land under capitalism. The farmer who owns land and uses it to a better purpose for himself and the community than it would be made to serve if owned and operated by the community, he, the farmer, and owner of it, should be protected in his private ownership. But, if through changed conditions, the public good ("public" being understood in its broadest sense) can be best served by the public owning and operating all land, and this time is fast approaching, then private ownership of land is, of course, detrimental to the public good and should cease. This principle of utilitarianism is often carried into effect even under capitalism, in appropriating land for parks and other purposes. Socialism would extend this principle to the collective ownership of all public utilities and productive property, to the absolute abolishment of unjust exploitation of labor, to which capitalism and private ownership have given rise.

OBJECTION TO PERPETUAL PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

That it has, *in the past in this country*, been for the public good, as well as for private welfare, to have land privately owned in sufficient amounts for farm purposes, and the home thus established, is evident, and many people have come to own parcels of it. This would no doubt be done, too, under socialism, to the extent at least of owning privately a home spot, but not to the extent of becoming an exploiter of labor on it.

But a few people, through greed in some cases, have got a thousand times more land than they can use, or is required to supply their needs, while others equally deserving have to do without any. This often turns out, in view of monopolies of land, and because of its deposits and products, not to be for the public welfare, and, therefore, the private owner's claim to this excess of land is not a righteous claim if the higher principle of law is kept in mind,—the collective good of the people. That which is right, under certain conditions will always be right under the same conditions. But, under changed conditions, it often becomes a wrong. This explains why a policy which placed large tracts of land in private ownership has proved a hardship later, while at first it may have been a good. When the great western plains were virgin, no white men living there, they were of no value to civilization on the Atlantic Coast. The west could only be used as the people of the east went west and settled it. To encourage this was right. To encourage it the Government gave the land away in quarter sections and in larger lots to him who would go west and use it. Millions of acres were given to a few individuals incorporated. It was given to these persons to be their property, and that of their heirs, forever, and here it was that the mistake was made, because *forever* is long enough for conditions to become so changed as to make that which was right then, a wrong later. To have given it to the honest, first settlers and corporations for a limited time (certainly to the settlers for their life time, and, perhaps, for the lifetime of their children) would have been right. That would have secured settlers, but to give it away *forever* was short-sighted.*

Why? Because it would inevitably lead in the end to a land owning and non-land owning class, both equally in need of land, for, as population increased and more and more land was taken up, population increasing, the time must come, whether land be obtained by gift or purchase, that it would all be taken up and

*NOTE. Justice William J. Gaynor, of the New York Supreme Court, said recently in an interview on railroads,—“If the possibility of this experience we have had with freight rates had been foreseen, the government never would have given these highways to corporations.” This gift was accompanied with the gift of more than 150,000,000 acres of land.

owned privately; owned by those whose title-papers made the land theirs *forever*, absolutely theirs; while the non-owning class, which is now still larger by increasing population, though in equal need of land do not possess it, and by force of circumstances cannot possess it, because those who own it, whether by gift from the Government or small purchase price, or by inheritance, own it *forever*. Many of them, too, owning it without using it, but simply holding it for profits, and acting the dog in the manger, while millions who need it, but cannot buy it, suffer for the lack of it, though it lies unused about them.

The fact that the original takers of land usually part with it, and others get it, does not effect the question, for these others get PERPETUAL titles, and it is this in the hands of any private owner that is wrong.

This situation (more and more non-owners) grows constantly worse as population increases, and nothing but Socialism promises to prevent the steady increase of the non-owning and dependent class.

Say what we will, there are two classes in this "Land of Liberty"—the small possessing class and the large non-possessing class—and their distinction grows clearer every year. One per cent of the people of the United States are said to own more wealth than all the remaining 99 per cent of the people put together. This situation as to land (and from land we all draw our sustenance) would not have been as it is, had the original claims to land been given for a limited time and the land at the end of that time to have reverted to the government for re-distribution among the people in a way to serve the needs of all the people instead of a part as now.

When our nation is in war it gathers up raw recruits and sends them, company after company, to a drill camp for discipline before they are sent to the front to fight. Suppose the first company to get there, after the tents and mess house, the water supply and drill grounds had been prepared, should say to the second company, when it comes in: This camp belongs to us. We got here first. It is ours forever, if the war lasts that long. You arrived too late to get possession. You can use the camp only as you buy it of us or pay us rent. The second company replies that it is the purpose of the government that the camp be used by all companies sent there. But to this the reply comes back—We possessed it first. It is ours and not yours. What would happen? There would be war, sure.

Life is a war, a struggle for existence, and raw recruits are born at the rate of more than one per second. As they approach the active stage of life they find others in actual possession of the things which they must use to earn a living, and who say to them, as the first company to the second, it is ours and not yours.

You came too late. And thus the latter becomes wage slaves of the master class.

The government, though it perhaps intended to protect and help all, has actually thwarted its own ends by giving perpetual private ownership to land. Socialists would again make land public property to serve the needs of all.

The people in doing this would probably favor the *gradual* relinquishment of private ownership of land, as it was favored by Lincoln to gradually liberate the slaves, and of the unused land held for speculation first, letting it as rapidly as relinquished revert to the government, thus making it again the property of the whole people, as our lakes and rivers are, and to be used for the most part co-operatively.

THE TWO LEADING QUESTIONS.

Two questions arise here, viz: How will the land, as it becomes owned by the people—the government—be parcelled out or brought under collective use; and, How will the present private owners be persuaded to relinquish claim?

In answering this, the great Socialistic principle to hold to is this: That the whole people should own the productive property of the nation, and the resources on which all depend for life and comfort and give each worker access to them to earn a living by any honest labor of hand or brain, and to each worker the full product or equivalent of his toil.

Land, then, as it gradually becomes owned by the government, will be brought under use by giving to all who want land for actual productive purposes, the right, not to perpetually possess, but the right to use land co-operatively, or possibly privately, so long as they use it for the best interest of themselves and the public.

Will this cause the little farmer to cease to own his land? Yes, and No. Yes, if not for other reasons, because he would probably desire it. No, probably not during his lifetime, if he should not wish it; for the government on the inauguration of Socialism will likely still have enough arid and bottom land with the unused relinquished lands to give land for use purposes to those who want it.

It seems likely that the privately owned and operated farms will be the last things Socialized, and the generation of small farmers in possession of farms at the time Socialism is inaugurated may be allowed to retain their farms for their lifetime, if they choose to, which they will probably not want to do, because co-operative farming will be more desirable and they will wish to enter it, resigning ownership as they do so, but remaining on their same old farms, and being actually given more land,

to use if they need it, but not to own. Many farmers will no doubt be persuaded of this advantage of Socialism and will themselves vote for its inauguration.

In this way, then, by choice and not otherwise, it is likely that the little farmers will relinquish private ownership of their farms for the greater advantage to them of collective ownership and operation.

ADVANTAGES TO THE LITTLE FARMER.

What would these advantages be?

1. The right to the use of as much land as is needed for the individual and public good.

2. No mortgages, as now, with the danger of losing the mortgaged farm, and not obtaining another except as the farmer buys it or rents and gives the owner one-half of his product.

3. Under Socialism no exploitation by the railroads, the beef, the implement, elevator and other trusts, but the full product or equivalent of the farmer's labor would be his, except the small part which he, with all workers, will contribute for the support of the co-operative government and the dependent ones. This we give now and it must be done under any government. Under Socialism these expenses should be much less than now.

4. Socialized farming would admit of such improved methods and machinery as compared with private agriculture that the former would be desirable because of shorter hours of labor with greater products and a larger, more free and better life.

Socialism, then, in these ways, and by making the farmer a sharer in the whole industrial life of the nation, would help and not harm the little farmer, though he may cease in time to privately own his farm, except a home spot which he might earn and own, but no large tract of land on which to become an exploiter of his brother laborer.

SOCIALISM AND THE LARGE LAND OWNER.

But how of the large land holder? He, too, in the end, by relinquishing claim to an excess of land, will be happier and better off, by having those around him better off. Society is a social organism, and that which helps or harms one individual or group of individuals, helps or harms the whole.

The large land holder, who, on the inauguration of Socialism, owns land and does not use it, or who uses it to enrich himself by the labor of others, will be persuaded to part with his excess of land probably at once, for the benefit of the non-possessors of land who want land to cultivate. One potent reason why he will part with it will be, because he will be unable to get men to work it for him and be exploited by wages, or on shares, for Socialism

is a protest against human exploitation. But the farmer who owns only enough land from which to produce a living, and such a good living as every man is entitled to enjoy, is not an exploiter, and, to that extent, it is not impossible that land may be privately owned under Socialism. But this private ownership and operation would naturally be abandoned, as already stated, if co-operative farming proved more inviting.

Would the large land holders be paid for the land they disgorge? The single taxer would practically confiscate it; gradually, of course, by high taxation, as the United States Government did the State Banks during the Civil War, by the ten per cent tax it imposed upon them. Socialism could do no worse than confiscate it—but might pay the owners the first cost of the land plus the improvements on it.

What really will be done will be that which the majority of the people vote to have done (hence we need cross no bridge until we reach it), for this is a country where the majority will rule, and their sense of justice usually guides them, sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly and with irresistible impetus, to righteous ends. We have the power to change old forms of government, and the people will do it, not only to the extent of changing the Constitution, but to the abolishment of private ownership of productive property (the railways, mines, and oil fields first) when such old forms by changed environments become unsuited to advancing civilization and work hardships to the people sufficient to arouse them to see the need of change. If they would not then change the obsolete for the new and better, they would be untrue to themselves, to the cause of human progress and to the spirit of the constitution. It is well to bear in mind, too, that revolutions become bloody only when the small master class oppose the progress of the mass of the people, as in Russia to-day, to higher and better planes of life. We would not be content, however, if Socialism was a thing of coercion. Unlike that, it invites and attracts to itself when it is understood. For, it will plenty and love, like that for which Christ prayed, "In earth as more than anything else usher in an era radiant with joy, peace, it is in Heaven."

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The Revolutionary Movement in Russia.

The eyes of the civilized world are turned toward Russia.

In Russia we witness at present the throbbing of the pulse of history.

Russia occupies now the position of France at the inception of the Great Revolution.

For centuries the best sons and daughters of Russia had to look upon freedom and civilization as unattainable dreams.

The iron grip of despotism deadened the soul of the people. Supported by millions of slaves, soiled by the blood of subjugated nations the government of the Czars attained hegemony among nations.

The government of the Czars used its tremendous influence in the interests of Darkness and Strife, Reaction and Militarism.

The press was muzzled by a strict and stupid censorship.

Science was chained by barbaric police regulations.

The ancient liberties of Poland, the Baltic provinces and Finland were trampled down with ruthless barbarity and bestial cruelty.

The non-Slavonic, non-orthodox-Greek elements of the population were persecuted with unparalleled severity.

The cries of agony and despair of the victims of the massacre of Kishineff are still fresh in our memory.

The atrocities and crimes perpetrated by the Russian government reached their climax in the now historical massacre on the 9th (22d) of January, 1905 on the streets of St. Petersburg. The long suffering Russian people finally lost their stoic patience and revolted, provoked by the stupid and cruel action of the Czar and his minions.

A peaceful deputation of working men decided to present their grievances directly to their "little father."

They assured the Czar of their peaceful intentions and prepared four hundred able bodied men to protect his personal safety.

The "little father" heroically retired behind the thick walls of his palace and has sent his Hessians and Janissars to assassinate his "little children" on the streets of the capital. The cowards, who run at the very sight of Japanese soldiers, reddened the snow of St. Petersburg with blood of defenseless citizens, women and children.

The civilized world shuddered when it heard of this unprecedented crime.

The blood of the martyrs of the 22d of January sealed the doom of Russian absolutism.

The plain Russian people in its touching naivete believed in the personal benevolence of the Czar.

The massacre of the 22d of January rudely crushed this belief.

The excommunication of the leader of the peaceful deputation, of Father Gapon, by the Holy Synod, convinced the people that the State church of Russia is but a handmaid of despotism. Events moved rapidly since then.

The vacillating, headless policy of the Czar, made him and his government contemptible and ridiculous.

The conduct of the revolutionary masses gained the admiration of the world.

Who is responsible for the internal and external policy of the Czar?

Who represents the power behind the throne?

Who represents the opposition forces in Russia?

Where does this opposition come from?

These are the questions that naturally force themselves upon us.

The popular conception is that the Czar of Russia is the sole ruler of the Empire, that his personal will is law. A moment of reflection will convince us that this popular conception is an absurdity.

Indeed, no single man, even if he be a giant, can possibly rule one hundred and seventy millions of people, living under various climatic, economic and cultural conditions, scattered over a vast area of land and belonging to different ethnic groups.

And Nicholas the Second is a physical, mental and moral dwarf.

The actual power behind the throne, the real ruler of Russia, is not the Czar, but the "Chinovniks," the class of officials, the bureaucracy.

When Peter I, to use Johannes Scherr's apt expression, "knouted Russia into Europe" he needed assistants in his tremendous undertaking.

He picked out a few young men of the nobility and has had to send them to Europe to learn how to run the affairs of the State.

After their return, these young men were entrusted with the execution of the plans of the Czar.

According to the tendency of each and every ruling class the bureaucrats increased in numbers and acquired more and more power and influence in the State.

The dense ignorance of the masses, the indifference of the classes and the incapacity of the Czars were rather favorable to

the numerical growth of the ruling class and increase of its power.

Despotism and bureaucracy always supplement each other. This way an irresponsible and corrupt ruling class was formed behind the shaky throne of the Czars and the worm-eaten altar of the State-Church.

This class at the same time dictated and executed the internal policy of the empire in the interests of this class.

It was in the interests of that class to inaugurate a policy of adventurous expansion and force a disastrous war in the Far East.

It was in the interests of this class to keep the people in the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

It was in the interests of this class to forcibly Russianise Poland, the Baltic provinces and Finland.

It was in the interests of this class to persecute Poles, Germans, Finns and Jews.

New territories and provinces open new fields of pernicious activity for the ever increasing numbers of hungry and greedy officials.

The same applies to "Russianised" provinces.

A war with Japan was necessary to the bureaucracy of Russia in order to divert the attention of the people from internal affairs. Beside this a war always offers too many chances for building railroads and bridges on paper, furnishing supplies on paper, constructing fleets on paper and other exploits of similar patriotic nature.

The bureaucrats are not afraid of the peasant with medieval ideas.

But the growing middle and working classes consisting of Germans, Poles, Finns and Jews appear to the ruling class as a constant menace, a *memento mori*. Hence their persecution by the government.

Let us now analyze the revolutionary elements in Russia.

The disastrous Crimean War convinced the Russian government, that it is necessary to modernize Russia, i. e. build railroads, start factories, etc.

However, in order to build railroads, start and run factories, free labor was a condition *sine qua non*.

As long as serfdom existed there was no room for the growth and development of a city proletariat.

Serfdom was therefore abolished almost at the same time and for similar reasons as slavery was abolished in the United States of America.

The abolition of Serfdom in Russia was as far reaching in its results in Russia as the abolition of Slavery in the United States.

The quality and quantity of the allotments of land to the liber-

ated serfs were of just such a nature as to be too little to live upon and too much to die of starvation.

A nucleus of a city-proletariat was formed. Railroads could be built, factories operated.

Another far reaching result of the emancipation of the peasant was the creation of a class of intellectual proletarians.

In Western Europe and the United States of America the capitalists and merchants employ the intellectual proletarians in their factories and offices as clerks, business managers, salesmen, draftsmen, captains of industry, etc., etc.

This explains the fact, that the intellectual proletariat of Western Europe and America is rather conservative if not reactionary in his tendencies. He is as yet not conscious of his class-interests as the upper crust of the proletarian masses.

In Russia there were no industrial enterprises worth speaking of, no commerce of any importance.

The Russian intellectual proletariat was not provided even with the crumbs falling from the overladen table of the capitalists, as were their more fortunate brothers in the West.

The Russian intellectual proletariat had nothing to lose in the old regime but its chains and a world to gain in a Free Russia.

Hence the intellectual Russian proletariat was revolutionary by its very nature from its inception.

The antiquated state institutions of Russia were beyond any reform, hence the radical tendencies of the intellectuals prevailed. The ideas and ideals of the Russian intellectual proletariat were those of contemporary Utopian Socialism of Western Europe. The intellectuals felt their own weakness as a class and decided to win the broad masses of the people, i. e. peasants.

The intellectuals started a "movement into the people," in order to preach the gospel of brotherly love and cooperation. •

It was a strictly non-political, but rather educational movement similar to, although not identical with, the university settlement movement in the United States.

Young men and women of the higher ability went "into the people" to lead a simple, laborious life full of privations, dangers and disappointments in order to do missionary work among the peasants.

The movement "into the people" was one of the most arduous and generous ever recorded on the pages of history.

But, alas, it was the most hopeless, the most barren of results.

The patriarchal village commune, serfdom and czarism closed the mind of the peasant to the ideals of Utopian socialism developed in industrial countries with more or less free political institutions. Serfdom created an abyss between the peasants and other classes in Russia. In their touching simplicity of mind, they looked upon each and every non-peasant as upon an enemy.

The generous crusade of the early propagandists of the new gospel was met with suspicion on the part of the peasants, who turned a deaf ear to the noble missionaries.

There are many cases on record when peasants turned over these noble missionaries to the police.

The movement "into the people" would probably run its own course and end in bitter disenchantment for the propagandists if left to its own fate.

However, the stupid and cowardly government was scared out of its wits by the educational activity of high minded Utopian enthusiasts. The Russian government felt alarmed and started an era of cruel persecution. The peaceful propagandists were treated more severely than common criminals. The propagandists were imprisoned for life, banished to Siberia, executed on the gallows.

The "white" terror of the White Czar called forth the "red" terror of the revolutionists.

Secret societies with terroristic proclivities sprang up like mushrooms all over the country and an uneven, heroic struggle between intellectual proletarians and the government of the Czar, a struggle between David and Goliath was started.

The most typical secret terroristic society was represented by the so-called "Party of the Peoples Will," ruled by the famous "Executive Committee."

The "Executive Committee" was more dreaded by the Czars, than the day of judgment. Since the appearance of white and red terrorism—the Russian government deserved the title of a "Despotism tempered by assassination."

The activity of the "Executive Committee" culminated in the execution of Alexander II.

With this unfortunate prince, red terrorism expired.

Terrorism was discredited. It removed personalities, but left the conditions producing them unchanged. It produced reaction.

The reign of Alexander III, this poor imitator of Nicholas I, and Nicholas II, the degenerate scion of the dynasty of Romanoff's, was reactionary in the extreme.

Meanwhile the disintegration of the village-commune and proletarianisation of the people were progressing rapidly. Industries developed and the working class counts at present about five million of men and women.

Russia was modernized economically.

The process of political modernization must follow as day must follow night.

Although comparatively small in numbers, the city-proletariat formed the dynamic element of the Russian population. A party that would be shrewd enough to see it and gain the control of the

working-class must by the very nature of things possess the key to the political situation in Russia.

The party is the party of the working class, the Social-Democratic party.

The Russian Social-Democratic party possesses the full confidence of the working class and dictates its policy.

The Russian Social-Democratic Party stands on the broad principles of International Socialism.

It believes, that the emancipation of the broad masses of the Russian people has to be effected by its advanced guard, the working class.

It believes that the mission of intellectuals must be limited to guidance and direction of the revolutionized but not sufficiently class conscious masses of the people.

It knows that the soil of Freedom was always fertilized by the blood of martyrs and tyrants and believes therefore in the terrorism of the masses.

Social-Democrats know that the Nemesis of history will produce a Brutus to every Caesar.

Social-Democrats know that if Von Plehve or Sergius would possess each of them thousands of lives, their execution would not expiate even a particle of their crimes.

At the same time Social-Democrats *do not believe* that the *execution of single members of the Russian Government by single intellectuals* ought to be raised to the dignity of a system adopted by a political party as such. Such terroristic acts are probably unavoidable but entail a deplorable waste of energy.

Young as the Russian Social-Democratic party is, (it started about 1896) it attained marvelous success.

The propaganda among the working class worked like magic.

There are two other parties to be considered as opposition forces.

One of them is the so-called Socialist-Revolutionist party. That party claims to represent the interests of all the toiling masses of the Russian people. But actually they ignore the working class and concentrate their attention upon the peasants.

The Revolutionists believe that the archaic village commune, the "mir," can and has to be preserved in order to allow Russia to avoid the evils of Capitalism and proletarianisation of the masses.

The Revolutionists do not believe in the most essential part of economic determinism—in the law of development of social economic institutions.

The "Revolutionists" want to stop the evolutionary march of the sun of the proletariat at the Gibeon of common tenure of land, to arrest the movement of the moon of capitalism in the Avalon valley of dwarfed manufacture.

The "Revolutionists" are nationalists and utopians in their theories and Jacobins in their tactics.

The interests of the Russian proletariat in general and of its liberation demand its organization into an independent political force.

However, the "Socialist Revolutionists" are—theoretically and by their tactics—opposing the endeavors of the Social Democrats to cement the working class into one political party.

The "Revolutionists" bend all their energies toward keeping the workingmen in an amorphous mass, that may be used as a tool only by the liberal middle class.

The "Revolutionists" represent therefore but a branch of the middle-class-democratic faction in Russia.

The middle-class tendencies of the "Revolutionists" are the more pernicious, because they are masked by the banner of Socialism.

The "Revolutionists" believe in manufacturing history by assassinations.

The third party is the party of the liberals.

This outspokenly middle-class party is composed of professionalists of all kinds, manufacturers, merchants and a motley crowd of intellectuals of rather indefinite occupation.

The liberals, too, would like to enjoy political freedom.

They would certainly condescend to graciously accept a liberal constitution presented to them on a silver tray.

But they want the "common people" (the "dear" common people) to win it for them by the sacrifice of life and limb.

The liberals represent an opposition party, but by no means a revolutionary force.

It is rather an anti-revolutionist and anti-proletarian movement.

The Social-Democrats are supported by the working class.

The "Revolutionists" back up their demands from the autocracy by terroristic acts.

The liberals talk and fill the waste-basket of the government with humble petitions.

Divergent as these three parties may be in their theoretical conceptions and tactics they are united on one vital point, namely, in their negative attitude toward the autocracy of the Czar.

The struggle against the autocracy of the Czar is a struggle against wild barbarity and eternal strife, it is a struggle for civilization and peace.

A wave of reaction would encircle the globe in case the Russian government would succeed in drowning the revolutionary movement in the blood of the people.

The victory of the revolutionary elements in Russia will be the victory of all liberty-loving men and women of the world.

The Russian people are now struggling for the liberties we enjoy here in the United States, the liberties the fathers of the Republic conquered a hundred years ago.

The Russian revolution has probably passed its most dramatic, spectacular stage.

Russia now entered into an era of chronic revolution.

The revolutionization of all the classes and masses of Russia is spreading and deepening, the revolutionary flames are working their way toward the shaky throne of the Czar and worm eaten altar of the State Church and cannot be extinguished till Absolutism and Parasitism will be no more.

The time has passed when the people of Russia could be pacified by political charity in the shape of an advisory board composed of representatives of various classes without power or authority to legislate or control the budget of the State, as proposed by the Czar under the stress of a disastrous war.

The Russian people is now determined to get rid of the double yoke of political and economic oppression.

The Russian struggle is the world's struggle.

The Chinese walls that used to divide countries and nations have crumbled into dust and ashes.

There is at present only one nation—the human race.

There is at present only one world-struggle, the struggle of the vast majority of the human race, of the toiling masses against a small minority of political and social-economic parasites.

Perish Russian autocracy! Long live the Russian Revolution!
Perish Parasitism! Long live the proletariat of all nations!

I. LADOFF.

New York. March, 1905.

The Truth About the War.*

Soldiers! You are not led into a war, but to the slaughtering pen. Incapable generals and immature officers will lead you against the Japanese bullets that will kill you. The imperial government founds its hopes on the fact that Russia is rich in human beings, that it has an immense supply of men whom it can feed into the mouths of the cannons. They say, "If the Japanese will have killed one hundred thousand of our suffering men, their strength will also be exhausted." But this calculation is wrong. The Japanese have an army of a million men; they get money from the English and the Americans. Furthermore they instruct the Chinese in the use of arms and have already collected a strong army in China. This is the truth about the war. The government is afraid of the truth. We distribute this leaflet among you; we are threatened by imprisonment and forced labor in so doing. Why? Because we speak the truth. Your superiors command you to deliver to them every piece of literature without reading it. Why should you not read it? Simply because you have been forbidden to read it. You see, then, they are afraid of our words. For these words carry within them the power of truth.

LISTEN TO THE TRUTH!

Many tens of thousands have already been killed in this war, many tens of thousands wounded, but still many more lie sick in the hospitals. These sick men are many weeks under way, and they arrive at the hospitals half dead. They never get a chance to change clothes. They have to march in the weltering heat of the sun, in endless rains, or in snow storms and cold. The rulers place upon your shoulders a kit weighing one pood and a half, regardless of the fact that you can hardly drag your legs along without it. You must climb over mountains, or narrow paths and on the verge of precipices. Many have lost their reason from heat and exhaustion. Whole wagon-loads of insane have been carried away from the battle field. Confusion reigns in the army. Provisions are not distributed. The soldiers are glad to get hard-tack and rotten canned goods. No information is secured about the enemy. Now he is said to be here, then there. Nobody knows how strong the enemy is, or where his main forces are. Suddenly the Japanese surprise you unprepared with the full power of their concentrated troops. Our batteries fire at random because they are unable to determine where the enemy is; but the Japanese artillery sweeps our soldiers into their graves by the thousand.

* Manifesto of Russian Democracy.

They told you that the Russian army retreated in full order and according to a preconceived plan. They have lied to you. It was a panic-stricken flight. The soldiers lost their arms and carried neither wounded nor dead with them. Thousands of Russians are in captivity. Dead men and horses have accumulated among Russians and Japanese to such an extent that it is impossible to bury them all. The Japanese tried to burn the corpses, but even so they did not manage to dispose of them all. The festering corpses have poisoned the rivers, the springs and the wells. For this reason, and on account of the bad food, such diseases as cholera, pest, and typhoid fever are ravaging the ranks of the soldiers. Myriads of flies are gathering poison from the dead bodies and transferring it to the living. Those who are stung by these flies swell up and die amid horrible tortures. The number of physicians is inadequate, the supply of drugs is scant, and there are not enough beds to accommodate the sick. The diseased and wounded are rolling about in their pains on the wet soil, among men infested with infectuous diseases, and among men whose minds are wandering in fever paroxysms. Under these conditions it is better to be killed by the bullets of the enemy than to go to the hospital. You are doomed to die any way, only your sufferings are greater in the hospital. If they discharge you from the hospital under the pretense that you have been cured, you are either a cripple or an invalid for life. A campaign in the winter is still worse than in the summer. Even those who are condemned to forced labor in Siberia are transported only in the summer or spring. But you are supposed to fight in the Siberian cold. Before you meet the enemy, you must frequently march hundreds of versts. Those who have been sentenced can at least march on the mail-roads, at night they find shelter in the barracks, and they have supplies on which they may feed. But the soldier cannot choose his road. He must march cross country, and over mountains, where there is no path, nothing but mountains of snow, and below them precipices and abysses. There are no barracks in the Manchurian Mountains. How would it have been possible to build barracks for hundreds of thousands? In summer time, tents give shelter for the night. But what good are they in winter in Siberian colds? Rivers and wells are frozen hard, and water cannot be obtained anywhere. Blizzards chill you to the bone. And whence will you obtain food for many hundreds of thousands of soldiers? So long as it was possible to do so, the soldiers bought or robbed from the Chinese in Manchuria that which they could not obtain from Russia. But now Manchuria has been devastated and its best regions are in the hands of the enemy. All the bread has been consumed, the domestic animals extinguished, the fields trampled. No harvest was possible and hundreds of villages were burned. No bread, no meat, no vegetables—every-

thing must be transported across thousands of versts from Russia, through pathless and snow-covered territories. Icy mountains and snow-filled valleys, terrible blizzards and cruel frosts; no shelter, no food, nothing to drink; cold, hunger and disease; finally the bullets of the enemy to save you from your suffering,—these are the things that wait for you in war!

You are led into hell. And who leads you? The experienced officers have all been killed. In order to fill their places, the emperor advanced by one stroke of his pen two thousand three hundred ensigns, who had not yet completed their education, to officers. These young men without knowledge, without experience, with immature boyish brains, are to be your commanders. The fate of an army of half a million men, your lives and the future of your families, depend on the arbitrary will of these green youngsters. Is not this insanity? An army of whiskered men leave home, wives and children, and march ten thousand verst under the leadership of green boys in order to die in a desert of snow! And what is their purpose? Is it to defend the throne and the fatherland? Our fatherland is not Manchuria, but Russia, a Russian people on Russian soil. Manchuria belongs neither to the Russians nor to the Japanese, but to those who live there, who till the Manchurian soil, who have built the Manchurian cities and villages,—the Manchurian people. Foreign invaders are simply taking possession of Manchuria and killing its lawful owners,—the Manchurian farmers. Two robbers have entered a stranger's yard, and each one of them cries, "This is mine." This is the cause of the war. And what is the result? The Manchurian nation has been extinguished, and now the Russian and Japanese nations are decimated. The Japanese working class suffer from this war just as much as the Russian laborer and farmer. For them, the war has only death and ruin in store.

There is no enmity between the nations. The Japanese Socialist declared in the name of the Japanese working class that they were opposed to the war and demanded its termination. We Russian Socialists demand the same. The Russian nation has no interest in fertilizing Manchurian soil with Russian corpses, no matter how many Japanese bodies may do the same thing. The welfare of the fatherland is the welfare of the working class. It is to this end that we must labor and struggle.

The imperial government is to blame for this war. We are called upon to defend the throne of the emperor. But our whole misfortune is precisely due to the fact that the emperor and his bureaucracy are the rulers of Russia. The Czar has far too much power. He alone is master of all Russia. The other hundred and forty millions are slaves. The Czar commands, and one hundred thousand soldiers march into the teeth of death without resistance. So long as this sort of thing continues, so long as the Czar can put

a fresh army into the place of a defeated one, just so long will he not yield. The Czar has no sympathy for the people, he does not care how many of them die so long as he wins. But there is no victory, nor is victory in store, and if it were, it would not help the people any,—it simply means that more and more people are going to be killed.

The war will never end until the people refuse to fight for the rulers. And it will come to that. Enough people have been killed. Shall all of them die? Do not go to war! Demand peace! Soldiers, you are committing suicide! Why do you submit to everything like stupid animals? You have the power. If you refuse you can have anything you want. Refuse to go to war!

REFUSE TO GO TO WAR!

Of course, you will be threatened with punishment, if you do so. But can your punishment be any worse than that which is in store for you in war? The penitentiary, the jail, are not half as bad as the Siberian barracks and the camps in the open, in the wintry cold. The prison companies and forced labor are less terrible than a winter campaign across the icy mountains of Manchuria and Korea, than the endless marches through bleak snow-fields, without roads, without shelter, and with hunger, rags, numerous diseases, and the murderous fire of the enemy staring into your faces. The worst that can befall you here is to be shot to death. But since death is your almost certain fate, does it matter to you where you die? Here or in Manchuria, the end is sure to come. But here this end threatens only a few of you, perhaps every tenth man. For if whole regiments revolt and refuse to go to war, the government will not think of punishing them, but will submit to the will of the people.

SOLDIERS, YOU HAVE THE POWER!

You have but to will it, and everything will go as you want it. Refuse to obey, rise in great numbers, and there is no power that will oppose you. The officers and nobles will crawl tremblingly into their corners. Many of you know this, many of you think so, but many of you think: Let others make a beginning, and then I'll join them. Talk it over among yourselves! For this reason we give you this leaflet. All for one and one for all! Volunteers, advance! Do here what you would do in war! If thousands of volunteers are willing to run into the mouths of the Japanese guns and grenades, there will surely be a few volunteers ready in each company to cry out: "Stop this murder of the people! We do not want any war! Down with autocracy!"

Reservists! If you have no compassion for yourselves, think of your wives and children. In what condition do you leave them? Your home is ruined, your relatives are turned into paupers by the

war. Why do you permit that? Come to your senses! Revolt! Do not go to war! Refuse to serve in the army! Sacrifices must be made, nothing can be accomplished without sacrifices. But consider how many victims the Japanese war has already swallowed and how many it will swallow in the future. Compared to these tens of thousands of victims, the number of those daring men who will now suffer will be small, even if they pay with their lives for their success in arousing the mass of the soldiers. But they will save thousands of lives by their heroism, they will preserve thousands of families from ruin, and they will bring peace to our country. You have the choice between a war in which you are finally killed by Japanese bullets, or a revolution and peace bought with only a few victims. Choose between war and slavery, or peace and liberty. Soldiers, revolt! Demand peace, demand the abolition of the imperial government and the election of a people's parliament and government, if they order you to fall in line, so they may take you to the railway station and transport you to the scene of war, do not move a limb, disregard the order, and cry out "Enough of this robbery! Down with autocracy! Hurrah for the people!" Refuse to step into the railway cars! You can make up your mind at any station to leave the train and interrupt your journey.

Soldiers you are not alone!

The entire Russian working class stands by you in the fight for peace and against autocracy. Revolt! Millions of laborers and farmers will revolt with you. You know that your brothers, the laborers, fight for political freedom without any regard for their safety. Nothing stands in their way but the barrels of your rifles. If the army unites with the working class the people can have anything they want. Go to the laborers, unite with them! Soldiers you have nothing to lose. The imperial government is playing with your lives. But this government is lost. If you revolt you will secure liberty. Revolt! Down with autocracy! Hurrah for peace and liberty! Hurrah for the working class!

Translated by Ernest Untermann.

EDITORIAL

Some Matters of Tactics.

Unless all signs fail we are in a critical position in the internal organization of the Socialist Movement. Numerous apparently isolated facts when brought together show a connection, inter-relation and tendency that deserve consideration.

For some time there have been two extreme camps within the Socialist party, both combined, insignificant in numbers, intelligence or activity—the so-called Opportunists and Impossibilists. Each lives largely by using the other as a bogey-man and both are a general nuisance from the point of view of Socialist activity. Just now, however, owing to some other facts, their presence renders them capable of creating trouble wholly disproportionate to their actual importance. These other facts are certain tendencies within the moribund Socialist Labor Party, and the trade union movement.

The S. L. P. ceased to be a political party about two years ago. It had gradually lost all possibility of, or desire for general Socialist propaganda or political activity. The election last fall showed these facts so plainly that even its own membership could no longer deny them. It had become little more than an intriguing personal clique. In its central figure, Daniel DeLeon, it possesses a man who, within just such little circles, is a master of petty intrigue. His situation is desperate. This is not because the S. L. P. is no longer capable of effective Socialist propaganda or even that its vote grows steadily less. All of these things could have been borne in patience by the gang of little business men who compose the inner circle. But the dues-paying membership is disappearing. Something must be done, and DeLeon set about doing it in his characteristic manner.

He cast his eyes towards the Socialist Party for which he had hitherto had nothing but foul abuse and falsification. Now, however, he thought he saw the possibility of fomenting discord until he should create sufficient troubled waters to make his fishing productive of results. Immediately after election he sent out a feeler in the shape of an editorial suggesting that there might possibly be a few voters in

the Socialist Party who were not wholly fools and scoundrels, a concession he had never previously made. For those who have watched DeLeon for years the succeeding steps could have been foretold from the beginning. Soon there appeared some inspired letters suggesting that even a Unity Conference might be possible.

Then came his "Are we at Bulgaria" department, something which those who have read his "Pages of Roman History" and similar round-about methods of testing his membership before cracking the whip, at once recognized as familiar. This discussion was supposed to raise the question as to whether conditions here were similar to those in Bulgaria, where a unity of Socialist forces was being discussed. Bulgaria being an absolutely unknown ground to the S. L. P. membership could safely be used to point out any sort of an illustration or draw any conclusion. Hence his selection of this country rather than Italy or France where a similar unification was going on, but where the facts were more easily obtainable. Then came rumors from all over the country that certain groups of "impossibilists" within the Socialist Party were considering affiliation with the S. L. P.

The next step in the story was the appearance of the Manifesto of the Industrial Unionists.

The importance of this phase of events in the general scheme whose outlines we are tracing is such as to justify a somewhat fuller discussion than of some of the other points. Here is a movement arising directly from the conditions of industrial development. Many men within and without unions now federated with the A. F. of L. have become so disgusted with the actions of the central organization and their dickering with capitalist politicians and Civic Federation tricksters that they can no longer endure it. These men have called for a conference of their fellow workers to discuss this situation. Believing this to be a movement in advance two or three Socialists have taken part in this consultation.

There is nothing whatever about this to give encouragement to the advocates of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. The new movement is in every essential way differentiated from that moribund organization. The S. T. and L. A. originated at an S. L. P. convention as a scheme of DeLeon to secure revenge on the Knights of Labor, where his attempted "deal" with Sovereign for the editorship of the Knights of Labor Journal had fallen through. The Manifesto of the Industrial Unionists was a call for consultation and organization, sent out to the working class of America. If there are any concerned in that call who are ambitious to play DeLeon to a new S. T. and L. A. then the sooner their presence is known the better, that the fight may be made on clear cut lines. The S. T. and L. A. has two kinds of members,—one to pay dues, the other to hold offices,—a plan especially designed to create an inner circle subject to the domination of the S. L. P. bosses. The proposed new organization calls for complete separation between the unions and all political parties,—a position identical with that of the European Socialists and Trade Unionists of today.

Right here let us puncture a falsehood started by DeLeon and Sanial, and carefully kept alive by them and their followers and repeated by Comrade Bohn elsewhere in this issue. This is the statement that the German Social Democratic Unions have continuously fought the Hirsch-Dunker unions in the same manner as the S. T. and L. A. has fought the American pure and simple organization. Nothing could be further from the truth. For nearly ten years we have been fairly close readers of *Vorwaerts* and the *Neue Zeit*. In none of these do we find anything comparable to the weekly screeds appearing in the organ of the S. L. P. On the contrary the two unions have worked in close co-operation from the very beginning and today it is the boast of the Socialists that the Christian and Hirsch-Dunker unions look to the Social Democratic members in the Reichstag to advance their measures. Furthermore, it is now being generally recognized by the German Social Democracy that direct affiliation between a political party and the unions is a mistake.

It will be noted that this illustration cuts both ways. Some Socialist Party members would have that organization act as a sort of shepherd dog for the A. F. of L. leaders, driving the rebellious members back into the fold of the fakirs. The S. L. P. and Impossibilists, on the other hand, would waste all energy in fierce attack on members, organization and fakirs alike. The new movement for Industrial Unionism follows the plan agreeing with the ripest experience of Germany, and while offering every encouragement to those who have reached a sufficient degree of intelligent class-consciousness to desire an organization in accord with modern industrial development, it also is willing to extend aid and sympathy to those who, with a less perfect form of organization and more indistinct recognition of class interests, and who even though they may still have false leaders, are at least engaged in conflict with the master class. We must guide against any such marriage to pure and simpledom as will lead us to confuse indistinct and ignorant class revolt with Socialism. Otherwise we shall find our Socialist Party simply a "labor" party ready to follow whoever may use the shibboleths of labor. A striking instance of this has been furnished by the recent experience in Massachusetts. It is significant that Boston, where, if anywhere in the United States, there is need of education along these lines, is the one city that has found it necessary to set itself up as a mentor of those who happen to know enough of Socialist philosophy and the Class Struggle to put it in practice. It is quite generally noticeable in this connection that those who have been most free in their attacks on the two or three individuals who took part in this conference without being manual wage-workers have not themselves published any *fac simile* of their trade union cards. The Socialists who took part in that conference did not claim to take the Socialist Party with them or to speak for it, and its endorsement is neither asked nor desired. While criticism of the proposed organization is perfectly proper and desirable, the sort of personal insinuations that have been hitherto mixed with that criticism savors strongly of arrogant impertinence, to use no stronger phrase.

This whole matter, however, derives its principal importance from its relation to the general tendencies we have been discussing. DeLeon thought he saw an opportunity and began to set the wheels of his machine in motion. If he could in some way hitch himself on to this new organization he would be able, to infuse the semblance of life into the political and economic corpses of the S. L. P. and the S. T. and L. A. Unfortunately he received assistance in this from the attitude of some of those prominent previously in the A. L. U. who did not know the inside history of the DeLeonistic organization.

A "discussion" was started in the columns of the *Weekly People* as to the advisability of attending the proposed conference. Throughout this entire discussion the dominating note is the hope of capturing the new organization or at least of reviving the corpses referred to above. In this effort they have been very ably aided by Gompers and the whole Civic Federation bunch of labor unions and also by those Socialists to whom the A. F. of L. is a sacred idol. Both of these factors unite with DeLeon in declaring the new movement to be an attempt to re-establish the S. T. and L. A. Certainly those Socialists ought to be proud of the company they are in.

Next came DeLeon's "volcanic rumblings," consisting of a series of articles designed to show the existence of inharmonious elements in the Socialist Party. Here again there was a strange combination working for the same end. We have Comrade Will attempting to read everybody out of the party who is not willing to accept the unsavory mixture of populism, mysticism and capitalist economics published by him in *Social Ethics*. In this notable effort he is backed up,—if we are to believe that what we see in some of the Socialist papers represents the real opinions of their writers—by some who are supposed to know international socialism. Such a condition as this affords a fertile field for men of the character of J. Wilson, (*alias* Carlos) Becker whose slippery record is known to every one familiar with Socialist Labor Party history. Comrade Will may well be thankful for the sort of enemies he has been able to make, if Becker is a sample, for he is certainly worth much more as an enemy than as a friend.

Taking all these things together the scheme becomes plain. A bunch of Impossibilists in the Socialist Party with enough muddle-headed Opportunists to use as bogey-men to scare those who are really revolutionary: a small, compact body of S. L. P. intriguers industriously at work throughout the country, and some trade unionist socialists attempting to bulldoze all those who dare to attempt to further the cause of Socialism and unionism and unions even at the expense of a few fakirs or even (most horrible of all) a few Socialist votes, and you have a field capable of producing some very fruitful, if unsavory results.

There is not a shadow of doubt in our mind that DeLeon is now scheming to bring about a proposal for a sham unity gathering, at which, by making a plausible appeal on the ground of revolutionary tactics, coupled with abuse of all who do not agree with him, and arousing prei-

udice against the bogey-men of the *Social Ethics* type, all of which he knows so well how to do, would give him a considerable accession of new dupes and dues-payers such as he is now sorely in need of.

We regret very much having to stir up this ill-smelling mess and place it before our readers, but we believe that the occasion warrants it. The whole situation can be easily met if met frankly, openly by Socialists. Let us not be afraid to tell the truth when we see that Socialism is being diluted with capitalism to make it more pleasant to the taste. Let us not permit our friendship for the unions to lead us into any over-looking of the very things that are wrecking those unions. Let us not for a moment relax our efforts at "boring from within." Let those Socialists who believe that they can do the best work while retaining membership within the unions now affiliated with the A. F. of L. continue in their efforts to make those organizations effective fighters for working-class interests. Let us lend every aid in our power to workmen and women wherever they are battling against their masters. But let us also recognize that because some men choose to organize along the lines of the class struggle and in accord with economic evolution, it is no reason that they should be refused all sympathy and assistance by socialists.

Furthermore, so far as DeLeon's little scheme is concerned, there is no danger unless he receives assistance from within the Socialist Party. If there are any members of the Socialist Party who believe that there is still life and capacity for good in the S. L. P., and who wish to attempt the task of galvanizing it into life and then worshipping at the feet of its boss, then they should get into the S. L. P. as quick as they can. Any speakers whose actions show them to be emissaries of DeLeon within the Socialist Party should be quickly, quietly and certainly assisted to get out of that organization. We have but to uncover the present *opera bouffe* conspiracy to crush it.

So far as the convention of Industrial Unionists for next June is concerned,—the S. L. P. men have exactly as many rights there as any other persons. What takes place there is something that can affect only indirectly either the S. P. or the S. L. P. We believe that gathering will be one of the most momentous for the working-class movement ever held in this country. We hope that its membership may be as large as possible. We urge that its plans be made the subject of the most searching criticism. Only in this way will such defects as they include be discovered in time to remedy them. But we do ask that in making such criticism, the merits of the plan be considered and not the personalities of a few of the individuals whose names happen to be signed to the original call. It might also be well for critics not to assume that they speak in the name of the Socialist Party or that they possess all the knowledge in existence on the trade-union question. Sometimes this makes the critics somewhat ridiculous, as for example where one comrade gravely informed his readers that "Comrade Debs and Mother Jones are good agitators, and they ought to confine themselves to that work,"—while the very wise critic does the thinking for them we suppose.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

Since the last issue of the REVIEW two important events have interested the labor world. The first was the threatened test of strength between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen on the New York, New Haven & Hartford railway. For a number of years there has been considerable ill feeling manifested toward the engineers by railway employees in other branches owing to the policy of exclusiveness that has been followed by the former. Their motto has been: "No entangling alliances," that is, no sympathy strikes or practical aid to be extended to other railway men, and on more than one occasion the engineers stood idly by while some corporation beat the organized employees of some other branch of railroading into a pulp, and even assisted the masters by hauling trains carrying scab crews. For these and other reasons the great bulk of trade unionists of the country have had little respect for the B. of L. E. and its snobbish (often miscalled "aristocratic") tactics, and their sympathies were all on the side of the firemen in the controversy on the N. Y., N. H. & H. road. The principal grievance of the firemen was that they desired recognition for the engineers who are in their union—who were promoted as firemen from time to time, but did not withdraw from the B. of L. F. because of the insurance and other beneficial features in which they were interested—and they claim their men had been discriminated against by both the B. of L. E. and the railway magnates. Throughout the controversy the railway officials took the side of the engineers, although pretending to be neutral, and when it became manifest that a strike would be ordered hundreds of engineers and firemen were stationed all along the line, many of whom were said to carry union cards, ready to take the places of the B. of L. F. men. The result was that the latter concluded that discretion is the better part of valor and remained at work. This incident, however, served to destroy another idol. President Mellen, of the above-named railway, has for several years been heralded near and far as a great "workingman's friend," but the fact that his corporation, according to Boston papers, spent \$250,000 in organizing an army of scabs merely to destroy the firemen has exposed the true character of that gentleman and fits him for a position of honor in the Civic Federation. Furthermore the hostility that existed between the firemen and engineers has been greatly intensified, and the rank and file of the B. of L. F. not only denounce Mellen for refusing recognition to their members, but they threaten to revenge themselves upon the engineers. The firemen claim that if the policy inaugurated on the Eastern road is generally enforced they will lose their autonomy as an organization and be compelled to play second fiddle to the engineers all over the country. While the engineers seem to have won an advantage in this jurisdiction problem and have the support of the railway

magnates, the sympathy of the other railway organizations is largely on the side of the firemen, and if an open rupture does come, as some of the men insist will be the case sooner or later, it will be difficult to predict the outcome.

Another event that caused no end of discussion in labor circles was the brief strike on the elevated and subway roads in New York. Here, too, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers played a part. It is the first time in some years that the B. of L. E. was mixed up in a walkout, and the novelty of the situation was so extraordinary that Chief Stone became dizzy from the effects and abandoned the motormen by ordering them back to work and withdrawing their charter, which action was endorsed by all the capitalists in the country and destroyed the movement. Stone and other labor and corporation officials claimed that the men violated agreements, and it was even charged that the strike leaders were hired to cause trouble. On the other hand the New York unionists assert with strong emphasis that the corporation constantly ignored its contracts with the employees and victimized many of the men, especially those active in union affairs, upon the slightest pretext, and that the workers were deliberately betrayed by their national officers. No matter which of the contending parties is right—whether the New York corporation bribed local union officials to precipitate the trouble in order that the organizations might be crushed, or seduced the national officers into throwing a wet blanket over the movement—the net result is that another little tin god has fallen from his pedestal, and he is none other than Mr. August Belmont, president of the National Civic Federation and grand high chief of all “workingmen’s friends.” Belmont is generally known as the American agent of the Rothschilds and an important cog in the Stanadr Oil “system.” He gained considerable notoriety last year in purchasing the Democratic Presidential nomination for Judge Parker, which wonderful exploit, it seems, peculiarly fitted him to step into the late Senator Hanna’s shoes. While it is true that the immaculate Carnegie was the first choice of the beloved brethren for president of the N. C. F., when the hero of Homestead waved aside the proffered crown it logically went to the next best saint. It will be remembered that when the battle at Homestead occurred Carnegie had just gone to Scotland, and he was speechless with surprise when he learned that his loyal subjects had rebelled and Pinkertons had nobly gone to his rescue. And so Belmont was also unexpectedly absent in Florida when his prosperous workingmen, to the number of over 5,000, broke a “sacred agreement” and rushed out on strike, probably because conditions had become too unbearable. Judge of his surprise, too, when he learned that Strike-breaker Farley had an army of scabs and thugs stationed in and about New York to jump in and take jobs the moment they were vacated by the unionists. Whereupon Mr. Belmont was so pleased that everything moved so smoothly that he telegraphed four weeks’ extra pay to his loyal subjects who played the traitor to their class and remained at work, and made a personal present of \$25,000 to his man Farley as a reward for his timely assistance. The New York papers declare that Farley has become a millionaire because of his thrift and enterprise as a professional scab-leader and strike-breaker. Having achieved such wonderful success, this great patriot is also entitled to a seat in the Civic Federation, where he may crack jokes with labor leaders, bask in the sunshine of the millionaires and receive the blessings of the saintly old sky-pilots. Of course, Farley’s master, Belmont, declared that the union agitators are a bad lot, who, to gain a point, would not only injure the corporation, but inconvenience the dear public and paralyze business. A man who was sleek enough to manipulate that subway scheme, wherein the munic-

ipality bonds itself to his gang, builds a tunnel and turns it over to him, paying him interest and profits and only owns the name, is surely entitled to lecture the laborers who do his work for a miserable pittance and who ought to be mighty glad that they are alive. Just as it was almost sacrilegious to question any of the acts of Hanna in the past few years, I suppose it will be regarded as high treason to object to anything that Belmont may say or do.

The contingent of "workingmen's friends" in the political world are no less active than their class in industrial affairs. It has already been pointed out in this column that for the forty-leventh time the eight-hour and anti-injunction bills in Congress have been put to sleep—even the abortion known as the Jenkins-Garfield injunction regular went into a pigeon-hole. To show that he meant no harm in endorsing the latter makeshift, President Roosevelt demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Parry people, who fought those bills in Congress, that he can be depended upon to do the right thing at the right time. In the little factional struggles that the capitalistic politicians have among themselves it happens occasionally that some of them fare badly for the time being. Thus in the election last fall the row in the Republican family of Wisconsin resulted in the signal triumph of Gov. LaFollette, who was not only re-elected to succeed himself, but landed sufficient of his friends in the Legislature to ensure his promotion to the United States Senate. In due time Senator Quarles was compelled to walk the plank, whereupon Republican trade unionists in that state prepared to swing their hats and cheer while the Parry fat man looked sad. The laborites were pardonably pleased because Mr. Quarles' law firm is regarded as the semi-official head of the open shop movement in Wisconsin. But just as La Follette stepped into Quarles' shoes who should rush to the center of the stage brandishing a state paper but "Terrible Teddy!" Throwing his arms about Quarles and glaring at the labor mob he announced in tones of thunder that the repudiated Wisconsin statesman had been appointed to a life position as a United States judge. Thereupon the fat men fell upon each others' necks and wept tears of joy down each others' backbones and the laborites in turn became a sad lot of foiled villains. It is now announced that Judge Quarles will take a trip to Europe to enjoy a much-needed rest after his valiant service in safeguarding labor's interests in Congress and before taking his place upon the bench to pass upon such labor laws as are brought before him. Meanwhile President Roosevelt, "the father of the open shop," as the Parryites fondly refer to him, is being deluged with congratulatory epistles upon the wisdom of his appointment. Now if Roosevelt would only appoint Parry as Secretary of State we would all be happy.

It will be a spectacle for the gods when John B. Lennon, treasurer of the A. F. of L., comes into the Pittsburg convention this year accompanied by two "red button" colleagues, and possibly a third one. John B. is one of Gompers' most astute floor leaders, and is looked up to with awe and admiration by many of the conservative element because he is ultra in that respect. How Lennon has sawed the air in past gatherings and demolished the arguments of the advocates of class-conscious political action! At the same time he wanted it understood that he is something of a socialist, too, but he doesn't want to jar the trade union movement by playing with this political dynamite in labor conventions. Sure! If it should explode and awaken everybody the pure and simple life would become too strenuous. Why charge the quiet and sleepy atmosphere of old Bloomington, Illinois, with an electric shock that might knock the pleasant little tailor off his bench? But the irreverent knights of the goose recently gathered in that very place and started to paint

the town red, and they got in a few daubs as a starter. In fact, Bro. Lennon was not quite sure of his own scalp. I am informed that he declared in a speech before the tailors' convention that he did not support resolutions declaring for socialism in A. F. of L. conventions because they were not radical enough! While Socialists are not made by the passage of high-sounding resolutions, still it is necessary to present resolutions in order to secure a discussion, and sometimes they also serve to measure the growth of socialistic sentiment. In the last year or two the growth of the principles of socialism made marked progress in the trade union movement despite the efforts of some of the officials to discourage and ridicule the "red button" propaganda, and there is seldom a convention held in which there is not a good sprinkling of Socialists. In the natural order of things, and without any great necessity to force the issue, other officials will undoubtedly be made aware of the fact that a revolution of thought is taking place among the rank and file of American workingmen, and if the former persist in sitting upon the safety valve and are blown up in the air by their own members they have nobody to blame but themselves. If I am not mistaken the example set by the tailors will be followed by the machinists and several other unions in their next conventions, when demands will be made by the radical political element for something like proportional representation, which many of the organizations preach but don't practice. To see "Jim" O'Connell and his delegation in an A. F. of L. convention one would never suspicion that there is a Socialist in the international association, and yet they are the most active workers in scores of cities and towns for which they receive no more credit or consideration than a rabbit. The same is true in the Carpenters' Brotherhood, among the miners and many other organizations. Whether the officers know it or not, it is nevertheless a fact that the great bulk of the 400,000 votes counted for the Socialist Party last fall came from trade union ranks, especially in industrial centres, and that number is going to increase steadily and surely, no matter what the wishes of the capitalistic opposition or our conservative friends in labor's ranks may be in the premises. As a rule, workingmen who become Socialists remain Socialists—they cannot well forget what they have learned. There are exceptions, of course, and those who have recanted are now living to see that the world is regarding the Socialist philosophy as the most virile and far-reaching of our time, and daily growing in popularity and influence. And the rapid transformation that is taking place in industry, the concentration of capital, and the many new issues that are being forced to the front by encroaching employers will stimulate thought and action in the laboring mass, and as intelligence increases among the workers they will not be satisfied to depend upon the old methods of pitting their powers of endurance against the enemy that possesses the economic and political powers. Not that the strike and boycott will be discarded; those weapons will be augmented and strengthened by the scientific machinery of the law in labor's control, and thus the workers will dominate, as they have the right, or should have.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

RUSSIA.

There seems to be a momentary lull in the Russian storm, if we are to believe the reports appearing in the capitalist press. But whenever the veil is lifted enough for us to see anything of the actual conditions, a scene of conflict is revealed extending over almost all Russia. Strikes are breaking out everywhere. Poland and Finland are in almost open revolt. Disaffection is reported in the army at numerous points. The red terror carries on its deadly work of execution upon the tyrants and murderers who compose the autocracy. Rumors come of revolutionists being found within the Czar's household, and the St. Petersburg police have become so affected with revolutionary sympathies that it has been found necessary to accompany each policeman with a Cossack. Such a condition cannot long be maintained.

The socialists of the world are offering an excellent example of international solidarity. From every corner of the world funds are pouring in to assist the Russian comrades. One single collecting agency in the United States, has already sent over two thousand dollars and is sending more weekly. Many more sums are doubtless sent directly by those who have left friends behind in Russia. European countries are responding much more liberally, because of their greater realization of the need. Indeed the sums that have been sent by American Socialists are still so small as to be disgraceful.

In January, 1905, representatives of the following organizations met in joint conference: The Russian Social-Democratic Labor-Party; The General Jewish Labor Federation of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia; the Lettish Social-Democratic Labor-Party; and the Revolutionary Party of the Ukraine. Invitations had also been extended to the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, the Polish Socialist Party (Proletariat), and the Armenian Social-Democratic Labor-Organization. These organizations did not send any representatives, although the two last-named had declared their intention to take part in the conference.

The conference lasted two days. A number of tactical and organization questions was discussed, and a manifesto (published in the January INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW) drawn up enumerating the immediate political demands. Furthermore it was resolved to issue a manifesto to the proletariat of entire Russia which will be published later on. The following resolution relative to compromise action with liberal and democratic parties was adopted: "Whereas, The widespread revolutionary movement of the middle class will produce various organizations with more or less definite Democratic programs or aims, which will give rise in these tendencies and organizations to the desire of uniting all forces opposed to autocracy—without regard to their special programs, so long as they are united on the main proposition of abolishing absolut-

The parties mentioned in the preceding paragraph are those who refused to take part in the conference which issued the manifesto published in the Jan. 1906.

ism, and for the purpose of accomplishing this aim as rapidly as possible;

"And whereas, This desire for united action of all forces induces some middle-class organizations to request the co-operation of proletarian organizations;

"And whereas, The Social Democracy, having for its principal aim the abolition of the class-character of present society by means of the conquest of the political power on the part of the working class, regards it as its main duty to promote the development of class-consciousness among the working people and their unification in a separate Social-Democratic Party;

"And whereas, This duty can be fulfilled only when the Social-Democracy takes part in the entire political activity of the country as an independent party, opposed to all capitalist parties and standing in each individual case on its own program and revolutionary tactics;

"Resolved, That we consider it impracticable to enter into any alliance with capitalist parties aiming to exploit the forces of the proletariat in the interest of the transformation of Russia in the direction of capitalism, because such an exploitation would signify the dissolution of the Socialist Movement, its side-tracking into a Democratic Movement, and the transformation of the proletariat from an independent political power into a tool of the Democratic bourgeoisie in its class struggle against autocracy.

"However, the Social-Democracy does not decline, in the interest of the proletarian struggle for emancipation, to co-operate with bourgeois parties at certain moments of this struggle, but at the same time we shall never cease to point out the class-character of the bourgeois parties, we shall never sacrifice our program, or revolutionary tactics, and our independent organization. And we shall co-operate only on condition that the bourgeois parties will demand simultaneously with us the calling of a constitutional convention based on universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret ballots."

Furthermore, the following resolution was adopted relative to the "Bloc" of the revolutionary and opposition parties and organization of Russia:

"Whereas, A really Democratic transformation of Russia is possible only by substituting a Democratic Republic in place of autocracy, this Republic to be based on universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret ballots, and whereas such a transformation requires the calling of a constitutional convention based on this same suffrage;

"And whereas, The program of the Liberal-Democratic 'Bloc' demands an indefinite 'Democratic Regime' in place of a Democratic Republic, and has not yet definitely decided to favor the demand for a constitutional convention on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret ballots;

"Resolved, That the concentration of all revolutionary forces of Russia under the leadership of this 'Bloc' would seriously threaten the cause of those who demand a consistent Democratic transformation of Russia, and that therefore it would be irreconcilable with the Socialist program and tactics to have any Socialist organization join this 'Bloc.'"

There has been much discussion of the attitude of Father Gapone toward Socialism. The following statement sent by him to the International Socialist Bureau is self-explanatory:

"In order to clear up all misunderstanding in regard to the attempt on the part of the Russian workingmen to present a petition to the Czar at St. Petersburg, I will state, that a revolution alone will guarantee the defense of the interest of the masses of working people and will create a basis upon which sure triumph of International Socialism will be achieved. But I have the strong conviction, based upon my researches for liberty and truth, that unity of action alone can insure this.

"Please inform the Socialist Press and the Socialist delegates, who are advocating a union of the two socialist parties of Russia, in order to prepare a project of action for the organization of the Workingmen's Revolution in Russia, that I consider it premature to affiliate with either of the two parties until such common action is consummated.

"I send you my fraternal greeting and cry, 'Long live International Socialism.'"

GEORGE GAPONE.

MEXICO.

A letter received from a comrade formerly living in the United States, and for whose accuracy we can vouch, sends us an account of the following events. For obvious reasons the correspondent does not wish his name mentioned:

On February 19th of this year the first and last issue of a Socialist paper called "Aurora Social" was published in Guadalajara, Mexico. The editor was Rogue Estrada a student in the law school at that place. He was at once arrested and put into the states prison located in the city where the paper was published and which contains about 2,300 prisoners. Seventy-four fellow students issued a protest in leaflet form demanding his release, not because the signers were Socialists or necessarily favored Socialism, but because they wished to retain the right of free press which is guaranteed by the Mexican constitution. As a result he was finally released but was banished from the state of Jalisco, being allowed but one month in which to arrange his affairs. The paper was printed in Spanish and our correspondent assures us that its Socialism was the real thing. Comrade Estrada is a Mexican and doubtless will be heard from later. Meanwhile the government has demanded that the students publish a retraction of their protest. They have refused to do this and we shall wait further details of this struggle with interest.

JAPAN.

It is a long call from Mexico to Japan, but the following pathetic postal card which we have just received tells us how the same battle is going on, the same sufferings being endured, the same victory being kept in view by the Socialist workers in every corner of the world:

Dear Comrade: The final trial having decided, I am just going to the prison. Few days ago I have written an article concerning the details of the persecutions and sent it to Comrade T. Murai, whom you know. I hope you will hear from him. Now I must go. Au Revoir.

Fraternally yours,

D. KOTOKU.

GERMANY.

The capitalist press gave wide circulation to a report from Germany that the Socialists had been wholly discredited in the coal fields of Germany as a result of the Ruhr strike. It was reported that Socialist agitators had been driven from the mines and that the Socialist Party was practically disrupted in that locality. These are the facts, as reported by the papers on the spot. The German Miners' Union has grown with great rapidity during the last few months. Its membership has doubled in the Ruhr field and is increasing daily. The Miners' organ

which had 65,000 circulation on the first of January, 1905, now has 155,000 circulation and this paper supports the Social Democratic Party. The army of organized miners is today stronger and better equipped than ever before, and all this has been done in spite of the fact that the Anarchists and the capitalists combined to discredit in all possible ways the activity of the Socialists.

FRANCE.

A congress of the Jaures wing of the Socialist Party was held in Rouen the 26th and 28th of March. This congress will finally decide the question of the conflict between some of the parliamentary group and the party regarding the support of the Bourgeois government. Jaures is in favor of independent action, but the majority of the deputies oppose him. However, since the party has already decided upon the independent course it is probable that this policy will win out.

ITALY.

The workers on the Italian railroads have recently been conducting a peculiar sort of strike. The stoppage of work on a government railroad having been judged as conspiracy and treason, they decided to use other methods. They adopted the policy of simply enforcing all rules. Every inspection demanded by the rules was scrupulously carried out, all stops were made exactly as ordered and as a result the trains were from two hours to a day behind time and in some cases the service was so crippled that one-fourth of the trains were entirely dropped. The government finally agreed to some slight concessions, but the struggle is not yet ended.

ENGLAND.

Keir Hardie has recently aroused considerable interest by the introduction of the following motion in the House of Commons:

"Provision of meals for school children. That, having regard to recommendations contained in the report of the Physical Deterioration Committee, particularly regarding the importance of providing proper food for children, this House declares in favour of powers being immediately conferred upon educational authorities for enabling them to charge the funds under their control with the cost of supplying meals to children attending school."

SWEDEN.

The Socialist Movement in Sweden moves steadily onward. A congress was recently held in which it was shown that the party membership had increased from twenty thousand in 1897 to forty-four thousand in 1900 and at the present time it is over sixty-three thousand.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Strategy of Great Railroads. By Frank H. Spearman. Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 287 pages, \$1.50.

The romance of the future will be but the telling of the facts of history and contemporary life. Such a romance is this. It bears the marks of the journalist. Its easy flowing style, striking sentences, and especially the "feature" character of each "story," tell of the trained journalist rather than the economist or historian. Each system is given one central characteristic, in obedience to the standard rule of what makes a good newspaper "story." The Vanderbilt lines are the lines of good management; the Pennsylvania of detail and traffic triumphs; the Harriman system centers around its great engineering works, and so on through the list. This method of writing adds much to the readability of the work, rather than to its value as a work of reference. Yet its merits are great as a treatise on American railroads and railroading. Each one of the great railroad systems is taken up in turn and its extent and characteristic features sketched with skillful hand. The problem of labor-saving in connection with railroading resolves itself into two parts, according as the permanent way or the rolling stock is considered. It is in regard to the first that the most far-reaching changes have been made, although sometimes the latter have been more evident. But in railroad construction almost fabulous sums have been expended in the abolition of grades and curves and the acquirement of terminals. Many interesting facts crop out now and then, (this is not to say that the whole work is not intensely interesting) as when he shows how the improvement of transportation facilities has wiped out the elevator business in Chicago. For the general reader, again, such a work is far superior to the average commercial geography of the United States. The very valuable set of maps contributes much to its value in this respect, and so thoroughly has he covered the ground that an almost exhaustive picture of the resources of the sections tributary to the various systems is presented. Taking the railroads as the center around which to group these facts gives a unity to the whole that impresses it upon the mind of the reader far better than any dry-text-book recital. The last two chapters on "The First Transcontinental Road" and "The Early Day in Railroading," supply the historical perspective that would otherwise be lacking to the picture.

Human Submission. By Morrison I. Swift. The Liberty Press, Philadelphia. Paper, 97 pages, 25 cents.

A well written but largely metaphysical discussion of the effect of submission in perpetuating slavery. The author still considers that ideas are ruling the world, yet all through his work is running a chain of reasoning based on industrial evolution.

Politics in New Zealand: By C. F. Taylor. Equity Series. C. F. Taylor. Paper, 108 pages, 25 cents.

This is a condensation of the much larger book "The Story of New Zealand." For those desiring information on this country of social experiments there is nothing better. Everything, however, is treated in the most rosy manner and nothing is said of the dark side of the picture. One would never gain from this that there had been unemployed riots in New Zealand within the last few years. However, for those who wish information on practical legislation there is undoubtedly much to be gained from a study of work done in New Zealand. The comparisons, however, which are usually made between that still practically uncivilized country and the United States are generally wholly unjustifiable.

Is It So Impracticable? or A Trust for All the People: By Chilton Rowe. Gardner G. Willard. Paper, 37 pages.

A well written treatment of Socialism as a scheme. Probably this author's guesses are as good as most of those who have written on this subject. He makes some interesting computations as to the waste entailed upon society by the legal profession. How far he is from the international position is shown in his conclusions where he declares that it has not been his aim "to stir up class hatred, human nature at bottom runs about the same in all classes. * * * It is his wish to help support and to intensify among all men of all classes that just abhorrence of the individualistic system of life." However, since human minds are made up in the most diverse ways it is probable that some would be reached by this method of propaganda who would be wholly inaccessible to a more scientific statement of Socialist doctrine.

The Way Out: By D. Wilmot Smith. The James H. Barry Company. Paper, 169 pages, 25 cents.

This work has the appearance of having been made up as a scrap book, with but very little connection between its different parts. Some portions are good and some indifferent. The philosophy on which it is based is as variable as the literary style and general make-up of the book.

Socialism and Human Nature Do They Conflict? By Murray E. King. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Paper, 30 pages, 10 cents.

This article attracted so much attention in THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW that it has now been reprinted in his little pamphlet. There are few things in the English language that form a better philosophical foundation for Socialism than does this little work.

The Scab: By Jack London. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Paper, 25 pages. Pocket Library Series, 5 cents.

There is no man writing stronger English today than Jack London and for that reason the strength which he brings to the Socialist Movement is proportionately great. What he has to say strikes with force and nowhere is this better seen than in his little pamphlet on "The Scab." One may criticise the scientific accuracy of his definition "that a scab is one who gives more value for the same price than another." Yet the way in which he explains his meaning shows that he understands the real social position of the scab.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

LIBRARY OF SCIENCE FOR THE WORKERS.

We are now prepared to make the most important announcement since the organization of our co-operative publishing house. The floating debt to outsiders has now been practically wiped out, partly by direct contributions from stockholders, and partly by four per cent loans. The number of stockholders is steadily increasing, and with it the demand for socialist books. In short, the company is now in a position where it can take up a new work with every prospect of success. And there is a work for which the need is urgent.

The doctrines of Socialism rest on the solid foundation of natural science. Marx has often been called the Darwin of sociology. The laws which he discovered in social science are in many ways analogous to those unfolded by Darwin and subsequent writers on evolution. The connection, however, is closer than that of a mere analogy or likeness. The laws of natural science and the laws in sociology which lead to socialism are part of the same system.

The fact that these scientific foundations are lacking in the public mind is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of socialism. The German socialists have long recognized this and circulate the works of Darwin and Huxley along with those of Marx and Engels. In America, however, this side of the work has been largely neglected. To this fact is due, to a large extent, the lack of scientific accuracy which is so marked a characteristic of the American Socialist Movement.

There have recently appeared in Germany a series of very remarkable little works which combine to a very high degree scientific accuracy and popular language. We have arranged to have several of these translated and supplemented by original works by American writers. These books are written in an extremely interesting manner.

The opening volume of the series is "The Evolution of Man," by Wilhelm Boelsche, a scientist and lecturer who is also a socialist, and who is recognized as the popularizer of Darwinism in Germany. This volume has been translated for us by Ernest Untermann and it is now being printed. It traces the ancestry of man step by step back through the various forms of life down to the simplest organism, showing that the "missing links" so dear to the theologians have all disappeared, and

finally it shows that there is no fixed line of division, even between the so-called organic and inorganic, but that the same vital force molds the crystal that molds the cell.

The book is fully illustrated with pictures designed not to ornament it but to make its meaning clear to the ordinary reader. It is a book that every socialist will enjoy.

Moreover, it has a propaganda value that must not be forgotten. If a man who works for his living is conservative, attached to the existing social order, it is generally because he has a vague sort of feeling that the ruling class are the special favorites of a supreme being whom it is hopeless to resist. Once make it clear to him how the world has really developed, and he is ready to become a revolutionist.

This is precisely the work that will be done by "The Evolution of Man" and the later volumes in the series. They do not attack popular superstitions or institutions; they simply give the wider outlook from which the absurdity of both capitalism and theology becomes plain.

"The Evolution of Man" and the later volumes in the series will be published in the same convenient form which has proved so popular in the Standard Socialist Series, but the color of the cloth binding will be blue instead of red, and the word Socialism will not be made prominent, if it appears at all it will be in advertising at the end of the book. The retail price will be fifty cents; the price to stockholders thirty cents by mail or twenty-five cents by express at purchaser's expense.

The first cost of bringing out this book is about four hundred dollars. If every reader of the REVIEW will act promptly this money can be raised by the last of April, when we expect to have copies ready. If you are a stockholder, send a cash-in-advance order for as many copies as you can expect to sell; you will find it the easiest book to sell that we ever published. If you are not a stockholder, become one now. Your money will be used to hasten the publication of these books of science, and you will get the advantage of reduced rates on these books as well as on the books that the money of other stockholders has already published. The stock will cost you ten dollars, payable all at once or a dollar a month, as you prefer.

There will be no delay in the publication of "The Evolution of Man," it will be published just as soon as the printers and binders can finish their work. But the publication of the next volume of the series will depend on our success in raising capital.

THE DEBT-RAISING FUND.

In June, 1904, Charles H. Kerr sent to the other stockholders in the co-operative publishing house an offer that he would contribute out of money due him from the publishing house a sum equal to all contributions of others, for the sake of paying off the floating debt to non-stockholders. The total contributions to this fund in 1904 were \$3,221.52. During 1905 the contributions have been as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$205.48
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C. F. Bardorf, Quebec	5.00
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J. O. Duckett, California	2.00
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George D. Herron, New Jersey	10.00
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Charles H. Kerr, Illinois	84.30

Total for 1905	\$374.08
Total from beginning	\$3595.60

The original offer to duplicate the contributions of all other stockholders expired Dec. 31, 1904; it was extended to March 31, 1905. As the purpose of the offer has practically been accomplished, and as the constant appeals for contributions placed a heavy burden on those whose enthusiasm exceeded their resources, it seems best not to extend it further; except as to large contributions, such as come from those who can contribute without distress to themselves. The manager of the co-operative publishing house will therefore agree for the remainder of the year 1905 to duplicate all contributions of fifty dollars or more, the money to be used for the purpose of publishing new volumes in the Library of Science for the Workers.

He has also voluntarily reduced the rate of interest on the money due him from the publishing house to four per cent, and will add his personal guarantee to the note of the company for any sum lent on sixty days' call at four per cent. Two thousand dollars could be used to advantage to publish the first five books of the new series within the next four months. The money could easily be returned within a year from the sale of stock and books, or it could be used to advantage to bring out additional volumes.

THE RECORDING ANGEL.

Copies of this book will be in circulation by the time this issue of the REVIEW is in the hands of its subscribers. The advance orders received before publication amount to 600, all received within a very few weeks, and most of them in response to advertisements in a few socialist periodicals. A full description of this remarkable novel by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz will be found on page 575 of last month's REVIEW. It is a book that no socialist reader will miss if he can help it. The price is one dollar with the usual discount to stockholders.

ROBERT HUNTER'S "POVERTY."

As we go to press, word is received from Macmillan & Co., that a paper edition of "Poverty" at 25 cents will be ready about April 25. We have placed a large advance order, and shall be able to supply copies at the 25 cent rate including postage. We can not, however, sell the book at a discount.

Standard Books of Science.

We have just made arrangements for selling the scientific publications of one of the most prominent publishing houses in the United States, including works of the utmost value to any student of evolution. These books are sold under the rules of the American Publishers' Association, so that we can allow no discounts whatever, not even to our own stockholders. Prices are net; postage must be added if the books are to be sent by mail or express prepaid.

- BERKELEY, George.** *The Principles of Human Knowledge.* Paper, 25 cents; postage, 5 cents.
- BINET, Alfred.** *On Double Consciousness: Experimental Psychological Studies.* Paper, 15 cents; postage, 4 cents.
- *The Psychic Life of Micro-Organisms: A Study in Experimental Psychology.* Paper, 25 cents; postage, 5 cents.
- CARUS, Paul.** *Fundamental Problems: The Method of Philosophy as a Systematic Arrangement of Knowledge.* Cloth, \$1.38; postage, 12 cents.
- *Primer of Philosophy.* Cloth, \$1.00; postage, 9 cents.
- COPE, E. D., Ph. D.** *The Primary Factors of Organic Evolution.* Cloth, \$2.00; postage, 16 cents.
- DELITZSCH, Dr. Frederick.** *Habel and Bible.* Boards, 75 cents; postage, 9 cents.
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- HUEPFER, Ferdinand.** *The Principles of Bacteriology.* Cloth, \$1.75; postage, 14 cents.
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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT
TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

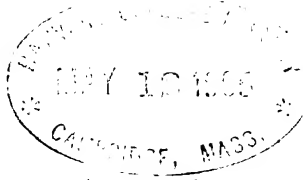
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Carl Marx and His Latter Day Critics.

MARXISM—that theoretical system of which Karl Marx was the chief exponent, and which its adepts are wont to term “Scientific Socialism”—has reached a stage in its existence which marks it as one of those systems of thought which in the history of the intellectual development of the human race are epoch-making and stamp their character upon the age the intellectual life of which they, respectively dominate. While the fight for its existence is still raging, and it is growing in intensity from day to day, the nature of the fight betrays the difference in its position. It no longer fights for recognition, so to speak, but, on the contrary, it fights to maintain the position of an established doctrine, I might say *the* established doctrine, which it has assumed and occupied since the appearance of the last volume of *Capital* in 1894.

Marx-criticism is not any the less frequent or any the less vehement to-day than it was at any time during the life of his doctrines. Quite the reverse: At no time since the first foundations of the great system of thought which bears his name were laid down by Karl Marx, more than fifty years ago, have his assailants been so numerous or so active as they are now. Marxism—opposition to Marxism—is the moving cause, the burden of the song, the ever-recurring *leit-motif*, of every new book, pamphlet, and essay on philosophy, sociology, or political economy, that lays any pretensions to being abreast of the modern current of thought. There are now being published numerous periodicals—weekly, monthly, quarterly etc.,—devoted exclus-

ively, openly or covertly, to the fighting of Marxism. This is itself, of course, one of the manifestations of the dominating influence which the teachings of Marx and his disciples have obtained over the minds of human kind: it now requires the constant efforts of a great army of intellectuals to combat, and that with very doubtful success, the progress of the teaching which less than a quarter of a century ago would have been passed by one of them as a negligible quantity in the sum total of our intellectual life.

Aside however from its volume, the tone of the anti-Marx literature of the present day shows the change in the position of Marxism. The note of personal hostility towards Marx, the slighting estimate of his position in the realm of thought, and of the importance of his system in the development of ideas,—which were once common to the majority of Marx critics—are entirely absent from this literature. On the contrary, the distinguishing feature of this anti-Marxian literature is the homage which is paid by all to Marx the man and the thinker. More important, however, is the fact that most of the new critics of Marxism do not treat it as a new-fangled doctrine the correctness of which is yet to be proven, but, on the contrary, as the old-established and accepted doctrine which they attempt to prove false, in whole or in part, and which, they claim, must, therefore, be revised; supplemented or superseded. No one, however, dares openly defend the theories which Marxism has supplanted. Almost every one admits expressly the justifiableness of Marx's criticism of the theories which predominated before his advent, and that Marx's theories were correct at the time they were first stated and a proper generalization of the data then at hand. What they claim is, that later developments have shown that they were based on insufficient data, and that our present knowledge requires the revision of some of its tenets or the supplementing it by some qualifying truths, according to some, or, that the whole system be thrown overboard, it having been built on false foundations, according to others. Most of the critics, however, stop at revision. Hence, the name *Revisionists*, under which most of the newer Marx-critics are known, and the term *Revisionism* applied to their writings and teachings.

The most important phenomena, however, in this connection and that which, to my mind, conclusively establishes not only the pre-eminent position occupied to-day by Marxism as the recognized and established sociological doctrine, but also the fact that there is no doctrine capable of competing with it for establishment or even of dividing honors with it, are the writings of those of the critics of Marxism who claim that the whole system must be thrown overboard as unscientific. These writings are

the most edifying sort of reading for a Marxist. I shall have occasion, later on, to examine these writings more particularly. Here I wish to say only this: These latter-day critics of Marx do not dare accept in its entirety any other system which has been advocated before their advent; and they do not, with some exceptions which are quite negligible (of which I shall, however, and nevertheless, treat later on), advance any system, wholly or partly original with its author, which would be capable of taking the place of Marxism as an explanation of social phenomena. They almost all, therefore, fall into what may well be termed *Nihilism*, that is to say, they are led to deny the existence, nay, even the possibility, of any social science. In other words: Marxism is so much *the* scientific doctrine in its sphere (which covers all the life of humanity in organized society, including all its social and intellectual manifestations) that you cannot destroy it without at the same time destroying all scientific knowledge of the subject.

It must be said, however, in justice to these writers, that this Nihilism is not confined to those who would destroy Marxism root and branch. A leaning towards Nihilism is discoverable also in most of those critics of Marxism who go no further than revision, as is well exemplified in their leader Eduard Bernstein, who attempted to prove the *impossibility* of scientific socialism, in a lecture delivered before a body of students at Berlin.

Of course, this Nihilism is not equally pronounced in all of Marx's critics. But it is to be found as a more or less conscious substratum of their criticism in all except those who confine their criticism to some one phase or theory of the Marxian system. These latter critics, not dealing with the system as a whole, naturally do not feel the void created by the supposed demolition of the Marxian theory, and can therefore run their course merrily without feeling constrained to either fill the void or account for its existence.

Those however who viewed and reviewed the system as a whole could not but feel the aching void which would be left if the Marxian system were demolished; they naturally looked for another system to be reared in its place, and, that task proving beyond their powers, they fell into Nihilism. Thus the question whether Marxism is or is not science turned into the question whether there is, or could be, any social science. How keenly this was felt by some of the critics of Marxism can be judged from the following statement of Dr. Paul Weisengruen, one of the ablest critics of Marxism and one of those who believe that the whole Marxian system must be abandoned as being radically and basically false. He says, alluding to the so-called "crisis" in Marxism, by which term the Revisionist movement

is sometimes designated —“The crisis in Marxism means a crisis in the whole range of social science.”

All this makes it absolutely imperative to restate the Marxian theory, in the light of this new criticism, examining the objections raised with a view of determining whether and how far this criticism has lead, or must needs lead, to a revision, modification, or abandonment, of any of the subsidiary or tributary theories of Karl Marx; and whether such revision, modification or abandonment, if any be necessary, affects the Marxian system as a whole.

This is the only way in which the latter-day critics of Marxism can be properly answered. It is absolutely impossible to reply within the space of a few magazine articles, separately, to every book and article written by them. Besides, this would be a waste of energy even if it were possible, for a good deal of this literature is mere repetition or based on the same assumptions of fact or logical deduction. And it is also impossible to take one of these writers, as typical of the whole movement, analyze his arguments, and estimate the value of the whole thereon, for the reason that Marx-critics are an extremely independent lot and it is therefore hard to find two of them agreeing on all points. Not only does each of them follow his own or what he at least thinks is his own line of argument, and draw his own conclusions, but these arguments and conclusions are very irreconcilable with one another and often have a tendency to refute one another. Furthermore, they do not very often agree with each other as to what is Marxism, that is to say, as to what are the essential elements of Marx's theoretical system. So that among the critics of Marxism the rule seems to obtain that not only does each tub of criticism stand on its own bottom, but that every man constructs his own Marxism. With some of these critics, of the cheaper sort, of course, this method plays peculiar pranks. A Marxism is constructed, which, while easy of refutation, is so much different from the doctrine of Karl Marx and his disciples that nobody cares a whit as to what happens to it.

All of which goes to show that it would not be fair, and well-nigh impossible, to treat any one of these critics as typical of them all. Each is entitled to a separate hearing, if he is to be answered. This claim was expressly put forth by one critic of Marxism who is not unknown to the readers of the REVIEW. He argued that while Marxists should be held responsible for one another for the reason that Marxism was a well-defined system of thought and body of doctrine to which all adepts of the school are expected to adhere, the opponents of Marxism, and particularly those of a nihilistic bent of mind, belong to no school, believe in no particular system, in short, are a lot of free lances and must be treated accordingly.

• This makes a systematic review of the Literature of Anti-Marxism—the only term which is comprehensive enough to include all of the Marx-criticism—impossible. I will, therefore, at this time, only briefly characterize its leading features, and mention the most important authors, leaving such discussion of any individual writer or argument as may be necessary to the time when that particular part of the Marxian system to which it may be most pertinent will be taken up in the topical discussion which will follow.

The appearance, in 1894, of Karl Marx's chief work, *Capital*, naturally led to a revival of Marx-criticism. But this revival was not in any way general, and nothing of any importance in this line followed immediately the publication of the third volume of *Capital*, with the single exception of Boehm-Bawerk's essay on "Marx and the close of his system," which, because of the method in which the subject is treated and the tone of the discussion, really belongs to the old rather than the new style of Marx-criticism. Boehm-Bawerk's essay which deals with Marx's economic teachings was followed, in 1896, by Professor Rudolph Stammmler's important work on the Materialistic Conception of History. The real beginning, however, of the anti-Marxian literary crusade dates from the publication by Eduard Bernstein in 1897 of his series of articles in the *Neue Zeit*, the organ of the German Marxists, under the title "Socialist Problems," in which the first attempts at Revisionism manifested themselves. Later, in discussing the net results of the new Marx-criticism, I shall endeavor to explain the cause which led Bernstein to a discussion of these "problems." Here it is sufficient to say that aside from the inherent importance of the problems and the causes which led up to and brought about their discussion the personality of Bernstein played an important part in the profound sensation which his articles, and afterward his book "*Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus*," created.

It must be remembered that for years Eduard Bernstein had been one of the recognized exponents of Marxism. He was the editor of the Zurich "Social Democrat," the official organ of the German Social Democracy during the Bismarck anti-Socialist laws. He had for years been closely associated with Frederick Engels, the co-worker of Karl Marx and one of the fathers of "Marxism." He was, therefore, rightfully looked upon by both socialists and non-socialists alike as one of the leading representatives of scientific socialism. His demand, therefore, for a revision of Marxism gave an impetus to Marx-criticism never equalled before. Everything now made for Revisionism. There was a general overhauling of old beliefs and accepted doctrines. The old opponents of Marxism, both open and covert, took heart and mustered again in battle array. Most of them, however, changed

their weapons: They threw away the old-stock arguments of the old and discarded theoretical arsenals which had become absolutely useless, and had therefore been left to rest and rust, and took up the more modern weapons of the Revisionists. Hence, the Revisionist hue of all latter-day anti-Marxian literature.

The most important of the writers to be considered, besides those already mentioned, are: Werner Sombart, Th. G. Masaryk, Paul Barth, Rudolph Wenckstern, Franz Oppenheimer, Ludwig Woltman, Tugan Baranowsky, and Jean Jaures. Another Revisionist whose writings although of little intrinsic value, arrest our attention by the peculiar reflection they cast upon Revisionism, is Dr. Alfred Nossig, the only man who attempted to raise Revisionism to the dignity of a system.

According to the manner in which they treat the subject, the Marx-critics may be roughly divided in three classes: First, the philosophers, who dwell principally on Marx's philosophic system; secondly, the economists, who examine his economic theories; and thirdly, the sociologists, that is to say those who concern themselves chiefly with Marx's theories of the laws which govern the development of the capitalistic system of society. That does not mean that this division is in any way strictly observed. To begin with, there are those who, like Bernstein, treat of all the three subdivisions of the subject, although separately from each other. Then there are those who, while making one of the divisions their chief topic permit their discussion to overlap into the other provinces.

In order that the reader may have well in mind during the following discussion the co-relation of the different parts of the Marxian system, and particularly the inseparability of his "philosophy" from his sociology and economic theory, properly so-called, a brief sketch of the system is herewith given:

"In making their livelihood together men enter into certain necessary involuntary relations with each other, industrial relations which correspond to whatever stage society has reached in the development of its material productive forces. The totality of these industrial relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure is built, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The method of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not men's consciousness which determines their life; on the contrary, it is their social life which determines their consciousness.

"At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the old conditions of production, or, what is its legal expression, with the old property relations under which these forces have hitherto been

exerted. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into fetters of production. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic basis the whole vast superstructure becomes slowly or rapidly revolutionized.

"At any given stage of the development of society based on the private ownership of property that social class which owns the tools of production then in use dominates that society politically. When the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the old conditions of production, a new class has arisen in that society, which disputes the political supremacy of the old dominating class, the class which owns and controls the new material productive forces, and a struggle for life and death then ensues between these two classes. In this struggle the new class invariably comes out victorious. In the social revolution which follows the victory of the new class the new material productive forces are unchained and are given free scope to assert themselves, and the new class, controlling these forces, becomes politically supreme.

"A form of society never breaks down until all the productive forces are developed for which it affords room. New and higher relations of production are never established until the material conditions of life to support them have been generated in the lap of the old society itself. Therefore mankind always sets for itself only such tasks as it is able to perform; for upon close examination it will always be found that the task itself only arises where the material conditions for its solution are already at hand or are at least in process of formation.

"The industrial relations arising out of the capitalistic method of production constitute the last of the antagonistic forms of social production; antagonistic not in the sense of an individual antagonism, but of an antagonism growing out of the social conditions of individuals. But the productive forces which are developed in the lap of the capitalistic society create at the same time the material conditions needed for the abolition of this antagonism. The capitalist form of society, therefore, brings to a close this prelude to the history of human society."

The material conditions needed for the abolition of this antagonism have matured in the lap of the capitalistic system itself by the time it has reached that stage of development when the material productive forces come into conflict with the old conditions of production, and these conditions of production have become obstacles in the way of production and to social revolution.

The break-down of the capitalistic system of production leading to social revolution will be brought about by the inherent contradictions of the capitalistic system of production.

The laws which govern the capitalistic form of production will ultimately lead to the extinction of the middle strata of society as independent, property-owning, classes, and divide society into two classes: the very small minority owning all the wealth of society, and the large mass of the people, the working class, who own nothing, not even their own bodies if they want to keep from starvation. At the same time the development of machinery will continue to throw more and more workmen out of employment and make the share of those workmen who are employed in the product produced by them grow continually smaller. The productive forces of society will not only become fettered, so that they will largely have to remain idle, but even that portion which will not remain in enforced idleness will be able to produce only with tremendous accompanying waste and convulsive interruptions, until finally a point will be reached when, by the very conditions of capitalistic production, because of the large portion of the working class out of employment and the small share of the goods produced by them received by the employed workman in return for their labor, there will accumulate such an enormous mass of goods which the capitalists will be unable to dispose of, that is to say find a market for, that production will have to be indefinitely suspended.

Meanwhile the discontent of the working class has been growing, and the sense of the injustice done to it accumulating. It has developed a code of ethics of its own: Having no property themselves the workmen have lost all sense of the sacredness of private property. Most property being owned by corporations having "no body to be kicked and no soul to be damned," they fail to see the necessity of private ownership or the usefulness of private owners. They have nothing to lose and they have grown bold. They have forgotten their duties to their families, for which they can do nothing and which are, for the most part, their independent co-workers instead of dependents, but their sense of duty to their class has been constantly growing upon them during the long period of struggle preceding the final encounter.

The working class has been organized by the very process of capitalistic production and exploitation. It has been educated to understand its own powers and possibilities. It is animated by the world-historic mission devolved upon it. It contains within its own ranks all the elements necessary for conducting the production of society on a higher plane, so as to utilize all the productive powers of society. The mechanical development of productive forces requires production on a large co-operative basis. The working class takes possession of the social machinery, and the real history of human society begins—the co-operative commonwealth.

L. BOUDIN.

(To be continued.)

The Judges' Oath.

THE Statutes of the United States require that all federal judges shall take the following oath of office (U. S. Revised Statutes, sec. 712):

"I do solemnly swear that I will administer justice without respect to persons, and do equal right to the poor and to the rich, and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge and perform all the duties incumbent on me as judge, according to the best of my abilities and understanding, agreeably to the constitution and law of the United States; so help me God."

This Statute was originally passed in 1789, 116 years ago. What we wish to call attention to especially in this oath is its reference to the "rich" and "poor." As socialism grows in strength and the class war becomes more clearly defined, it becomes more and more apparent that the courts are the last resort and bulwark of the capitalist class. The charge of the socialists that the courts are under the control of the capitalist class, which was formerly ignored, is being verified so constantly that silence no longer answers the purpose. It has become fashionable now to quote the judges' oath to prove the impartiality of the courts as between the capitalist class and the labor class. Hardly a lawyers' banquet is held anywhere nowadays but after the champagne some one sings the praises of our impartial courts and closes by reciting the judges' oath. One justice of the Supreme Court in particular has made a specialty of this judicial fad of self patting-on-the-back, reiterating *ad nauseum* that seductive phrase about doing equal right to the poor and to the rich.

It is hard enough to endure class oppression without having it rubbed in as a blessing. Let us, therefore, proceed to puncture this inflation of ignorance and hypocrisy, and learn why it is that judges who deny the existence of classes in this country, admit that there is a rich class and a poor class, but cannot admit that there is a capitalist class and a labor class.

When this oath was established in 1789 the population of this country consisted principally of small farmers, merchants and mechanics working with their own tools. Some had more, some had less. Some were called rich, some poor. Few were without the tools to employ themselves and such as lacked tools could acquire them by a few years' work as journeymen. All expected

to work and own the products of their labor. The words "capitalist" and "proletarian" were unknown: so were the things for which these words stand. Corporations were practically unknown. Business and industry were carried on by individuals and the prevailing form of property was individual property operated by the owner himself. This is the kind of property which, together with slave property, was guaranteed protection by the constitution; under this protection and the fostering care of our "independent" judiciary it has nearly all been wiped out of existence. We are not complaining particularly of the fact that the judiciary is dependent on the capitalist class. What we complain of is the hypocrisy which denies this dependence. Did you ever stop to think what it would mean to have an independent judiciary? Independent of whom? If the judiciary were really independent of all the rest of the people it would constitute an absolute despotism. What is meant by an independent judiciary is one which is independent of the votes of the working class and dependent on the favor of the capitalist class.

Many socialists will not agree with us, but we are one of those who hold that the existing State does pretend and must pretend to be established to promote justice, public welfare and the education of all. We are willing to take it at its word, accept its own Bill of Rights, and then say to it, "Thou hypocrite! out of thy own mouth shalt thou be condemned." This line of attack is particularly well adapted to use against our boastful judiciary. It is not only on the economic field that capitalism has forged the weapons of its own destruction. The same thing is not less true in the juridical-ethical field. Give us control of the equity courts and we can hoist capitalism by its own maxims of equity. Take Pomeroy's Equity Jurisprudence, which has been called the chancellor's bible, and compare its doctrines with the performances of our modern courts. One judge, strange to say, went so far as to admit that there is a labor question, but added, as he signed the order for an injunction that the labor question is something not for the present age to settle but for the future.

These very courts of alleged "equity" which were once so revolutionary as against the feudal law are now used as the greatest engines of oppression against the working class. Socialists lack the sense of humor; they take such things as justice and equity seriously, while capitalists treat them as a huge joke. It is the peculiar nemesis of the capitalist class, more so than with previous ruling classes, that it is compelled to play the role of hypocrite. It must pretend to favor the uplifting of the masses while in reality its very existence depends on keeping the masses down. This has been explained with great force and beauty in his "Workingman's Programme" by Ferdinand Lassalle, who

was something of a jurist himself. Through historical development a condition has been reached where hypocrisy is as essential to the existence of the capitalist class as economic supremacy. The observance of law and the breaking of law are both equally fatal to this class. The making of apologies and excuses now constitutes its main occupation—apologies for breaking some of the laws and excuses for not observing others.

But we are digressing. Let us get back to the rich and the poor.

Here a few definitions will not be out of place for some of our readers.

A rich man is one who has considerable property, but gets no income therefrom. He is able to live without fear of want and without labor by consuming his principal.

A capitalist is one who has considerable property but does not consume any part of it for living purposes, neither does he perform any useful labor. Keeping his capital intact, he lives solely on his income which those who labor pay to him willingly (so it is claimed). The difference between a rich man and a capitalist is that one lives off of his principal and the other off of his income.

A poor man is one who has little property, which he cannot afford to consume, but must preserve as a means to assist his labor. He produces his livelihood by his labor, but it is not dependent on others for the opportunity to labor. He is usually represented as owning a cottage. "The law protects equally the poor man's cottage and the rich man's palace," was the phrase recently used at a lawyers' banquet in Chicago.

A proletarian is one who has no cottage, no principal, no income, no tools, and hence no opportunity to labor. The only property he has is labor power and this is useless without the opportunity to apply it. He buys this opportunity by selling his body to a so-called "employer" for board and clothes, so-called "wages."

The difference between a poor man and a proletarian is that one has an opportunity to labor with his own tools and owns his products; hence he is called a free laborer; the other has no opportunity to labor until he buys this privilege by selling his hands and is hence called a "hired hand;" he has ceased to be a person. He owns no products.

The individual property of 1789 was succeeded in the first half of the 19th century by the individual capitalist and by partnership property; and now this too has been superseded by corporate property. The bulk of the business to-day, outside of agriculture, is carried on by corporations "for profit."

In 1789 there was very little public property. There were no large cities or municipal corporations. Some of these gigantic

aggregations of common interests to-day exceed in population and wealth all of the original thirteen states together at the time the judges' oath was formulated. These cities own vast communal property, giving them separate property rights as against the property rights of individuals and private corporations. How these communal rights are protected by federal courts can be seen in the Chicago Traction litigation. In 1789 the rights of the public were so hazy as to give rise to the proverb that the public has no rights. In law books "property rights" meant rights of individual property owners, not the rights of the public as a property owner. In judicial decisions there was a strong tendency to minimize the rights of the public as against the rights of a private individual or private corporation "for profit." The public broadly speaking being the thing out of which profits are made, the absurdity of giving a corporation a charter to make profits out of the public and then protecting the public against its operations is apparent at a glance. The public corporation exists for welfare only, which is an indefinite and insignificant thing compared with profits. The public, though a large property owner in its corporate capacity, cannot be classified under the head of rich or poor.

The various kinds of property we have described differ not only in quantity but also in quality. The fact that all kinds have or are assumed to have a market or sale value which can be expressed in money and are hence homogeneous is misleading. Each has a specific character of its own, distinct from the other kinds, in fact so distinct and different that these different kinds of property cannot flourish well contemporaneously, but only successively. They are at war with each other and the form which prevails for the time being gives the character to the period. "Rich" and "poor" refer to quantity of property only and not to quality; in the sense of "great" and "small" they might be applied to the owners of any of the different kinds of property. The acme of hypocrisy is reached in pretending that property is all alike in substance and differs only in quantity or amount.

The different kinds of property are described as individual, capitalist, corporate, labor-power, communal, slave, feudal, etc. These words refer to quality, not to quantity. These forms of property determine the classes into which the people are divided. No question of rich or poor arises. When Washington in his farewell address warned the people so earnestly, almost frantically, against the evils of party strife he truly saw that the comparatively homogeneous individual property of the early colonists was breaking up into new and irreconcilable forms which would be the bases of classes and parties. There is no way of protecting one form of property without violating or disparaging some other form. The struggles culminating in the Civil war arose from the

protection of capitalist property by the violation of slave property, or vice versa, and resulted in the total abolition of one form of property. Capitalist property maintains itself by the violation of labor property. The present continuous industrial war will result in the protection of labor property and communal property by the abolition of capitalist property. The essence of capitalist property is not the possession or ownership of physical objects, called wealth, but is the right to collect a perpetual income from other people or from society at large. This right constitutes a social privilege of substantially the same character as the old feudal privileges and by its very nature admits of no adequate compensation. It is easy enough to compensate a man for his property, but not for the right to collect an income upon it, because the property given in compensation will lack this income producing feature.

Bearing these distinctions in mind, what is the use of talking about justice for the proletarian? There can be no justice for him except to abolish proletarianism. Having no external property, he is neither rich nor poor. He is the social cypher who, though nothing in himself, makes the higher denominations possible. Justice for the proletarian in the courts! Justice between a hired "hand" and a huge trust! Between a human commodity and a corporate abstraction! There is no congruity, no common ground or common denominator which can be resorted to for the purpose of comparing them and adjusting their equities. They are incommensurable things. Hence in criminal law they are punished differently, the one with imprisonment, the other with fines only, because no question of dealing out justice to "persons" arises here at all.

If it is thought necessary to have the judges parade their hypocrisy before the public, drag from the closet this social skeleton of class oppression which haunts present society, and emphasize the impossibility of doing justice under class rule, we would suggest an oath somewhat on the following lines:

"I do solemnly swear that I will administer justice without respect to persons, or class or sexes or corporations or municipalities; and will do equal right to the poor and to the rich; to the capitalist, to the independent worker and to the proletarian; to the woman laborer, to the child laborer and to those who seek employment and cannot find it; to the scab, not only while he is breaking a strike, but also when the strike is over and he is out of a job; to the corporation organized solely for profit and to the human being organized and existing not solely for profit; to labor unions and employers' unions; that in all cases which seem to be equally balanced or where the law is capable of two interpretations, one favorable to capitalists, the other favorable to

proletarians, I will decide in favor of the capitalists; likewise in matters which are not compulsory upon the courts, but rest in the discretion of the judge, I will favor the capitalists as against the proletarians; so help me God."

MARCUS HITCH.

The Jesuits' Attack on Socialism.

IT has long been recognized that the most uncompromising and in many respects the ablest opponents of socialism were to be found within the Catholic Church and particularly within that organization known as the Jesuits. A work has recently appeared which may be taken as the final climax of Jesuitical scholarship and the best or worst attack that the intellectual ability and political training of that famous organization is capable of producing. This is a translation of Victor Cathrein's (S. J.) "Socialism, Its Theoretical Basis and Practical Application." We are informed that this is the "authorized translation of the eighth German edition with special reference to the condition of Socialism in the United States, revised and enlarged by Victor F. Gettelmann, S. J." Published by Benziger Bros., "Printers to the Holy Apostolic See." That no question may be raised as to its authoritative character, as an expression of church attitude we find on the second page *Nihil Obstat*, signed Remy Lafort, Censor Librorum, and below that again comes *Imprimatur*, John M. Farley, Archbishop of New York. This work in its German form has been before the public for about fifteen years. During all this time it has been going through various editions, with constant modifications and probably re-adaptations as its authors might consider most effective for the crushing of socialism. It is a tribute to the strength of the socialist movement in America that this, the heaviest gun of ecclesiastical scholasticism has now been erected on American soil. In the author's preface we are told that:

"In view of this gigantic development of social democracy it certainly behooves every man of culture, but above all the leaders in civil and social life, to become familiar with socialist ideas, to make themselves acquainted with the scientific basis so much vaunted by socialists, and to form an independent judgment concerning them.

"To oppose the spread of socialism by means of police regulations, as was done by the famous Socialist Law of Germany, must always prove utterly abortive; in this struggle intellectual and moral weapons rather will be used to advantage."

Therefore we know it is because socialism has become so strong as to be looked upon as a menace to capitalism that the present edition has appeared. The American translator assures us of the international character of the work by calling attention

to the fact that it has already been translated into eight of the European languages. Again, it is a special tribute to American Socialism that Jesuitical scholarship has not contented itself with but a mere translation, but has increased the size of the work by the addition of material applying especially to America, to twice its former size. Remembering the unlimited leisure and thorough scholastic training accorded to this branch of the Catholic priesthood we may be sure that this work represents practically all that can be said about socialism by its worst enemies.

A work so produced and so endorsed and therefore backed by the circulating power of one of the most perfect of social organizations is assured of a large circulation. On the practical side therefore the work deserves careful attention from the Socialists. If the Socialists can meet and overthrow the arguments contained in this volume they will, on the principle that the greater must always contain the less, have vanquished all minor oppositions. Let us then proceed to a consideration of the work. It opens with the familiar study of the transition of Socialism from the Utopian to the scientific stage, and the author correctly concludes that there is really no connection between modern socialism and primitive communism, or on the doctrinal side between the work of the Utopians and the work of modern Socialists.

"The roots of modern socialism are to be found first of all in the great development of industry and the consequent modification of social conditions dating from the latter part of the eighteenth century. Since the French Revolution the unhampered development of industrial forces in unrestricted competition has undoubtedly brought about astounding results in the field of technical discoveries and their application to industry and commerce. But one of these results was also the great division of society into two hostile classes—a small number of wealthy capitalists, and an immense multitude of laborers—which classes are usually designated respectively as *capital* and *labor*. But above all, the *proletariat*, that homeless, floating population of our great cities which has already assumed gigantic proportions, is the almost inevitable result of modern industry, in as far as by its machinery it practically precludes the existence of independent tradesmen and promotes the concentration of great masses of factory laborers.

"Side by side with this increasing proletariat the disruption of family life, drunkenness, and dissolute morals have been growing apace. Moreover, by the baneful influence of the higher classes gross materialism and an insatiable craving for enjoyment have penetrated the masses of the people, whilst numerous upstarts with their quickly amassed wealth openly revel in senseless luxury. Thus the smouldering fire of discontent needed but a breeze to fan the flames into a fierce conflagration."

This statement should be carefully considered since the author many times forgets it in his later arguments. Then follows a consideration of the pioneers of modern socialism in which the work of Babeuf, Saint Simon, Fourier, Owen and others is briefly considered. Very properly too, the chief position is given to

Marx and Engels. In a discussion of these two writers he states in a very fair and accurate form the doctrine of the "Materialistic Interpretation of History" and the "Class Struggle" and Marxian Economics. In every case where possible he gives direct quotations and so far as I have been able to discover, these are not only correctly given, but are the strongest and best selections on the points covered. This is succeeded by a survey of the "Present State of Socialism" in which each country is taken in turn, and a generally accurate and concise summary of the movement is given, the principal emphasis being very properly laid upon Germany for the European movement and upon the American movement because of the national purpose of the present volume. It is interesting, however, to note that he accuses the Socialists of being unjust and tyrannical in attempting to decide Socialist principles by a convention. A Jesuit pleading in the name of science against authoritative declarations is an instructive spectacle! In one place, however, when treating of the German movement he is guilty of deliberate falsification. This is where he declares that the Socialists oppose trade unions and anything tending to improve the conditions of the workers. Since this same error occurs later on we will treat it more fully at that point. In his sketch of the American Labor Movement there is little of which to complain and we cannot but feel he has really landed a small, but nevertheless deserved blow when he declares that "the new platform is eminently a campaign document." On the whole, however, while as we shall see he does sometimes erect straw men, he has not done so in his opening chapter. In his second chapter he proceeds to "an examination of the principal basis of socialism: the materialist conception of history." Here is the point on which Socialists have always been most willing to try issues with the enemy and it is refreshing to find one who meets them on their own ground. That he is fair in his statement of the theory may be seen by the following:

"Their whole theory may be reduced to the following four simple statements:

- "1. There is no dualism of spirit and matter.
- "2. In the social relations and institutions of man there is nothing immutable; everything is subject to a constant process of change.
- "3. In this constant change production and the exchange of products are the determining and decisive factors.
- "4. Social development is effected by the formation of economic contrasts and class struggles."

These are the propositions which he proposes to disprove. If he succeeds in doing this then he will have demolished the socialist philosophy. He takes them up in turn and here is his answer to the first. I quote his entire argument(?) without modification.

"Marx, as well as Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht, etc., never tires of

repeating that man very gradually developed from the brute—in Marx's opinion from the ape. It need not be mentioned that thereby Christianity, its doctrines of paradise, of original sin, of redemption by means of the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ, of heaven and hell, are thrown overboard. Socialist leaders are fully aware of these consequences and make them their own. No occasion is allowed to pass without giving free vent to their hatred of Christianity.

"It cannot be expected of us to refute here all the errors indicated above, together with countless others necessarily connected with them. This would require not merely a treatise on apologetics, but also an entire course of philosophy. Besides, socialists are too self-confident to offer any proofs for their assertions; at most they are content with revamping the stale objections of Feuerbach, Strauss, Darwin, and others of that ilk. We address ourselves to readers who have still some regard for their dignity as human beings."

Surely if ever there was a case of a mountain laboring and producing a mouse this is it. A slur, an assertion, an appeal to religious dogma and prejudice is offered as the only reply which twenty years of theological study can produce. Then he takes up the second postulate that "nothing is immutable,—everything is subject to a constant, never-ending process of change." Here is his reply, "It is plain that such views are the outcome of the grossest materialism * * * Every iota of revealed truth will remain true forever, just as the so-called materialistic conception of history is a pernicious error." Later on, however, he really does proceed to something more like argument. He declares that:

"The negation of eternal and immutable concepts and principles makes knowledge and science impossible and involves hopeless contradictions. It is not satisfied with registering exterior phenomena, it tries to penetrate to and lay bare the hidden causes and governing laws and thence to draw its conclusions; it endeavors to ascend to general and necessary principles. But how can this be done if no general, necessary, and immutable notions exist? If there are no immutable concepts, there is also no intellectual communication between different generations. It is impossible to enter upon the mode of thought of times gone by or to foresee in aught the destinies of future ages. The identity of concepts is completely lacking. How can we know whether Plato or Aristotle have reasoned correctly, how can we at all fathom their meaning, if their concepts and opinions were quite different from ours? In fact, we are completely at a loss to know whether they had ideas and opinions at all, because what we understand by these terms is mayhap a product of modern economic conditions unknown to the ancients. The most gruesome scepticism is the only logical consequence of the 'materialistic conception of history.'"

But is this true? Is it true that science never changes? On the next page he assures us that

"The notion of being, substance, essence, quality, quantity, motion, force, cause, effect, law, necessity, time, eternity, relation, equality, knowledge, cognition, will, evolution, and countless others are the common property of all the sciences, not excluding the mathematical."

But as a matter of fact the notions of "substance," "essence," "motion," "law," "cognition," "will," and "evolution," at least,

of those mentioned, have been subject to tremendous changes within the last generation. Scarcely any one of these terms conveys the same idea in the field of science that it did fifty years ago and this is something of which the author cannot be ignorant. His inconsistency on this point is seen by the fact that in other places, see pages 169 and 243, he takes the Socialists to task because they are consistent and recognize that their own philosophy changes with industrial progress.

The central point of the materialistic conception of history is the one which he includes under his third postulate as follows: "In the process of evolution the economic conditions are the determining and decisive factors." How then does he meet this which he correctly designates as the "very marrow of the materialistic conception of history?" First, by an assertion that Marx and Engels are by it "haplessly involved in flagrant contradictions." Then another assertion that "this postulate has no meaning or value except from the point of downright materialism." Then by an appeal to religious prejudice with the statement that "to him who knows that God has infused into man a spiritual soul" the falsity of the materialistic interpretation of history is evident. Unfortunately there seems to be a large number of people who do not know this fact. Then he admits the truth of the whole statement and concedes that "economic activity will ever be of *paramount* importance in human life." Since this is all that his statement of the materialistic interpretation of history includes we cannot but feel that it constitutes a complete surrender. This is especially true since later on page 139 he declares that "modern inventions" * * * "are the real revolutionaries." But he once more falls back on revelation (?) and declares that "by thought and reflection every human being, however different the economic conditions of each one may be, will arrive at the truth in a life to come," a statement for which, unfortunately, he offers no proof. He follows this up with other reckless assertions. He tells us that "the economic and social life of the Israelitic people was determined and supported entirely by its religious faith." Since practically all modern writers agree on the exact reverse of this, we would think that he would furnish some proof of such a statement—however, no such proof appears. Again he asks us, as if the question were final, that if the economic interpretation of history be true, "how could the Catholic Church, throughout all times and all places, remain essentially the same, in spite of different economic conditions from country to country and from century to century?" Unfortunately for his arguments, that church has not retained any such continuity, as travelers and historians alike can testify, but has varied at all times and places until its adaptability has become proverbial.

And with such arguments as these he seeks to overthrow the hundreds of volumes of carefully collected facts and logical arguments in support of that theory.

But let us proceed to his consideration of the final postulate that "the evolution of history is effected by economic contrasts and class struggles." At last our enemies meet us on the ground of the class struggle and remembering the scholarship and the authoritative character of the work, we should be prepared for heavy attacks. What we do find are simply some more assertions that all human institutions are determined by the standard of natural law. In his attempt at historical refutation he introduces oriental illustrations where there has been no perceptible progress and no class struggles and no great industrial changes and then asks, "Why did not class struggles transform these nations?" Then in order to refute this count in the indictment he makes the statement previously quoted that "modern inventions are the real revolutionaries," but seems to overlook that fact that in so doing he concedes the main premise of which the class struggle is but a corollary.

Having thus disposed of the philosophical foundations of Socialism he proceeds to the economics of Marx. Starting with the labor value theory we are somewhat surprised to find one who has hitherto kept at least some form of intellectual honesty accusing Marx of having overlooked the element of desirability in a commodity as being essential to the possession of value. Although this same objection has been trotted out by every cheap Bourgeois critic of Marx, yet pages could easily be filled with quotations from the first volume of "Capital" showing how utterly dishonest is this argument. Therefore we are justified in accusing the Reverend Cathrein of deliberate lying when he states that "value in use, according to him (Marx) is no factor in the determination of value in exchange." Marx repeats over and over again that only labor which is used in the production of useful things can give exchange value. What he does insist, however, is that this value must be taken for granted as an essential part of all articles of value and the thing which determines their rate of exchange therefore, is not their utility, but the labor power expended upon them. On the whole this portion of the work is simply a rehashing of Boehm-Bawerk's old arguments.

He next considers the doctrine of concentration of industries and presents a mass of German statistics tending to show that the middle class is not decreasing. He seems to forget that on page 23 he has already declared that one of the results of modern industry "was also the great division of society into two hostile classes—a small number of wealthy capitalists and an immense number of laborers" and again on page 230 he tells us that

"Since modern discoveries were made to serve merely the interests of a few capitalists, the solid middle class, which formed the strongest support of the existing social order, began more and more to disappear, and society was divided into two hostile classes—the wealthier bourgeoisie, on the one hand, with their inveterate hatred of the Church and the nobility, with their insatiable avarice and reckless oppression of the laborers as of an inferior race; on the other hand, the huge masses of the poor, particularly laborers in factories, filled with hatred and revenge against their capitalist oppressors."

It might be sufficient to let Jesuit answer Jesuit, but his figures deserve a moment's consideration since they serve to illustrate the tricky character which continually shows through his ostensible fairness. Although he has taken the greatest pains to Americanize his work at all other points he is very careful to use only German statistics here. We have a right to assume that he did this because he knew that the figures concerning American industry would have overthrown his entire argument.

These are the principal points of his argument. For the remainder, so far as a refutation of Socialist doctrines are concerned, his writings consist of mere assertions. For instance he disposes of the army of the unemployed by simply stating that "they exist only in Socialist writings" and he follows this up by repeating the falsehood which we may be sure will be used in this country so long as the present alliance between labor fakirs, capitalists and Socialist critics remain—"that socialists are antagonistic to trade unions." We do not care to enter into his discussion of Socialism and Religion since his idea of both of these terms is different from that of all save his own sect. There is one statement, however, which is worthy of attention. He declares that "Christianity forbids Revolution. That is a violent subversion of the lawfully existing social order." We wonder if there are any who are so utterly ignorant of history as to have never heard of the multitude of times that the Catholic Church has incited to violent revolution against the existing order. Indeed it is not necessary to go into history. France and the clerical question afford us a present illustration, but under this head he has a paragraph which is mightily suggestive.

"Or are, perhaps, the learned and cultured leaders of the social democratic party so simple as to believe that all private owners would freely surrender their possessions to the community, that the Church would freely renounce its institutions and its possessions, that monarchs would freely descend from their thrones, that the nobility would readily sacrifice their inherited rights, and the peasantry abandon the lands tilled by their forefathers?"

So then the church is inciting to violent revolution at the present time. So the Catholic priesthood proposes that should the workers ever decide to stop the robbery of our present

system, it would throw its strength in with the robber barons to overthrow any attempt to secure justice.

Very well, forewarned is fore-armed. The author finds that Socialism is the direct outgrowth of modern liberalism by which he evidently means all of modern scientific thought. With this definition we admit it and are proud of it. His final chapter on "Socialism Impracticable" contains the same old silly straw man that has been set up and blown over by every Socialist killer of the last half century. All the old bogey-men are trotted out and made to do duty again. It is interesting to note that this opponent of gross materialism considers that the only bond that unites man and wife is the necessity of supporting their children. (See page 347). He boldly denounces higher education for the mass of the people and slurs at all general education. When he comes to his conclusions it would seem as if he had somehow become conscious of the weakness of his arguments, for he here descends to deliberate and unscrupulous lying. Judge for instance from the following statement:

"Therefore it is part of the system of orthodox socialists, especially in Germany, to oppose all efforts made for the betterment of the lower classes. It is their policy, as Bebel has worded it, 'to retain the wounds of the body social in festering condition.' In the German parliament most of the legislative measures in favor of the working population were antagonized by socialists under the pretence of their being mere palliatives which would retard the advent of the communist paradise."

When it is remembered that even the Catholic unions have come to look only to the Socialist representatives in the German parliament for legislative relief the disreputable character of such a quotation is evident.

But the heart of the whole business is found in a sentence occurring on almost the last page. "How can the laborer be expected to bear the toils and hardships that are inseparable from his state if he has been led to believe that all hopes and fears in regard to the retribution beyond the grave are childish fancies and with this life all shall come to an end?" In other words the Church is to have as its main function the work of a sort of celestial policeman to keep the workers quiet while they are being skinned. "The wealthy," he tells us, "must bear in mind that they have been appointed by God as it were the administrators of their earthly possessions." This sort of doctrine may have answered very well for the middle ages; it might have served to quiet the protests of chattel slaves, but modern Capitalism demands of its slaves an intelligence incompatible with such doctrines.

So much for the mightiest intellectual battery Capitalism

has been able to erect against Socialism. It is absolutely incapable of harm against those who have a general knowledge of the principles of Socialism, but it may well serve as a foil for the training for Socialist agitators. As such we recommend it to our readers. It is well worthy of examination. It is not difficult to master or to refute. Yet when it is vanquished the intellectual forces of Capitalism will have been routed.

A. M. SIMONS.

Evolution of the Theory of Evolution.

(Continued.)

When astronomy, geography, experimental physics, and physiology were engaged in their first determined attempts to clear away the metaphysical rubbish of the Middle Ages and push human thought once more into its truly evolutionary course, philosophy likewise awoke from its long slumber. For almost 1900 years, the methods of the natural philosophers have been abandoned. During all that time, the human mind had been wandering aimlessly in the mazes of metaphysical speculation. Revelation, instead of being sought in the open book of nature, had been looked for with up-turned eyes beyond the clouds, in fairy-land.

At last, in 1620, Francis Bacon published his "*Novum Organum*." His plea for new methods of research in the study of nature was a fatal blow to the metaphysical philosophy of Aristotle. By demanding a "new mind" and declaring the human senses the infallible sources of all understanding, Bacon infused new life into the natural philosophy of ancient Greece and pointed human evolution once more into the redeeming course of evolutionary materialism.

However, it cannot be emphasized too strongly, that the idea of evolution, though sporadically scattered through Bacon's philosophy and that of other materialists of the 17th and 18th centuries, had but a spasmodic existence among them, and was frequently not even as clearly expressed as we find it in the works of the Grecian natural philosophers. The historical conditions for an empirical proof of evolution had not yet matured, and the theological influence of those times applied the brake too heavily for a rapid improvement of the ideas of the natural philosophers.

Furthermore, the ancient natural philosophy had been the rallying center of Grecian "democracy." It had been the scientific weapon of progress in the class-struggle between aristocracy and democracy, at a time when theology was not enthroned as an economic ruler, and when religion had at best but a slight hold on men's mind's. The new materialist philosophy, on the other hand, arose at a time when the class-struggles raged fiercely around two religions, and when philosophy did not reach down

into the world of the trading and working classes. Through the influence of the church, Latin had become the language of science, and in consequence the new materialist philosophy came upon the scene, not as a social force, but as a hobby of scholars, a pastime of the select. And it continued to use Latin as its medium of expression for a long time. Indeed, we have not gotten away from this reactionary habit yet, and the fostering of ancient languages in our modern schools still continues to do valiant service in the interest of reaction. It is not until the modern proletariat creates its own science, that the old exclusive and aristocratic mannerisms of feudal and middle class science are abandoned, and the familiar language of the day employed to prepare the mental food for the eager proletarian student.

In the 17th century, and to a great extent also in the 18th and 19th, the exclusive methods and assumptions of aristocratic science were fatal, not alone for the masses, but also for the scientists themselves. So long as science does not pulsate in the throbbing life outside of the study of the scientist, theological or metaphysical speculations permeate the entire fabric of society. In the 17th century, the class-struggles between the two great religions kept the popular mind in a state of continuous excitement so that even kings had to be careful not to exasperate the people in theological matters. Neither Bacon nor the other materialists of the 17th century could get away from this religious atmosphere, and their materialism is, therefore, strongly tainted with theological and metaphysical inconsistencies. As a logical result, materialism did not get very far along on its evolutionary road, and metaphysics retained its sway in science as well as in philosophy. Nevertheless, it is the merit of Bacon to have imparted fresh vigor to the inductive and empirical study of nature.

The men who built on the foundation laid by Bacon developed his materialism in two different directions. Those who felt attracted by the theistic aphorisms of his doctrine, became the fathers of metaphysical schools of thinkers in England and France. On the other hand, those who felt kin to the materialist essence of Baconian philosophy, continued along this road and thus became the intellectual fathers of the socialist philosophy. Frequently these two tendencies intermingled and produced a hybrid materialist dualism, which was quite as incongruous as the metaphysical materialism of their predecessors.

This imperfect and groping philosophy led to absurd contradictions between the theory and practice of scientists and philosophers. For instance, the logical successor of Bacon, Hobbes, was more pronounced and consistent in his materialism than Bacon, and pushed the human mind forward in the line of evolution toward a more empirical and monistic science. But politi-

cally he was a reactionary of the first water, a defender of royal prerogative and absolutism, a foe of the *puer robustus sed malitiosus* (robust but malicious boy), the "common" people. On the other hand, Hegel, the father of modern idealism and a vigorous opponent of materialism, became the founder of the most revolutionary method of research, the dialectic method, and constructed the fundament of the modern ideas of evolution. This conflict between theory and practice characterizes all scientists and philosophers, with the exception of the founders of scientific socialism and of their socialist disciples. It is a fact, which explains itself out of the historical conditions of proletarian evolution, that the scientific socialists are the only consistent monist materialists of the present day. It is the "irony of fate," which compels the reactionary forces to do evolutionary work against their will and to assist the proletarian scientists, who are conscious evolutionists from necessity, in their historical mission. The most conspicuous example of this historical contradiction between theory and practice is furnished by the churches. Yet they, too, in spite of their reactionary and anti-proletarian practices, have been compelled to level distinctions between classes, nations, and races, and to prepare the ground for a universal evolution toward human brotherhood. The use of Latin in science, to which I have just alluded, illustrates one phase of this leveling process very well. When the proletariat of the Roman empire had been defeated in its evolutionary aims, the Roman church cultivated Latin as an international language. And though it promoted an internationalism of the select few, yet even this gradually served to antagonize the reactionary power of dogmatism, since it was the most relentless foe of theological dogmatism, science, which finally cultivated Latin as an international language. And this science is in our day more and more compelled to ally itself with the class-conscious proletariat. It is a significant fact that all modern languages, which have become more or less world-languages, such as Spanish, French, and English, contain many elements of Latin. And since English is rapidly becoming the international language of the so-called civilized world, the modern proletariat will have little difficulty in assimilating the scant survivals of Latin which are indispensable for an understanding of the technicalities of modern science.

However, in Bacon's time natural philosophy tottered about rather drowsily after 1900 years of sleep, and took but slight notice of the ominous handwriting which capitalist development was slowly but surely tracing on the wall of social institutions. So much more briskly did economic evolution proceed on its course, sowing the seeds of future revolutions, which would in due time clear the field for a more scientific and evolutionary materialism. For instance, when cotton-planting was introduced

in Virginia, one year after the publication of Bacon's "*Novum Organum*," the germs were scattered for the Civil War, that was destined to shake the foundations of the future North-American republic, 245 years later, and to sound the tocsin for a proletarian movement, which would some day reap the mature fruits of materialist science.

At the same time, inventors began to cast about for means of increasing the productivity of labor, and natural science gathered more empirical material for its special departments.

Early in the 17th century, De Caus, a French engineer, had invented a machine by which a column of water could be elevated by the pressure of steam confined in a vessel above the water. In 1629, Branca, an Italian inventor, contrived a plan for working several mills by a blast of steam against the vanes. In 1639, the transit of Venus across the orb of the sun was for the first time observed by Horrox. The barometer was invented by Torricelli in 1642. The marquis of Worchester described, in his "Century of Inventions," 1663, an apparatus for raising water by the expansive force of steam. Two years later, Isaac Newton published his first improved methods of astronomical calculation. In 1669, Brandt discovered phosphorus. Roemer ascertained the velocity of light in 1675. Leibniz published his invention of the differential calculus in 1684. And in 1687, Newton came forth with his "*Principia*," enunciating the laws of gravity. Denis Papin, a native of France and professor at the university of Marburg, Germany, conceived the idea, in 1688, of obtaining motive power by means of a piston working in a cylinder, through a sudden condensation of steam by cold. In 1698, Captain Savery, an Englishman, obtained a patent for the first actual working steam engine to be used in raising water. And in 1705, Thomas Newcomen, a blacksmith, and John Cawley, a plumber, patented an atmospheric engine, in which condensation was effected by pouring cold water upon the external surface of a cylinder.

These pioneer efforts in the construction of steam engines were not to be crowned with success until June 5, 1769, when James Watt obtained his first patent for an automatic steam engine. So far as the philosophy of the 17th century was concerned, these industrial and scientific advances made little impression on it. When in 1641, Descartes (Cartesius) published his "*Meditationes de Prima Philosophia*," he showed himself to be still completely in the thrall of metaphysics. He contended that man alone had a true "soul," with sensation and free will, and that animals were mere automata, without will or sensibility. At the same time, he suffered from the traditional contradictions of men of his turn of mind. While in his philosophy, he attributed a dualist and supernatural soul to man, he endowed, in his physics,

matter with self-creating power and regarded mechanical motion as its life's function.

A valiant antagonist arose against the Cartesian metaphysics in the person of Hobbes. He published, in 1642, his "*Elementa Philosophica de Cive*," and fortified the materialist position in this and other works considerably. By asserting that it is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks, he did not only strike the Cartesian metaphysics heavily, but also shattered the theistic survivals of Baconian materialism. However, the historical conditions did not enable him to furnish the proof for Bacon's fundamental principle that all human understanding arises from the world of sensations. On the other hand, he was the first of the modern natural philosophers to make a clear distinction between the natural and social environment and to realize that social activity is a part of the general activity of the universe. In his "*Leviathan*," published in 1651, he says: "The register of knowledge of fact is called history. Whereof there be two sorts, one called natural history, which is the history of such facts or effects of nature as have no dependence on man's will, such as the histories of metals, plants, animals, regions, and the like. The other is civil history, which is the history of the voluntary actions of men in commonwealths." The modern monist will find much to criticise in these definitions, but they mark nevertheless an advance in the evolution of thought as compared to the ideas of his predecessors and contemporaries.

In Leibniz and Spinoza, Descartes found allies who contribute much toward the prolongation of the life of metaphysics, and theistic idealism had an eloquent spokesman in Berkeley. Even a man of Newton's mathematical mind remained a lifelong captive of dualistic ideas and his conception of the solar system was of the crude kind which speculated about the causes of the "first impulse" for the motion of the planets. Still his ideas seemed so dangerous to the theological dualists that for instance Leibniz denounced the Newtonian theory of gravitation, because it undermined natural religion and denied revealed religion. The theistic ideas owed a continued existence to the influence of Rousseau and Voltaire, though especially the last-named was a scoffer at all religions based on supernatural revelation.

But materialism remained close on the trail of metaphysics. In France, Descartes was personally confronted by Gassendi, who revived Epicurean materialism and accomplished for materialism in France what Hobbes did in England. And Pierre Bayle prepared the way for a more mature philosophy in France by a cutting criticism of Cartesian metaphysics. Driven by religious doubts to a closer study of metaphysics, Bayle wrote the history of metaphysics only to give dualism a blow from which it would never fully recover.

After this destructive work of materialistic criticism, Locke appeared as a constructive materialist, in 1690, with his "Essay Concerning Human Understanding," which was enthusiastically received by all friends of enlightenment, especially in France. He furnished the first philosophical proofs of the fact that all human ideas are due to the functions of the senses, and thus completed Baconian materialism which Hobbes had systematized.

Locke's work came at a time when metaphysics had gradually lost its touch with the sciences that had once given it a certain authority. While mathematics, physics, zoology, astronomy, chemistry, and other exact sciences, made themselves more and more independent, metaphysics retained nothing but speculations and a mystical belief in celestial things. But when the last great metaphysicians of the 17th century, Malebranche and Arnauld, died, worldly affairs were beginning to absorb public interest to the exclusion of supernatural speculations. To the same extent did materialism gain favor among Frenchmen.

With the beginning of the 18th century, we see the French champions of enlightenment engaged in open war against metaphysics, theology, and the existing political institutions. In the interest of "reason," all hitherto existing ideas and institutions had to be submitted to the most ruthless criticism, and this "reason" was nothing else but the dictates of the class-interests of the French bourgeoisie. In England on the other hand, the bourgeois revolution had at that time found its temporary armistice in the compromise of 1689, which left the great land-owners in possession of the spoils of political office, while it at the same time safeguarded the economic interests of the rising bourgeoisie sufficiently for the time being. The English bourgeois, was, therefore, as much interested as the nobility in maintaining the influence of religion "for the people," meaning for the exploitation of the working class, while the French bourgeois was compelled, by the requirements of the historical situation in France, to stir the working class to the highest pitch of revolutionary activity against the feudal nobility.

Materialism, therefore, in the 18th century, took up its abode in France. Once more the irony of fate would have it that the metaphysicians had to furnish the weapons for their own undoing. For French materialism developed two schools, and one of them took its departure from the physics of the metaphysician Descartes. The other school started out from Locke, and led directly to Socialism. Cartesian materialism became the father of that mechanical materialism which characterizes the bourgeois materialists of the 18th and 19th centuries, who were either ignorant of evolutionary materialism, or opposed to it. It furnished at first the basis for the natural science of France, and, combined with theistic idealism, it became the stronghold of those who, like

Cuvier and Agassiz, clung to the Mosaic idea of creation and to the theory of fixed species, in opposition to the introduction of the idea of development by the interaction of physical and chemical movements. The followers of Locke, on the other hand, cultivated the evolutionary branch of French materialism.

"The immediate disciple and French interpreter of Locke, Condillac, directed the point of Locke's sensationalism at once against the metaphysics of the 17th century," writes Karl Marx in the "Holy Family," in which he and Frederick Engels exposed the shallowness of the Young-Hegelians of the Bruno Bauer stripe. "He proved that the French justly rejected metaphysics, because it was merely a handiwork of imagination and theological prejudices. He published a refutation of the systems of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, and Malebranche. In his work '*L'essai sur l'Origine des Connaissances Humaines*,' he elaborated the ideas of Locke and proved that not only the soul, but also the senses, not only the art of producing ideas, but also the art of sense-perceptions, was a matter of experience and habit. The entire development of man therefore depends on education and external circumstances. . . . From Helvetius, who likewise takes his departure from Locke, materialism received its specific French character. He also takes into consideration the social life, in his work "*De L'Homme*." The senses and self-love, enjoyment and a well understood personal interest, are the basis of all morality. The natural equality of human intelligences, the identity of the progress of reason and the progress of industry, the natural goodness of man, the omnipotence of education, are the main points of his system.

A combination of Cartesian and English materialism is found in the writings of Lamettrie. He utilized the physics of Descartes to their minutest details. His machine-man is an elaboration of the Cartesian machine-animal. In the "*Système de la Nature*" of Holbach, the physical part consists likewise of a combination of French and English materialism, while the ethical part is based principally on the ethics of Helvetius."

The universality of the French materialists has a lasting monument in the "*Encyclopédie*," which was begun by Diderot and D'Alembert in 1751, and in which Robinet, Buffon, Holbach, Condillac, Lamettrie, Helvetius and Grimm collaborated.

The French encyclopedists offer a fair standard by which to judge the scientific position of their age. Science was still in its rudimentary stage, and this corresponded to the control of tools and technique in keeping with the prevailing mode of production. The two epoch-making works on natural history typical for this period are the "*Systema Naturae*," published by Linnaeus in 1735, and the "*Histoire Naturelle*," published by Buffon in 1749. Franklin made his successful experiments demonstrating the connec-

tion between electricity and lightning in 1752. But neither his work, nor the invention of the spinning-jenny by Hargreaves in 1767, and the perfection of the spinning frame by Arkwright in 1769, produced any immediate effect on the ideas of scientific explorers. Cook was making his first voyage around the world, about this time (1768), and Priestley discovered oxygen in 1774, without, however, knowing what he had discovered.

The philosophical work, which followed in England immediately after Locke's "Essay," was Hume's "Treatise of Human Nature," published in 1739. It cannot be regarded as an advance beyond Locke, nor is it superior to the work of the French materialists. Hume was a better historian than philosopher, but even as a historian he fell far below Vice, who in the beginning of the 18th century had made an attempt to substitute for the theological conception of history a method which regarded historical events as the fulfillment of natural laws. Nor was Hume the equal of Gibbon, who, in 1776, published his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," in which faint traces of an evolutionary conception of history appear. On the other hand, Rousseau's "*Contrat Social*," published in 1762, was but a feeble attempt to explain the origin of human societies, without the slightest recognition of the basic factors of social evolution.

A brighter light falls upon this historical period from the department of mathematics, criminology, and economies. In mathematics, the idea of continuity led to the introduction of evolutionary ideas into natural science. Buffon, who had entered the French Academy as a geometrician, introduced the continuity-idea into his "*Histoire Naturelle*," and this idea became the spark, which, in the hands of Lamarck, later on started the fire of organic development in all natural sciences.

In criminology, Beccaria made a new departure in Italy, in 1774. He published his work on crime and punishment under a false date and with a false place of publication, knowing that his ideas, which were impregnated with the spirit of the impending French Revolution, would set loose a storm of reactionary attacks against him. He opposed the medieval methods of "justice," with their torture and secret proceedings, and undermined the conception of a personal responsibility of criminals. This threatened the dearest tenets of theological dogmas about "vicarious atonement," and set the jesuitical machine of the church into frenzied motion.

In economics, the year 1776 marks a milestone of advance in Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," which subverted the current ideas on the origin of profits. Smith declared in so many words, that profits were not an arbitrary addition of the seller to the price of his article, but surplus-values, surplus-products, appropriated by the owners of means of production out of the unpaid

products of "industrious persons." This conception became the basis for Ricardo's law of value, which, in the hands of Marx, was transformed into the revolutionary analysis of capitalist production; out of which the modern socialist movement developed its life.

Generally speaking, there was as yet no clear perception of the evolutionary nature of social and natural processes, neither in the writings of the sociologists, nor in those of the scientists and philosophers. While Buffon showed at least a faint trace of continuous development in his work. Linnaeus regarded his system of plants and animals avowedly as a mere diagrammatic classification, without the least suggestion of any natural connection between the various classes of animals and plants. And even when he elaborated the first outlines for a natural system of classification, he still had the idea of fixed and created species in mind.

But already the fiery glow of the bourgeois revolution in the American colonies was reddening the western horizon, and its sparks were soon to ignite the dry feudal structures in France. The Declaration of Independence asserted that "all men were born equal," but the writers of this document and their class forgot to apply this "truth" to the slaves, indentured servants, debtors, and propertyless colonists who were debarred from voting. Nevertheless, this document marked at least the awakening consciousness of the "Rights of Man" and the "Age of Reason," that is to say, the consciousness of the rising capitalist class that they had their own peculiar idea of right and reason, as opposed to the feudal powers. With the American and French Revolutions, the capitalist class established a precedent in social evolution by means of revolution, which is still of too recent date to be easily forgotten, and which the modern proletariat will some day follow with good effect.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

(To Be Continued.)

To the Russian Revolution.

Ye disinherited, that mourn
In misery, abject, forlorn,
Your crime that you were born
 In poverty,
God speed the day when ye shall spurn
 The ancient lie—

That some should loll in idle ease
Lulled in the lap of luxuries,
While those that toil must starve and freeze,
 And be pacified
With what their lordly masters please
 To cast aside.

Alas, that there should be such dearth
Of reverence for humble worth,
While bastard, gold-got pride of birth
 Holds high her head,
And scorns the tillers of the earth
 That make her bread!

Alas, that honest men should need!
Alas, that helpless women plead!
Alas, that tender children bleed
 In our own time!
Shame! shame on those whose social creed
 Condones the crime!

God speed the day when right shall reign,
When slaves shall cease to kneel in vain,
But rise and snap the tyrant's chain,
 And take their place
Full owners of their own again—
 An unbound race.

The day will come, (God grant it soon!)
When each shall have his birth-right boon
To make and take what is his own—
 His rightful share,
And none shall reap that hath not sown,
 And tilled with care.

The day has come. Up, brothers, on!
The long, dark hours of night are gone,
In the trembling east the blood-hued dawn
 Paints red the skies.
Arise, and strike the tyrant down!
 Arise! arise!

The day has come—the destined day
For which your exiled comrades pray,
Who in Siberian dungeons lay—
 Cold, dark and wet.
The day has come when blood shall pay
 The tyrant's debt.

The aching ages bid you rise,
Your comrades under other skies
Have fixed on you their eager eyes.
 Up, men, and do!
The future ages' destinies
 Depend on you!

The world-old lethargy has fled,
And Liberty long centuries dead
For which your sires and grandsires bled,
 Must live again
Though Russia's rivers all run red
 To the crimsoned main.

WALTHER V. HOLLOWAY.

Berkeley, California.

Conditions in Mexico.

CAPITALISM has today grown to such proportions that no portion of the civilized world is exempt from its power and influence, and since we know that it will be superseded by some kind of a co-operative system it behooves socialists to consider and study the march of events, even in such a backward and undeveloped country as Mexico. American capitalists seem to have left Mexico till the last because they knew it was at hand and would "keep," but the flood of capitalism is now coming in a mighty wave. The railroads, mines, coal, oil, and asphalt deposits, along with large agricultural interests, are already in the hands of foreign capitalists, mostly Americans. Even the cereal breakfast foods so familiar to American eyes are beginning to decorate the dead walls and show-windows of old Mexico and are offered for sale at 50 cents per package with guarantees to cure all the ailments to which mankind is subject. Up to the present, however, the natives seem to prefer the old time tortilla. Some of the more intelligent Mexicans are beginning to grasp the meaning of this introduction of foreign capital and expect it to be followed by a flood of immigration from the United States.

The government continues to dole out the national resources of the country to foreign money-bags while Mexican workers grovel in filth, disease and ignorance, for lack of access to these same resources. Of what value is the free press to an illiterate, and a free school to a pauper? Free speech is guaranteed by the Mexican constitution, but it is a dead letter.

If socialists wish to reach these people it must be done through secret organizations and underground publications. One thing is hopeful and that is, that however ignorant the working classes are they do not harbor any illusions concerning the identity of their interest with those of their employers. On this point at least the most ignorant peon seems to be rather in advance of the average American trades unionist.

In the city of Mexico the workers are beginning to organize mutual aid societies which in some ways resemble our trades unions. In Guadalajara an attempt was made to organize the workers. A meeting was called in a theatre building for this purpose, but was dispersed by the police.

Wages are far below what is necessary to provide anything like a decent living. Servant girls working from fifteen to sixteen hours a day receive \$4.00 or \$5.00 a month, and sleep on the kitchen floor or under the stairway. It is scarcely sur-

prising to learn that they are not all strictly virtuous or absolutely temperate with liquor selling at from 2 to 5 cents per glass, while the necessities of life have gone up almost as fast as in the United States. The working day for tailors and shoemakers is only limited by their power to keep awake, and the same is true of women who make stockings, shawls or fancywork. Many of the latter go blind and become beggars or street peddlers. I have been in tenement houses here where each family lives in one room about ten feet square with one door and no window.

The men of this class spend a goodly portion of their time in jail. They are strictly proletarian, having no property but their labor power and when arrested for petty offences must always pay their fine by laboring within prison walls. The usual penalty for drunkenness is eight days and during their incarceration their wives and children must hustle for themselves.

A servant suddenly left the house where I am stopping the other day and I learned that her husband had just got out of jail and she was going home to celebrate the occasion. She knew she could be with him only at intervals while she could work "any old time." The difference between her earnings and *no* earnings was very little anyhow.

The church in Mexico has lost its old time vigor but the corpse still hangs as a dead weight around the neck of society, stifling all intelligent thought and rational political activity. The breaking of its power is largely due to Benito Juarez. He was a man of the people, in whose veins flowed none of the blood of the despotic Spaniard, but like Lincoln, he could not control the action of his successors, and the Mexican today suffers under a new form of despotism as effective as was the church in the days of yore.

Some idea of how barbaric and brutal this oppression is may be gained by the fact that if the manuscript of this article should have been found in my possession my career in this country would have ended suddenly. Capacious prisons of solid stone await to receive any one who dares to speak or write a word of opposition to the governing power.

Corruption runs rampant in every branch of the government. On three different occasions I have seen a clerk in a Mexican post-office of the first class attempt to "short change" a patron securing a money order. On the whole I have never seen so many artless thieves and cheerful liars as infest this ultra-christian country.

The Republican form of government is a farce and it is easily possible that this may remain one of the strongholds of capitalism. Plutocracy may intrench itself behind this mass of human ignorance to await the final fray.

The industrial development of the United States and Mexico

is so closely allied that the socialist movements of the two countries must necessarily have much in common. If there are any socialists in Mexico we should get into communication and see what can be done toward organization. There are, no doubt, many American and European socialists in Mexico and if any of them should see this article I hope they will write to the REVIEW and make themselves known. An isolated socialist unidentified with the party in any country is of but little use to the movement. The time will come when the capitalists will use all the backward races of the people against the more civilized ones and it behooves us to organize as far as possible against the coming of that time. The reference that James Burton Adams, of the Denver Post, made concerning one-half the Russians is applicable to a large portion of Mexican people, "they are unable to read and write, but they can feed and fight" and that is all that "will be expected of them."

The above article is from an American socialist now residing in Mexico. He is known to us and we can vouch for his sincerity. If this should meet the eye of anyone who can assist in such an organization of the Mexican Socialists as he proposes and they will communicate with us we will be glad to co-operate.—EDITOR.

Gapon and Socialist Unity

The "Iskra"—Spark, official organ of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party, in its issue of March 25th, contains a communication of Karl Kautsky published in No. 73 of *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. It throws an interesting sidelight on many important phases of the international movement and, I think, deserves space and comment in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Kautsky writes:

The last issue of the *Vorwaerts* contains an appeal of Pope Gapon, published in the International Secretariat of Brussels, in which Gapon invites all Socialist organizations of Russia to unite. It requires all the naivete, which Gapon managed in manifesting up to the present time, that a man, who himself learned something about Socialism only a few weeks ago, should undertake the task of unity. But I think that the International Secretariat, which strangely enough appropriated to itself the name of the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, is decidedly exceeding the limits of its powers when it is constituting itself into a herald of Gapon.

Nothing is easier then expressing desires of unity. This can be done without the least knowledge of the state of affairs, but in order that the attempt of unity may attain its object, the first condition must be the creation of a basis upon which unity may take place, and this, in its turn, presupposes the most exact knowledge of the differences, their causes, as well as of the policy which may be really necessary. The International Secretariat points to the unity of the French comrades, but this would have been impossible, had the Amsterdam Congress merely confined itself to the expression of a desire for unity, and not laid down, in its resolution, the real basis for the same. Gapon is utterly unable to offer such a basis for the unity of the Russian organizations, no more than the International Secretariat is.

These appeals may have one effect only—to mislead comrades, who stand far from Russian relations, as to the nature of the differences among the Russian Socialist parties, differences which are partly already overcome, and partly, in so far as they are of a deeper nature, did not and do not prevent them nevertheless from marching side by side in common struggle.

The *Vorwaerts* reprints the communication of the Interna-

tional Secretariat, without expressing its own opinion. It brings however a quotation from the organ of the Socialist Revolutionary party, from which it appears that the latter is always ready to unite.

Such a reference may have one object only—to make *other* Socialist organizations—the Social Democratic ones—appear as preventing this unity. The *Vorwaerts* remains thus faithful to its old views—or, in order to be unjust to no one, views of some of its editors, from whose point of view in all differences among Socialists, the Marxists appear always as the disturbers of peace.

K. KAUTSKY.

To this note, Kautsky adds the following remarks:

“This note was sent by me to the *Vorwaerts*, but the editor refused to print it. I mention this not as a complaint against the editorial office of the *Vorwaerts*, whose good faith I have no reason to doubt, but in order to anticipate the question why I did not publish my criticism in the *Vorwaerts* itself. I cannot, however, understand the reason for the refusal. The editor holds that—‘it would have been unjust to the International Bureau, of which you are a member, to publish your complaint in the *Vorwaerts*, before a preliminary attempt has been made to submit it directly to the committee.’ Besides the fact that I am the secretary only of the German members of the Bureau, and not a member of the Bureau itself, I have directed my remarks not against the International Bureau, but against the International Secretariat, which has published the appeal of Gapon, without notifying the Bureau. The members of the Bureau owe the Secretariat no more respect than the Secretariat owes them. I would have, however, waited for the next session of the International Bureau (probably in April, 1906), in order to submit to it my complaint, if the formal question of jurisdiction only would have been involved. My main object was not at all to question the jurisdiction of the International Secretariat, but a desire to prevent that the appeal to Gapon with the quotations brought by the *Vorwaerts* may be used to the detriment of the Russian Social Democracy, by creating a prejudice against it. This could suffer no delay and must be discussed publicly. I have read before the appeal of Gapon, published by the International Secretariat, but did not deem it necessary to protest against it. Owing, however, to the addition of the *Vorwaerts*, it has acquired the character of something directed against the Russian Social Democracy and there was reason to fear that, if allowed to pass without contradiction, it could have been used by the opponents of our Russian comrades, as were other remarks of the *Vorwaerts*, as the opinion of the German Social Democracy. Therefore I took the

pen, *in the interests of Russian Social Democracy*, and deemed it essential, that my brief contradiction should appear as soon as possible, before the remarks of the *Vorwaerts* could have found their way into the Russian Socialist press. For the same reason I decline to enter into further discussion with the *Vorwaerts* and to bring into motion its *Presskommission* apparatus. I am too busy to devote without necessity too much time to such discussion. Furthermore, by publishing my remarks in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* I attain without delay my aim: to defend the Russian Social Democracy from an unjust reproach that, in the present important moment, it splits, with a light mind, the phalanx of Russian fighters for freedom and thus fails in the fulfillment of its duty in the great struggle for freedom, which takes place now for a new Russia." K. K.

Translated by

HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

History of Education in the United States.*

EDUCATION like everything else in the United States has been subject to continuous and quite rapid evolution. During Colonial times there was a sharp differentiation geographically which indeed continues to a large extent to the present time. The new England colonies were made up quite largely of highly educated men, in fact it is probable that in very few communities in the history of the world was the proportion of college bred men much higher than in the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies. It was therefore but natural that the subject of education should early receive attention and before the close of colonial times there was something quite approaching an educational system throughout the northern colonies. This, however, only extended to the privileged classes. No effort was made to reach "indented servants" or wage workers. In fact the system was much stronger at the top than at the bottom. There were several quite respectable colleges and universities before there was anything approaching a general system of education.

The most striking feature, however, of American educational development is to be found in what is designated by this author as the educational revival. He points to the fact that during the first quarter of the 19th century, "The schools were running down. It is true that colleges were springing up and that academies were in their most prosperous condition, but neither of these institutions was for the people." About 1836 or '37 in the midst of economic depression there began a great educational revival, which reached from New England westward to Ohio, and which laid the foundation of our present educational system. But little attempt is made to account for this by the writer, and indeed the only reason which he does give for it was the "one man reason" the presence of Horace Mann.

If we turn, however, to the industrial situation of that time we find that something was taking place of which the author of this book seems to be wholly ignorant, and for which he is not to be entirely blamed, as he but shares this ignorance with practically all other historians. The industrial revolution in America had just closed, so far, at least, as the cotton and woolen industry

*HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN UNITED STATES, by Edwin Grant Dexter. The Macmillan Co., Cloth, 656 pp., \$2.00.

was concerned. Capitalism was getting its first foot hold. This had produced its essential product, a labor movement. It is significant that one of the most striking characteristics of the labor movement of this time was its insistent demand for increasing facilities of education for the working class. The following quotation from the resolutions adopted at a meeting of the organized workers held in New York in November, 1829, shows this:

"Resolved that the most grievous species of inequality is that produced by inequality in education and that a national system of education and guardianship which shall furnish to all children of the land equal food, clothing and instruction at the public expense, is the only essential remedy . . . for injustice."

"Resolved that we unite our efforts and our votes to carry through our state legislature the great regenerating measure of a national education, which shall secure equally to every child which is born into the republic, a complete and systematic course of instruction, including the knowledge of at least one trade or useful education and a comfortable independence during that course of instruction at public expense."

"Resolved that all other modes of reform are, compared to this, particular, inefficient, or trifling."

"Resolved that next to life and liberty we consider education the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind."

"Resolved that the public funds should be appropriated (to a reasonable extent) to the progress of education upon a regular system that shall insure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity."

These resolutions are but a few of those adopted by working men's bodies at this time, and the labor papers are constantly filled with calls for greater activity in public education. Anyone who examines these platforms appearing almost ten years before the educational revival and who realizes the extent and importance of this movement, cannot but be convinced that it was the most important cause of the "educational revival."

Since that time elementary education has gone through many changes. In the decades immediately following the Civil war it reflected with marvelous accuracy the capitalist system amid which it lived. It was as mechanical in its operation, as standardized in its production as any factory. In later years it has begun to reflect to some degree the rising working class movement, in favor of greater freedom. This is expressed in the introduction of manual training, nature study, and especially in the kindergarten movement. Here again the author gives only the facts and sees nothing of the causes.

In secondary education the same evolution is taking place. His chapter on "Development of School Organization and Administration" traces the rise of the district system, shows its imperfections and its gradual tendency towards centralization in town, county and state control.

Text books also have gone through a most striking evolution.

The day when the "horn book," the primer, the spelling book, and the Bible constituted the complete literary equipment of whole educational systems is a wonderful contrast to the present time when, in quantity, at least, there is nothing to complain of and the quality is improving with rapid steps in spite of book trusts, and other capitalist influences of a more indirect and subtle character.

The chapter on "Higher and Special Education" traces with encyclopediac detail, and so far as we can discover with general accuracy, the growth of colleges and universities until the present time, when there are something over 10,000 students in the higher educational institutions. Here, too, there has been a tremendous change in the character of the instruction. Science and the elective system have gained the upper hand in the struggle with the dead languages and a pre-determined course.

It is interesting to note that theological students are decreasing in numbers in spite of the tremendous increase in every other department. One cannot but remark at the waste expressed by the fact that something over 14,000 men are engaged in the study of law at the present time.

In technical and agricultural education there has been the most striking growth. Here is something in which modern commercialism is directly interested, and we are not surprised to note that the number of students, the amount of endowment and the size of the institutions in general is increasing by leaps and bounds. In the last few years commercial education also has taken on a new form. Private commercial schools, or business colleges as they are commonly called, have increased in number from 26 with 5,824 pupils in 1870, to 407 with 110,031 pupils in 1901. The commercial courses are no being introduced into the public schools quite extensively. Here, too, it is all too evident what interests are giving this bias to our educational systems.

At this point the influences are so evident that they have even attracted the attention of the author, who has hitherto been completely blind to the effect of industrial conditions. He notes that,

"The most recent move in commercial education and the most hopeful one, since it aims to produce leaders rather than mere journeymen, is that which is just now taking place in our higher academic institutions. Economic development is in the direction of great business enterprises, the success or failure of which depends upon the good judgment and far sightedness of their leaders, and not their expertness as book-keepers. In recognition of this, our colleges and universities have seen themselves to the task of graduating men of power, the basis of whose education is commercial, rather than classical or technically scientific."

This movement is now apparently just entering upon its beginning and in the last five years has spread with most striking rapidity.

The education of women is also something of modern times, reflecting again the entrance of women into the world of industry. The first college for women, which still exists, was established in 1859, but this movement finds its real beginning in the decade from 1870 to '80. The co-educational movement began about the same time and finds its greatest expression in the state universities.

The negro, Indian, and the defective classes in society have also had developed for them special educational facilities. Those for the negro have been so frequently discussed as to need little attention here, beyond noticing the fact that they too correspond to the needs of capitalism for skilled unclass-conscious workers.

The library movement, very properly treated as a part of educational history is on its popular side at least, is little more than a generation old. The whole tendency here, under the influence of the new forces of democracy, is in the direction of extending ever more and more facilities to readers. When libraries were first formed it has been sarcastically said that the librarian considered it his principal function to defend the books against the attacks of possible readers, and some of this spirit undoubtedly remains. At the present time, however, the greatest problem before all librarians making any pretense of being abreast of the times is that of attaining the greatest use for the books.

Newspapers and periodicals are treated in a valuable brief summary, as are also summer schools, learned societies and associations and lyceums, popular lectures and museums. Here again he gives not credit to the influence of the labor movement discussed above in the extension of the great American Lyceum movement, which was contemporaneous with the "educational revival". Yet an examination of the proceedings of labor organizations of this time will show that they were enthusiastically supporting this idea before it had gained anything like its great popularity of later years.

As a reference book in compact easily accessible form and well classified as to matter this work occupies a peculiarly valuable field. It is a storehouse which must be used by whoever wishes to know the facts of educational institutions in America.

A. M. SIMONS.

The Nature of Capital.

With each passing year the question of wealth distribution assumes a more aggravated phase. Under a system which leaves all to chance or the interacting play of personal greeds, inequality in wealth progressively increases until it is evident to the most indifferent that the possible limit of inequality is not far off. Such justification of this condition as is attempted by conservative economists, finds the criteria of distribution inherent in the productive process itself, and in this they are followed by the various radical schools except certain utopians who would give to each according to his needs. But when the process of production is subjected to analysis, the utmost dissension prevails, not so much over the facts discovered, as over their ethical significance, the question of the proper distribution of wealth being at bottom of an ethical tenor. The facts are in the main not difficult. Land, labor and capital are the productive factors. The raw material, the subject-matter of industry, is furnished by land. Labor is the human exertion which molds it to human needs. Capital alone is an illusive and protean conception, concerning which no two theorists agree, and which each one defines only to unconsciously abandon his definition within a few pages.

One thing is clear and uniformly conceded—that capital is primarily a product of land and labor, and is therefore a form of wealth, using the latter term as descriptive of the entire fruit of industry. Another thing should be fairly evident—that if capital is to furnish a criterion of distribution, that is, the basis of a claim to wealth, it must be because it has a certain productive potency, so that by its use more wealth is created than could be without it. Examining, now, the various economic categories of wealth, such as goods in process of production, goods ready for consumption, etc., it does not take much reflection to show that the only form of wealth which, divorced from contractual obligations, possesses a productive potency is the implements or tools with which men aid their labors. Whatever strange forms these implements may take, whether the stone hatchet of the aborigines, the packing house of a beef trust, the milk cow of the dairymen, or the show cases of the merchant, it is to them alone, of all the forms of wealth, that a productive efficiency can be attributed, or a portion of the products of industry credited. In defiance, therefore, of

popular usage, it is necessary to exclude from the economic conception of capital, the mere subject-matter of industry, such as raw material, merchants' stocks, etc., as also money paid in wages, and of course paper evidences of indebtedness, such as notes, bonds, and the like. Capital and the tools of industry are one and the same.

As a form of wealth, and as proceeding from land and labor, capital must partake of the characteristics of its origin, must, indeed, embody the sources from which it sprang. It is, accordingly, trite to speak of capital as "stored up labor," though it is a juster estimate to recognize in it a material substance, drawn from the land, and molded by labor to man's use. This description holds good even where, as in the case of domestic animals, vital forces, springing from nature, have been directed by man to his own ends. Indeed, this is one of the services of capital, that it enables man to harness natural forces for his use, as the furnace in which coal is burned beneath a boiler; and as the coal in which the force is dormant is also wealth, and as an agent in production, it, too, is capital. A part of the productive potency which resides in capital is therefore referable to the natural forces which, as a heritage from its mother, the earth, lie hidden within it. But there are implements of toil, mere tools, which embody no force in themselves, and yet have a productive potency since by their aid wealth is increased. The productive potency of these tools consists in the qualities of the material substances from which they are fashioned, the hardness of steel, the electric conductivity of copper, etc., and in the mechanical principles on which they are constructed, the wedge, screw, lever, etc. So that in a general way it may be said that the productive potency which resides in capital is due, first, to the forces of nature, second, to the qualities of matter, third, to the principles of mechanics; or, as Professor J. B. Clark tersely says: "The laws of matter, in short, make capital productive." (*Distribution of Wealth*, p. 135.)

All this seems simple enough, and yet it is a premise of the most crucial importance. However, before any conclusions are drawn from it, the idea that capital is "stored up labor" should be further examined. The labor of creating the implements of industry falls into two classes, that of invention, and that of actual construction. All capital embodies at least the latter. But the labor of creation, which is said to be stored up in capital, has nothing whatever to do with its productive potency. This is apparent when it is remembered that axes, horses or dynamite which fell from heaven or were called into being by a fairy's wand, would be just as serviceable and just as efficient aids to labor as if manufactured or molded by the hand of man. Yet while "stored up labor" does not account for the productive efficacy of capital,

the idea it expresses cannot be cavalierly dismissed. Labor is the one source of wealth which is universally conceded to be personal and private possession, and therefore indubitably capable of conferring an individual title to property, or, in other words, of furnishing an unassailable criterion for the distribution of wealth. And the tools which labor creates are, therefore, private property. For the orthodox economist, title to them vests conjointly in laborer, landlord and, if a prior capital has been employed, in the capitalist. For the single-taxer, in laborer and capitalist. For the socialist, in the laborer alone. But in any event, and for all schools, the implements of industry are susceptible of private ownership. This much the "stored up labor" in them assures.

In this ethical susceptibility to private ownership, capital, according to the radical schools, differs from land, which is not created by any man's labor, but comes, a divine donation, to every creature by virtue of the mere fact of his existence upon the earth. Land is, morally, the common property of all. The effect of this is to deprive land of any function as a criterion of distribution, and to deny that its fruitfulness can furnish the basis of a private claim to any portion of wealth. The productive potency of land belongs *pro tempore* to the first appropriator, that is, to the laborer himself, and that portion of the product which is imputable to land is thus distributed not according to its theoretic genesis but according to the labor performed. In other words, access to land should be free to all and each should receive the whole product he may reap therefrom free from any claim to participation by the idle landlord. Private ownership of land and the exaction of rent to which it gives rise are morally indefensible, notwithstanding the conceded fact that land is a source of wealth. Such is the position of both single-taxers and socialists, to which, indeed, there seems no adequate answer.

The case of capital is not so clear. It may be stated in this way: An instrument of production, itself created by labor and hence the rightful property of its artificer, possesses a productive potency which is not, however, due to the labor of its manufacture, but is ascribable to natural qualities, principles and forces which it embodies. When employed in production, this instrument, by virtue of these qualities, principles and forces, will so assist the process that some portion of the product may fairly be ascribed to its use. How is this portion, which following the usage of economists, may be styled "interest," to be distributed? The answer of the orthodox economist is simple and positive; it goes to the owner of the instrument, the capitalist. In this answer the single taxer acquiesces. The socialist alone demurs.

In the first place, it seems entirely clear that the capitalist is entitled to have his property preserved to him unimpaired, and if

its use has resulted in damage or deterioration, to be adequately reimbursed therefor. So much, his right of property, based on his initial labor, gives him a moral right to demand. But when his capital is returned to him in as good order as when he parted with it, the capitalist's property right, so far as it rests on his own labor, is satisfied. He has again all that his own labor produced. He is precisely in the same position in which his own labor originally placed him, with his newly created capital as the reward of his toil. True, he has been deprived of its use for a period, but the theory of "abstinence," as justifying a return to the capitalist, has been definitely abandoned by economists of all schools.

The capitalists' right of property being satisfied by the restoration of his capital in good order, what is to become of the balance of "interest," that is, of the remaining portion of that increment of wealth attributable to the use of capital? Remember, that interest is the product of natural qualities, principles and forces, themselves not created by any human agency, but as much a divine donation to all men as is the land, with which, in fact, they may readily be identified. "The laws of matter, in short, make capital productive," and the laws of matter surely are the common inheritance of all mankind. It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that, if the land is morally a common property, so also is the productive potency of capital; and if, in consequence, land cannot function as a criterion of distribution, neither can capital, except in so far as it does indeed represent and figuratively reproduce "stored up labor," a consideration of little practical moment. As the productive potency of capital is a natural resource, untrammelled by private preemption, the yield therefrom would go to the first appropriators of this potency, or, in other words, to the actual users of the instruments of toil. "Interest," like rent, is to be rendered to labor, which thus becomes the sole, valid criterion of distribution, and the only moral basis of the right of property.

A criticism of a practical sort may be briefly anticipated. The quantity of land is limited, and the exaction of rent therefor becomes practicable, being analogous to the tribute extorted by a monopoly. The quantity of capital is, however, practically unlimited, and the leverage by which the capitalist secures interest is not so plain. But while there is no natural limit on the volume of capital, there are effective bars to its general ownership discoverable in the development of the tools of an archaic industry into the giant plants of modern manufacture and exchange, which are not only beyond the financial reach of the generality, but require a collective operation by workers who, by the very terms of the case, must be without capital of their own. The exaction of interest thus becomes as feasible as that of rent.

CLARENCE MEILY.

EDITORIAL

"Publicity in Party Matters."

One of the things of which socialists frequently boast is the lack of all secrecy in the conduct of their party affairs. They are proud to contrast their action in this respect with that of the capitalist parties, whose business is carried on by little cliques, sometimes in the back room of a saloon, more often in the office of a corporation attorney.

It is especially interesting as a study in popular psychology to note how often the objection is raised against the socialists that the fact of the maintenance of a party organization prevents everybody who wishes from having a hand in party management. This objection is often seriously advanced by Republicans or Democrats with the obvious implication that things are different in their party, yet it is doubtful if a single one of those who objected to the fact that only socialist party members had any part in determining the platform and candidates in the last socialist election could themselves tell who it was that determined either policy or candidates in any other political party. In the collection of campaign funds, also, this characteristic stands out most strikingly. Whereas, in the capitalist parties, elaborate systems of bookkeeping have been devised, in which each fund is designated by a number, the meaning of which is not known even to the bookkeepers themselves, in order to preserve complete secrecy as to sources of funds and methods of expenditure; in the Socialist party each contribution is acknowledged publicly. The books are audited and the result published to the world.

All this is really, of course, but a necessary part of the essential democracy of the socialist party. The tactics, and indeed all party matters are subject to the direct control of the entire party membership, and if this control is to be intelligent it demands thorough information concerning the matters on which they are expected to act.

One result of this is that, since it is possible to see all of our fights, our opponents are quick to accuse us of having more than our share of disagreements. So it is that the idea has been carefully cultivated that

the socialist party is always torn with internal factions. This accusation will be soberly offered by the democrat for instance as a reason why he does not join the Socialist party. At the same time he seems oblivious of the fact that in most of our large cities it is impossible to hold either a democratic or republican convention without the presence of police to preserve order and that both parties are torn in all directions by a multitude of absolutely antagonistic factions. But since the accuser is generally a member of the rank and file of the party and consequently knows, though almost unconsciously, that he has nothing whatever to do with the settling of these tactics, therefore he is unable to see the beam in his own eye, although the mote in the socialist optic appears of most alarming proportions.

This publicity as an essential part of democracy is of great value. For this very reason we can not afford to misuse it; yet there is a tendency in this direction. The fact that the socialists do not fear to discuss their differences in public, and to bring out the disagreeable features of those differences, has led some socialists to make a virtue of this necessity or rather they have made the disagreeable portion the all important thing in publicity. What is needed here is a sense of proportion. Just because a fight is on in some small local it does not necessarily follow that the socialists all over the country should be forced to take sides or see the work of propaganda shoved one side, in the press or official publications in order to make room for some trifling disagreement, yet this is what is often done. Many a time a disagreement which was only of local interest and could be settled only by local action has been magnified by socialist yellow journalism into a question of national importance. It is no more true that the only thing that needs publicity in the socialist movement is the quarrels, than it is true that the only things that take place in society or form "news" that is worth printing are the scandals and crimes.

Two recent court decisions are of special interest as effecting the possible peaceful progress of a reform movement in the United States. The first is the decision of the United States Supreme Court that the ten hours' law for bakers in New York is unconstitutional. The second is the decision of the Supreme Court of California, in the Los Angeles case, that the principal of direct recall is unconstitutional. Here we find the pack of little reformers blocked in two directions. Neither the progressive shortening of hours by legislation nor the progressive democratization of government, can proceed in the face of these decisions. The conclusion is inevitable—the conclusion long ago drawn by the Socialists from a host of facts, of which the two just sighted are but additional ones, that we have reached a stage where social progress can only come through revolution. The present ruling class must be overthrown. While they remain in power progressive reform is impossible. All this sounds commonplace,

yet millions of men are unable to appreciate these commonplace truths, and so long as this is true we must repeat them.

We have just received a communication from Comrade Trautman detailing the manner in which he was deposed from the position of editor of the *Brauer Zeitung*. From this it appears that the removal was in direct obedience to an order of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and that in order to accomplish it under the cover of legality the most high handed methods were used in packing the vote. This is certain to arouse resentment through the United Brewery Workers' organization, and may easily react against the corrupt officials who forced Comrade Trautman from his position.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., was so greatly pleased with his leading editorial in his personal organ, the *Federationist*, in March, that he followed the same with a second chapter in April, and mayhap we'll be running a serial before we get through. The cause of Mr. Gompers' loquaciousness is not the centralization of capital that is causing the thinking people in every class to give voice to their apprehension, nor the hostile legislation that is contemplated or enacted to teach organized labor its place, nor the damage suits that have been decided or are being filed against trade unions as the natural sequel of the injunction evil that custom, precedent and political jugglery seems to have legalized, nor some of the many other important questions that are of vital importance to organized labor—no, the president of all the unions and the members thereof is discussing the proposed new industrial federation to be formed in Chicago next month and pronouncing the awful curse of his high and mighty holiness upon "the Socialists," who, he declares, "have called another convention to smash the American trade union movement." He does not say that some socialists have called the conference in question, but "the" Socialists, and serenely claims that "this is the sixth 'concentrated' effort in this direction in the last decade." I have already stated in previous numbers of the *REVIEW* that Mr. Gompers, though claiming that he is acquainted with Socialist philosophy, principles and literature, never discusses those fundamentals, but uses his official prestige to attack individuals and, in an underhanded way, the Socialist party, as well as trade unionists who dare to advocate the doctrine of socialism without consulting the wishes of the "little father" at Washington. In making the reckless and unfounded charge that "the" Socialists are aiming "to smash the trade union movement," he is maliciously attempting to throw discredit upon the Socialist party, otherwise he would have been honest enough to state that some twenty odd persons were trying to form a rival organization, and then he could have decently explained the error of taking such a course, as would befit the dignity of the honorable position in which he is rattling around like a narrow-minded factionist. Mr. Gompers knows that the A. L. U. movement of 1894—after the A. R. U. sacrificed itself in attempting to rescue the white slaves of Pullman—was populist, as was the St. Louis conference later, in which many single taxers, anarchists and some very "good" trade unionists also participated. He knows, too, that De Leon's S. T. and L. A. was surreptitiously sprung at a banquet tendered to delegates who were Socialists at the New York convention of the A. F. of L., and that when the alliance was endorsed by the old Socialist Labor party the following year, only upon the express understanding that no

dual unions were to be formed, and when this promise was violated that the trade unionists and sympathizers seceded from the S. L. P. and practically destroyed that party, which is more than our Republican and Democratic brethren have ever done notwithstanding the attempts of their parties and bosses to smash organized labor with injunctions, militia, police and bad laws and decisions. Gompers knows, furthermore, that the Socialist party had no hand in organizing the Western Federation of Labor, nor had any great number of Socialist individuals—in fact, the latter were largely outnumbered by old party voters which the election returns from Colorado and other Rocky mountain states clearly demonstrate. He is also well aware of the fact that the great mass of the Socialist party voters are members of the A. F. of L., pay their dues (and his salary), go on strike and boycott when necessary, and are undoubtedly just as decent as he pretends to be. Evidently Mr. Gompers is envious of the rapid growth of the Socialist party and fears that his own personality may be overshadowed; that the workers are likely to become tired of his everlasting phrasemongering and generalizations and wornout policies and pay a bit more attention to their political power, especially since the pressure from the trusts and the open shop fanatics has aroused widespread discussion and is causing hundreds of former conservative trade unionists to declare that a political movement must be formed to deal with these new questions. It is also quite popular as yet (especially in the National Civic Federation) to attack the Socialists, while Republicans and Democrats are quite immune, no matter if they scuttle unions by the score. Then, again, Mr. Gompers shrewdly believes that he can quell the growing dissatisfaction among his own followers and secure re-election by setting up a loud noise against the wicked Socialists. He has played that game before and subdued revolt by posing as a martyr. I know that Gompers and his close friends eagerly scan many Socialist publications to watch for criticism or attacks upon his policies, and anyone present at the last few conventions can recall how these squibs were solemnly paraded before the delegates and twisted into every form of abuse of not himself alone, but the whole trade union movement. "I am the state," etc. If some obscure Socialist sheet in New York or the backwoods of Minnesota contained a protest against Gompers and called him names "the" Socialists and "you" Socialists were roundly belabored, just as though the delegates in the convention were responsible for the acts of every pencil-pusher in the land. The Gompersites are always abused, to hear them tell it, but when they denounce the Socialists as "dreamers," "dope fiends," "rainbow chasers" and a whole lot of other things and dangle the skeleton of deleonism that isn't abuse. Now comes Gompers and deliberately misrepresents the Socialist party and slanders thousands of members of the trade unions who are affiliated with that party by charging that "the Socialists have called another convention to smash the American trade union movement." This should be swallowed without a word of protest along with his sneers that the adoption of the resolutions endorsing the trade union movement by the Chicago Convention of the Socialist party a year ago, and subsequently in a referendum vote, was not meant in good faith, and likewise his cumbrous effort to connect the Socialists with "Comrade" Parry because some individual out in Denver or Podunk denounced the unions. I don't know whether Gompers is beginning a campaign to drive those who believe in socialism out of the trade unions, but his studied insults indicate that he is. However, I dispute his right to question the sincerity of the Chicago national convention and the referendum vote or to read me or any other Socialist out of any union in the A. F. of L. Moreover, I am not undertaking a defense of the new movement, and I want to go on record right here as expressing the opinion

that those who contemplate forming the opposition industrial federation are making a serious mistake, as I stated in a communication to the conferees in January. The trade union questions will be fought out within the present organizations, just as the differences that may arise in the Socialist party will have to be settled in that party. But the actions of a few impatient individuals in jumping the traces and going contrary to the letter and spirit of the Chicago Convention do not justify Samuel Gompers' sweeping charge that "the" Socialists are trying to smash the unions and that the declarations of the aforesaid convention were made for "vote-getting" purposes and were thereupon tossed into the wastepaper basket. I expect to be in Pittsburg to attend the next convention of the A. F. of L. as a delegate from the Typographical Union. Mr. Gompers will represent the Cigarmakers' Union. He will carry a paid-up card and so will I, and, therefore, we are equal before the trade union membership (unless he considers himself a boss rather than a servant). I gladly renew my challenge to meet him in a public debate to prove, first, that the endorsement of the trade union movement by the Socialist party was not in good faith, or, second, that said Socialist party was directly or indirectly concerned in the formation of the proposed new federation, or, thirdly, that socialism is wrong in principle. He may arrange the time and I agree to pay one-half the expense. Is that fair?

The echoes of the subway and elevated railway strikes in New York are still being heard. The Central Federated Union of that city appointed a committee to visit August Belmont and arrange for the reinstatement of the men. But despite the fact that that gentleman is hailed in certain quarters as "a workingman's friend," he declared that fully 2,000 men would never receive jobs again on the roads and that the open shop system would prevail. A great hubbub has been made that the men broke their agreements, but while that may have been technically true the Belmont plutocrats practically drove them into doing so. A delegate in the C. F. U. from the railway employees stated that constant wage cutting had been taking place in the service and that some of the men had been reduced from \$2.40 to \$1.40 per day. He quoted Belmont as saying, when for political reasons an agreement was signed last fall, that said contract would cost the company an additional million dollars a year. But through recent jugglery, the delegate explained, Belmont cut into the general wage fund something like \$5,000,000 a year. A writer in a New York weekly magazine, in a review of the trouble, quotes Farley, the strike-breaker, who was given a personal present of \$25,000 by Belmont, as saying that he had been preparing for a year for the strike; that he (Farley) had received \$1,000 a day for sixty days prior to the walkout, besides two fees of \$10,000 each. Farley, who is now said to be a millionaire, claims to have an army of 8,000 to 10,000 scabs, and after the New York strike he sent some of his band to Pittsburg, where they crushed all efforts of the street railway employees in that city to better their conditions, and another crowd was sent to the Pacific Coast by Belmont's pet in anticipation of trouble in San Francisco, where the corporationists declare they will run the open shop. The New York C. F. U. has requested that all affiliated unions demand that their national officers withdraw from the National Civic Federation, where they are members. In a number of other cities heated debates have occurred recently in which the Civic Federation was roundly denounced.

The damage suit industry continues to flourish. The latest union to be hit is the plumbers'. The New Orleans local, for good and sufficient cause, expelled two members. They went into court and secured judgment for \$1,000 each and a mandate was also issued that they be reinstated by the union. It has already been noted in the REVIEW that the Supreme Court of Vermont compelled the machinists of Rutland to pay

\$2,500 to an unfair concern which they boycotted. Now it is stated that they are also required to pay an additional thousand dollars as costs. The courts are evidently determined, judging from half a dozen decisions that have been rendered against organized workers, to mulct treasuries whether or not unions are incorporated and also grab whatever little property individual members may have accumulated by hard work, saving and self-denial. But the pure and simple organs are significantly silent upon this question. The American Federationist, for instance, can rail against dues payers who believe in socialism and print a lot of warmed-over stuff about what Gompers said somewhere, and all the other little organs contain an endless desert of words, boilerplate and paid political ads., but they are utterly deaf, dumb and blind to the greatest menace that organized labor must face now and in the future—the danger of having treasuries confiscated and even the roofs taken from over the heads of members.

"Labor's Friend" Roosevelt not only went on record in favor of the open shops in the Miller case and by appointing Paul Morton secretary of the navy and Senator Quarles to a United States judgeship, but the Pittsburg papers announce that he offered H. C. Frick a position in his cabinet, which the latter declined, as he may "fill Mark Hanna's shoes" as chairman of the Republican national committee. But the last straw is the announcement from Denver that the unspeakable Bell, of bull pen infamy has been offered the position of special agent to Venezuela from the U. S. Bell admitted having received the offer and had it under advisement. Yet a lot of lackeys are telling us that Roosevelt is as big a man as Washington or Lincoln were and is labor's friend!

SOCALISM ABROAD

JAPAN.

The war has had the effect of nearly crushing the socialist movement out of existence. However, the Japanese Comrades repeat in their publications that the real sentiment towards socialism is growing constantly and feel sure that the close of the war will see a rapid growth.

The following item taken from a recent issue of a Japanese Socialist paper gives us another view of a woman who has been occupying considerable space in the public press of America.

"Some time ago, the carriage of Marchioness Sutomatsu Oyama (wife of Fieldmarshal Marquis Oyama, Commander-chief of the Japanese army in Manchuria) had run over an aged woman, wounding her in the face. The poor injured instituted a case against the honorable lady demanding an idemnity of 650 yen, but the case was dismissed in the Tokyo Appeal Court a few days ago. Though we expected such an outcome from the beginning, yet at this unfortunate realization, we can not help pitying, that the judicial independence is not assured for the helpless in Japan."

FRANCE.

One more step has now been taken towards the completion of unity, the *Parti Socialiste Francais* held its congress at Rouen during the past month. This congress was really to fix the terms of unity. There was but one question to be solved and this was a question of the relation of the socialist deputies to the party organization. Owing to the lack of a compact party organization capable of enforcing discipline, the French socialist deputies, aside from those elected by the Guesdists, have always declared themselves responsible only to their constituency and have constituted a little group, to a large degree hostile to the socialist party organization. It was made one of the conditions of party unity that the parliamentary fraction should be subject to the party organization. The deputies refused to accept this condition and the congress was held to settle this question. We have had occasion to criticise Jaures in these columns many times, but we wish to extend to him the credit which is his due for his work at Rouen. Throughout the convention he stood for unity and discipline, and in a speech which lasted nearly half a day, he went over all of the questions which had been raised concerning the *bloc* tactics, voting for the secret fund, and the general budget and at all points took a firm stand for a disciplined united party. As a result quite largely of his efforts, coupled with those of Comrade

Longuet, whose writings at least are known to most of our readers, the convention decided to work for a united well disciplined party. Some of the deputies refused to accept the discussion. Gabriel Deville, the well known translator and popularizer of Marx, is one of these. He has sent a resignation to the socialist parliamentary fraction and declares these he will henceforth act as an independent socialist. This, however, really means almost nothing since he had already been expelled from the socialist party for compromising. Normand has also resigned, giving as his reason an excuse, which has grown gray with age in French Socialist politics and has been offered as an explanation for all sorts of confused tactics, that he is needed "to defend the Republic." The first convention of the united party was held April 23d in Paris. At this conference the final terms of unity were completed.

GERMANY.

The French capitalist press has recently been at the old game of praising the Socialists of other countries as so much superior to the native product, whereupon Comrade Bebel sent the following letter:

Dear Comrade Jaures:

You have furnished me with a pleasant hour in sending me the articles from the "Temps" and "Gaulois," which set me up as a model of patriotism in order to thereby discredit you by the comparison. I am not the only one however whom this article must have amused, for our ministers must also have laughed to see me pointed out as so prominent a pillar of the present political system. Our enemies are truly comical. In Germany it is you and your friends who are held up as models, while in France it is we who must serve as examples of patriots. The "Gaulois and "Temps" may rest easy. Since the German Social Democracy first entered the Reichstag some thirty years ago, it has never voted for a military or naval appropriation, and has always opposed the general budget, and this has always been done for the following three reasons: 1, because we have no faith in the representatives of the present state, who treat the laborers as a secondary class of citizens; 2, because we condemn the whole foundation of our military system as undemocratic and hostile to the people; 3, because the funds which support the German army and navy come from the customs and indirect taxes levied upon the consumption of the laborers, which are as unjust as they are oppressive. Moreover the German Kaiser has frequently preached to the soldiers the duty of being prepared, at his command, to shoot their own fathers and mothers. We would indeed be a miserable crew if we were to support such a system as this. I am glad, dear comrade Jaures, that in your article in "Humanite," you have so effectively answered your opponents. But it will accomplish nothing. When our opponents cease to lie about and slander us, it will be when they are at the end of their string, and the last hour of their domination has sounded. If you wish to publish this, I have no objections.

BOOK REVIEWS

"THE LABOR PROBLEM," by Thomas S. Adams & Helen L. Sumner.
The MacMillan Company, Cloth, 579 pp. \$1.75.

It is interesting to know that the "labor problem" has now reached what students call the "text book stage." The present work being the first in the field, must naturally share the defects of pioneer work. On the whole, however, if we judge it by the standard of a text book it is very satisfactory. The work is marred, however, according to our opinion, by a conformity to the scholastic idea of the treatment of social problems which prevails in most of our universities. According to this idea one must never be a partisan and must especially be careful of making any generalization. This is shown in the opening sentence where we are told that "There is no one labor problem whose solution would carry with it the settlement of all others." In a technical scholastic sense this is true but as a matter of fact the labor problem as a contest for better conditions between employer and employed is something inherent in capitalism, and the labor problem is the problem of capitalism. We are glad to note that this same introductory chapter recognizes the existence of a class struggle. "For the masses, indeed, it is true and increasingly true, that once a wage-earner always a wage-earner. This permanency of status makes the labor problem in one respect a class struggle. The laborer feels that he is permanently held within a class whose interests are, in part, antagonistic to those of the employers with whom he bargains and higgles over wages. Fortunately or unfortunately, too, industry becomes more highly capitalized as time passes, making it increasingly difficult for men to acquire industrial independence, and steadily reducing the proportionate number of those who can set up establishments of their own."

On the whole the comparative historical method is followed quite closely. The chapter on "Woman and Child Labor," "Immigration," "The Sweating System," "Poverty," "Strikes and Boycotts," "Labor Organizations" and "Employers' Associations," "Industrial Education," "Labor Laws" and the "Material Progress of the Wage Earning Classes" present in a quite satisfactory form an elementary history of the labor problem in the United States, and the titles give a good idea of the subject matter. It should be said in this connection that the analytical table of contents and an excellent index are of great help in the use of the book.

On the sweating system we are told that one of the most healthy signs is the appearance of the factory system in the manufacture of clothing. This is undoubtedly true, yet it certainly must leave something to be desired when we learn that "in these factories the workers are pushed to the greatest possible exertion." We may be sure of the victory of the factory if this succeeding statement is true that "every

coat passes through thirty hands and comes out fourteen minutes quicker and four cents cheaper than from the task shop."

The chapter on "Poverty, Earnings and Unemployment" is exceptionally full of information, although it is to a considerable degree supplanted by Robert Hunter's recent work on the same subject.

When we come to the portion dealing with remedies we have the same old ridiculous stuff that has been poured out from the dilettante, library confined students of society for the last twenty years. In just what way strikes and boycotts are included under "Remedies" it is hard to understand, since they are really signs of conflict. The same is largely true of "Laborers' Organizations and Employers' Associations," although the matter contained in these two chapters is by far the most valuable portion of this part of the work.

Why "Profit Sharing" should occupy nearly fifty pages of any work at this day and age when its utter failure to in any way meet industrial problems has been so thoroughly demonstrated is hard to understand. The final chapter on the "Material Progress of the Wage Earning Class" is the best in the book. We are somewhat surprised to note, however, the omission in the bibliography of McMasters' little work on the "Acquisition of Political, Social and Industrial Rights in America." On the whole, however, the bibliography affords little to criticise and forms a most valuable addition to the work. Each chapter has a list of works covering subject matter and on the whole these are extremely well chosen. Just why socialism should have been so carefully tabooed throughout the work is a little hard to understand. In spite of this fact the work fills a place which has long been vacant, for a book which can be recommended to the beginner who wishes to gain a knowledge of the facts which are essential to even an intelligent discussion of the labor problem.

"WHAT IS SO AND WHAT ISN'T," by John M. Work, published by J. A. Wayland. Paper 96 pp. 15 cents.

A well written, popular answer to some common objections to socialism. Easily read, suggestive and on the whole a valuable little propaganda pamphlet, and enough different in style and matter from the majority of such works to justify its existence.

"CAUSES OF THE UNION SHOP POLICY", by John R. Commons.

This article, re-printed from the last proceedings of the American Economic Association, is almost the only scholarly and in any way adequate treatment of this subject. The socialists will mainly quarrel with the conclusion, which, however, is rather implied than directly stated, that trades unions and employers' associations as the principal contracting parties, on the basis of a closed shop forms a stage of stable social equilibrium.

SOCIOLOGIE ECONOMIQUE, by Guillaume De Greef, Felix Alcan, Paris, France.

The well known sociologist and socialist (he himself would make the two terms identical) of Belgium here makes a valuable contribution to the literature of social thought. The method is strictly the comparative historical. He begins with a study of "social economy" studying the various schools that have appeared in the past and giving full and fair treatment to the contributions of the socialist writers. This is followed by a study of the different methods of social economics and a history of the same subject. He goes to considerable pains to show that Marx was not the originator of the economic interpretation of history, but it seems to us that here his work is rather strained and that after all he does not succeed in detracting in any way from the credit which belongs to Marx and Engels. There is much in the chapter on historical materialism that

is well worth translating and we may present some of it to our readers in a later issue, although we believe that the work is marred rather than improved by what the author evidently considers of great importance—an attempt to reconcile economic materialism with philosophical dualism.

THE RECORDING ANGEL, by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Charles H. Kerr and Co. Cloth, 287 pp. \$1.00.

We shall not say of this that it is *the* Socialist novel, for we believe that the stirring times in which we are now living and which the next few years will bring, will produce yet stronger and greater works. But we have no hesitation in saying that of all those who have sought to write such a work, up to the present time, Comrade Brenholtz has come the nearest to accomplishing his great object. One thing is certain, he has succeeded in avoiding the defect which has marred the majority of those that have preceded him—he has written an absorbingly interesting book. Chambers, the private secretary of a great trust magnate, installs a marvelously perfect phonograph in the private car of his employer. This machine records the most private conversation of the capitalist with his attorney and secretary. A great strike comes on, in which it seems as if the very existence of capitalism is at stake. At a critical moment Chambers uses the information thus gained to extort money from his employer for the use of the strikers, leading him to believe that his conversations had been taken down by a remarkably expert stenographer, who demanded these sums as the price of his silence. Around these incidents is woven a plot with romance and tragedy in plenty. It is possible to criticise the author somewhat in his handling of conversation, where he does not always show the skill of a trained craftsman, yet no one can deny to him or his work the possession of three important characteristics, strength, interest, and a novel plot. He has also succeeded in accomplishing something else that has ordinarily not been attained by writers of socialist novels, he has made the socialism an integral part of his story, and a natural growth without any such cheap expedients as long argumentative orations or essays.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

NOW READY: THE EVOLUTION OF MAN.

BY WILHELM BOELSCHKE.

When Darwin gave to the world his theory of Evolution, he did not give complete proof of the truth of the theory; he showed the way to find the evidence. A generation of scientists have been working along the line of Darwin's discoveries, and the evidence has been found.

Intelligent scientists have long ago ceased to argue the question of whether the evolution theory is true; they have accepted it as proved, and they are daily applying it in new discoveries.

Readers of popular books have, however, been left without information of the latest developments in science, and it has still been possible for priests, sentimentalists, reactionaries and yellow journalists to assert that Darwinism was a discredited theory, without being laughed at.

In Germany as well as America this need of popular scientific literature has been realized, and now something has been done. Prof. Wilhelm Boelsche, long recognized as one of the greatest biologists of Europe, has summed up the latest results of scientific research in a little book which is at once comprehensive, trustworthy and easily understood.

This work has been translated into English by Ernest Untermann, and is now published under the title of *The Evolution of Man*. It traces the ancestry of man back through the cave-man contemporary with the mammoth, and thence down through the lower forms of life until we reach the animal composed of a single cell. And even here the author shows that there is no break in the life-process, for he makes it clear that the cell is formed by precisely the same forces that are at work in the matter which we have been taught to call inorganic.

To socialists the facts that are popularized in this book are of an importance that we can hardly rate too highly. If we can see things in their proper relations, many costly mistakes will be avoided. The wider outlook will cure two opposite tendencies, both wasteful of effort—the sentimentalism which mourns over the materialistic conception of socialism without understanding it, and the "impossibilism" which imagines that the whole life of the universe can be stated in terms of "surplus value."

"*The Evolution of Man*" is a book that every socialist who wishes to be a more thorough student and a more effective worker for socialism will desire to read. Moreover, it is a book of immense propaganda value. Socialism is the logical outcome of evolution, while the main prop of capitalism is the outgrown creed that an all-powerful Creator decreed that things should remain just as we find them today. "*The Evolution of Man*" can be offered to the "worker with the capitalist mind" without greatly alarming his prejudices, and when he has read it, he will find his whole philosophy of life undermined, and he will be ready to listen to socialist arguments as never before.

"*The Evolution of Man*" is the first volume of a new series, the "Library of Science for the Workers." It is illustrated with numerous engravings, well printed on good paper, and handsomely bound in cloth with appropriate stamping especially designed for the new series. It will be mailed to any address for fifty cents, or to any stockholder in our co-operative publishing house for thirty cents.

We have made arrangements for translating and publishing more of these popular scientific works, including "The Triumph of Life" and "The Family of Animals," by William Boelsche, "The Sense-Life of Plants," by R. Francé, and "The End of the World" and "The Birth of the World," by Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Ernest Untermann also has in preparation two original works for the same series—"The Evolution of Evolution" and "Man's Conquest of His Environment."

The time for publishing these books will depend entirely upon our success in raising the needed capital. The cost of each book will be about four hundred dollars. If forty socialists will without delay send ten dollars each for a share of stock, we can start a translator at work on the second volume of the series and put it through the press by midsummer, and if forty more shares can be paid for by July, a third volume can be ready in August. A united effort will make it easily possible to publish at least six of these books by the end of 1905, and once published, they will be a source of income to the publishing house for years.

No dividends and no fancy salaries are paid. Any profit on books will be used either to repay money lent by stockholders, or to bring out additional books. Full particulars regarding the organization of the co-operative publishing house will be mailed on request.

MARXISM.

This is the general title of a series of articles by Mr. Louis B. Boudin, beginning in the May number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. They are of exceptional value now when the principles which Marx laid down are making such inroads into all fields of thought, even outside the socialist movement, and when within that movement opposing views on tactics are being urged, each justifying itself on the ground that it is a correct application of Marxism. In the preparation of these articles Comrade Boudin, who has the advantage of a thorough command of several lan-

guages, has made a careful study of the extensive Marxian literature. The special topics to be discussed in the several articles are:

- I. Introduction. (Karl Marx and His Critics.)
- II. The Materialistic Conception of History and the Class Struggle. (Exposition of the Doctrine.)
- III. The Materialistic Conception of History and the Class Struggle. (Criticism of the Doctrine.)
- IV. Value and Surplus-Value. (Exposition and Criticism.)
- V. The Mechanics of Capitalistic Production. (Exposition and Criticism of the Theories of Commercial Crises and the final breakdown of the System, Trust as Regulators of Production, Capitalistic Accumulation.)
- VI. The Laws of Capitalistic Development. (Exposition and Criticism of the Theories of "The Army of the Unemployed," "The Impoverishment of the Working Class," "The Disappearance of the Middle Class," the Social Influence of Trusts and Corporations in General.)
- VII. Final Results. (The Relations of Theory and Practice, Some of the Causes of the New Movement, and Some of the Results.)

It will readily be seen that this series of articles will be of immense value to every thinking socialist. And the other matter that has been published and will be published in *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* is nearly or quite as valuable to those socialists who care to have something more than a superficial knowledge of socialism. Unfortunately the number of these has not thus far been enough to pay the cost of publishing the *REVIEW*, and there has been a constant deficit, which has been made up directly or indirectly by the stockholders of the co-operative publishing house.

THE FINANCES OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE.

During the month of April the contributions toward paying the debt were \$5.00 from A. L. Nagel of Kentucky, \$3.55 from Alex. Fraser of New York, and \$2.50 from Gus Weiss of California. The debt to outsiders is now practically paid off, so that no considerable amounts are due except to our own stockholders, though some of these need their money and ought to be paid at once.

The monthly sales of books are larger than ever before, and are enough to pay the ordinary current expenses. The publishing house would therefore be in a healthy condition but for one fact, namely, that the receipts on the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* do not pay expenses.

During the month of April the total receipts of the *REVIEW* from all sources, including subscriptions and sales of bound volumes and single copies, amounted to \$102.26, while the outlay for printing, paper, postage and editorial work was \$217.75.

If the readers of the *REVIEW* want it continued, it will be necessary for them to support it in an entirely different fashion from this. The

total cost of publication each year, including postage, clerk hire, office rent and a portion of the manager's time, in addition to the items named in the last paragraph, is about four thousand dollars. This could be covered if all who have been receiving the REVIEW would pay the full price of a dollar a year for it, but this they seem unwilling to do.

Are you in favor of continuing the REVIEW? The way to vote yes is to send several new subscriptions at a dollar each. The way to vote no is to do nothing.

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VOL. V

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NO. 12

Differences Among the Russian Socialists.

G APON, as is well known, has lately sent out a call through the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau to the Russian socialists urging them to unite and the *Vorwaerts* has published a comment thereon in which it talks about the "chaos of divisions and conflicts that disrupt the socialist camp" as well as of the "note of union" which the Revolutionary Socialists have brought into this chaos. A few remarks that I have made regarding this in the *Leipsiger Volksezeitung** have brought requests to me from various directions that I explain this Russian chaos to the German Comrades and I respond all the more willingly to this request since I believe that it has become necessary to set the comrades of Germany right concerning the Russian differences. The less they know of these differences the more they have, simply the indefinite idea of a chaos, in which the friends of socialist unity are seeking in vain to bring order, and so much the greater the danger that they will condemn our Russian comrades falsely, and that their support will be weakened. Such a result would be a great misfortune to socialists not only in Russia but throughout the world.

I would have been glad to have left a description of the Russian differences to some other pen, to a comrade who stood closer to Russian affairs than I. But if such a comrade is a member of one or the other of these different parties, his description no matter how non partisan, would be open to the suspicion that it was colored.

* See INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for May.

If we seek to find the truth about the "chaos" in the midst of the Russian dissensions we will soon notice that not all of these divisions are of the same nature but that they fall naturally into certain groups. Things that, to the superficial observer appear an inextricable chaos are then easily distinguished.

Three groups can be plainly distinguished.

The first is that based upon national divisions, Russia includes many more nations than Austria. Some of these, like Poland, previous to their union with Russia, led an independent political existence. Others such as the Armenians had long ago lost this independent existence, or had never had it, and constituted simply the ruins of peoples, often nomadic, when they came beneath the rulership of the Czar. Out of this confusion of peoples the proletariat of Russia is recruited. The mixture of peoples is even more vari-colored, the further capitalism extends and the greater the number of new circles which are opened. The socialist propaganda must naturally be conducted among each people in their own speech. This in itself, since the party has become of any strength leads easily to a certain independence of organization, into many national party groups, even if they agree with the main party on programme and tactics. The backwardness of commerce and the impossibility of a popular organization strengthened still further the independence of individual groups. But independence of organization leads always to differences of opinion and this naturally will never fail to bring about slight friction, conflicts of authority and conflicts of all kinds. There is need not only of great theoretical and tactical agreement, but also a personal unselfishness and the greatest possible tact if the solidarity is to avoid all rocks.

In view of all this we should not wonder that such great differences exist. The Social Democratic organization of the peoples of the Caucasus (the Armenians, Georgians, etc.) constitute an integral portion of the Russian Social Democracy. These latter as a whole, together with the Jewish "Bund," the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania and the Livonian Social Democracy formed a socialist "Bloc" which seems to promise a mutual co-operation of these organizations.

Of a wholly different character than the national differences are those inside the organization of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia. Here we have to do with actual differences which have formed two factions inside the party each of which have their organ. One of these is the *Iskra* (Spark) among whose contributors are many who are well known to the German Comrades, especially Axelrod, Deutsch, Plechanoff, and Vera Sassulitsch. The other is *Wperjod* (Forward) whose most prominent representative is **Lenin**.

So far as programme and tactical principles are concerned both factions are completely agreed, much more than are the German Social Democracy. There are no revisionists among them. The only question at issue between them is that concerning the best form of party organization. These differences can be well compared to those which existed between the Lassalleans and Eisenachers and Lenin is often compared by his critics to Schweitzer. He demands strong centralization with dictatorial powers vested in a central committee, while Axelrod and his friends would leave much greater freedom of action to the individual local committee. The longer the separation continues, as with every quarrel, the more, no matter what may have been its origin, do personal antagonisms develop, together with other reasons for antagonism. The contest, however, of organization is pushed into the back ground by the tactical question of the best means to overthrow absolutism.

There is no doubt but what all these are extremely important questions whose discussion is very necessary. Nevertheless there is no doubt but what the feud of the two papers is at the present time injuring the Russian revolutionist movement; something that is all the more to be regretted since the actual differences of opinion are not so great as to make the cooperation of the opponents impossible. We can not set these differences on the same level with those which divided the French socialists at the Paris and Amsterdam congresses. In France it was a question of *different tactical principles*, which gave different character to the *continuous* work of the party. In the Russian social democracy there is complete unity concerning tactics, and differences exist only over the question as to the form of *practical application* of these principles to the *immediate situation*. These differences must disappear with the situation that brought them forth. They may lead to differences of opinion and to discussion, but not to separation.

But because the antagonism between *Iskra* and *Wperjod* are wholly different than those between the *Parti Socialiste Francais* and the *Parti Socialiste de France* it does not necessarily follow that outsiders should mix in or that they can be decided by an international congress. There are certain tactical principles which follow from our programme and which are the same for all socialist parties. An international congress can give a decision on these, and especially if in case of a division concerning them one of the contending parties ask for a decision as was the case with the French, where in Paris both divisions, and in Amsterdam at least one appealed to the congress. How can an international congress, however, decide which form of organization is best in Russia, or under what circumstances the armed

revolt, the strike or the peasant uprising is the most effective, or what we may expect from the Russian laborers?

However desirable it may be that the two factions should come to an understanding it is nevertheless impossible that outsiders should do anything. The most that would be possible would be to reduce the personal mistrust and antagonism that stands in the way of every union movement today, by means of a non-partisan court of arbitration which should examine into these personal accusations. But even this cannot be forced from without, but must come in response to the request of the participants. The *practical* differences, however, can only be settled by the Russian Social Democrats themselves, and this is not so simple since it appears as if each faction contained a majority, and from the very nature of a secret organization each little increase for one side is claimed by the other as accidental. We can only hope that the battle against the common enemy and the rapid changes of the political situation will bring about a removal of the bone of contention and the unity of the party.

We come now to the third group in the Russian divisions, —that between the different social democratic organizations on the one side and that of the Revolutionary Socialists upon the other, including the Terrorists, and which the *Vorwaerts* seems to look upon as the leaders of the unity movement in Russia.

Immediately after the call of Gapon the *Vorwaerts* published a letter written by Karl Marx in 1881 to his daughter concerning the Russian terrorists at that time. The *Vorwaerts* took the letter from *La Vie Socialiste* and accompanied it with comments in which is stated among other things "In a few lines Marx here exhausts all that can be said over the question of Russian terrorism."

No one would have been more astonished at such a statement than Karl Marx himself could he have read it today. For what was in this letter after all? In the first place Marx's statement of the fact that the originators of the St. Petersburg attempt upon Alexander II "were true heroes with no melo-dramatic poses." Wholly correct, but something that today does not hold true for the Russian terrorists alone, but for the whole mass of Russian revolutionists to whatever faction they may belong. But this says absolutely nothing concerning the real question of Russian terrorism.

The two statements contained in the letter are equally true that the tactics of the Russian terrorists are a "peculiar Russian tactic" and "historically unavoidable." So far as I know nobody has ever denied this, but this is very far from "exhausting everything that can be said on the question of Russian terrorism." Rather this statement merely formulates the question without attempting to give a final answer. That there is almost nothing

else in the letter concerning Russian terrorism, shows that the exaggerated importance which has been given to these "few lines" as an expression of "Marxism," is only intelligible by a complete ignoring of all that has been previously accomplished by the "orthodox" Marxists. This exaggeration shows however that those who make it would maintain that the Russian terrorism of today is identical with that of a quarter of a century ago. Otherwise it would be understood how impossible it would have been, even in a complete and scientific investigation of many volumes, to say nothing of a "few lines" written in 1881, to exhaustively treat the question of terrorism in 1905.

Let us endeavor, not necessarily to exhaust the question, but at least to briefly indicate what are the specific Russian circumstances which have created the Russian terrorism.

Are they to be found in absolutism? Certainly not. The whole European continent was under the yoke of absolutism in the 18th century, as were Austria and Russia in the first half of the 19th, without a terrorist tactic developing among the classes striving for political supremacy. The peculiarity of the Russian absolutism in opposition to that of Western Europe consists in the fact that it is Oriental and not founded upon a balance of powers between a strongly rising bourgeoisie and a feudal nobility which made the King a sort of court and over-lord of both; but was founded upon the absence of a bourgeoisie, the domination of a landed class, and a people scattered in countless village communities with no unity among themselves and consequently helpless before a central political power; so that the leader was absolute over the whole mass.

In the 18th century this absolutism came in closer touch with Western Europe and at the same time it began to take on something of the features of the political organization of the latter, such as bureaucracy, army, navy and the corresponding tactics. For this purpose an educated class was necessary which grew out of the hereditary environments and sought to immediately take on all the views and needs of the intellectuals of Western Europe. These views and needs influenced the ruling circle itself to a certain degree, at least so long as the circle was itself assisted thereby. When, however, the intellectuals became more numerous and began to constitute a class outside of the ruling circle, and in opposition to it, a struggle began between the intellectuals and the government, which grew all the more sharp and the intellectuals all the more revolutionary, and the government the more reactionary, the longer it continued.

In the eighties of the last century, however, the intellectuals stood alone in this battle. They found no other class which supported them; no strong independent bourgeoisie, no revolutionary

class of little capitalists. In Western Europe it had been these classes which had constituted the heart of the popular revolutionary forces of the English and French revolutions up to the middle of the 19th century. In Russia the little traders were generally nothing more than uprooted peasants who still were inferior to the peasant of the villages, since they had lost the support which the village community with its communist system had given. The peasant stood higher than the little trader, but his democratic and communistic inclinations and instincts did not extend beyond the borders of the *village* community. For a *national* democracy the Russian peasant lacked both understanding and interest.

All of this led to a condition where the Russian intellectuals after many disappointing attempts at a democratic propaganda finally came to trust in their own strength as a means of overthrowing absolutism. This strength, however, was utterly inadequate to conquer the enormous powers of a modern government. There remained to them therefore, the single form of battle, of intimidation, of terrorism,—the battle of individual heroes, who took their lives in their hands in order to threaten the lives of the possessors of governmental power. This was the root of the “historically unavoidable, peculiarly Russian” tactics of terrorism.

In connection with these tactics, however, there were also certain peculiar socialistic views. The Russian intellectuals were, as we have seen, wholly dependent for their political views and needs upon the West, during the time that terrorism was developing. Meanwhile, the liberalism of Western Europe had ceased to become revolutionary and had become a conservative power. There was now but one revolutionary factor, the Social Democracy. This re-acted upon the Russian revolutionists. They had been from the beginning also socialists. Where, however, in so economically backward a land were they to find the starting point of a transformation of society in the socialist sense. A developed industry which could offer such a starting point did not exist, but they hoped to find a complete substitute for this in a direction which is in the Europe of today “peculiarly Russian”—the agrarian communisms of the village community. That was the theory of the *Narodniki*, which became the theoretical foundation of the terroristic agitation of the *Narondnaja Wolja*.

Like the terrorist battle against the government, so also the agrarian socialism of the Russian revolutionists was “historically unavoidable.” This does not by any means say that it was certain to attain its object. All political tendencies and efforts of a definite epoch are “historically unavoidable,” but only a portion thereof are destined to succeed. Another portion must just as unavoidably disappear without result as that they appear. Twenty-

four years ago no one could assert with certainty that the Russian village communities might not become the starting point of a modern form of communism. Society as a whole can not leap over any stage of evolution, but single backward portions thereof can easily do this. They can make a leap in order to correspond with other and more advanced portions. So it was possible that Russian society might leap over the capitalist stage in order to immediately develop the new communism out of the old. But a condition of this was that socialism in the rest of Europe should become victorious during the time that the village communities still had a vital strength in Russia. This at the beginning of the eighties appeared still possible. But in a decade the impossibility of this transition was perfectly clear. The revolution in Western Europe moved slower and the village communities in Russia fell faster than appeared probable at the beginning of the eighties, and therewith it was decided that the special peculiarity of Russia upon which the terrorism and the socialism of the *Narodnaja Wolja* was founded should disappear, and that Russia must pass through capitalism in order to attain socialism and that also Russia must in this respect pass along the same road as had Western Europe. Here as there socialism must grow out of the great industry and the industrial proletariat is the only revolutionary class which is capable of leading a continuous and independent revolutionary battle against absolutism.

That the tactics of the *Narodnaja Wolja* alone were not sufficient to overthrow absolutism became evident at about the time the Marxian letter was written. (April 1881.) The death of Alexander II marked the highest point ever attained as a result of the terrorist tactics of that period. Indeed what more could be attained than the killing of the Czars? But society did not move in accordance with this striking example; no class arose to support the brave fighter and so he was finally executed in the unequal struggle.

Marx did not live until these facts became evident, dying in 1883. In this very year however there arose a new body in Russia that set itself to work to establish a new foundation for the revolutionary movement. Since the 60's there has been an industrial capitalism and an industrial proletariat in Russia. In the beginning, however, this possessed no special class-consciousness, resembling in many ways the little tradesmen of the cities, mere uprooted peasants, with peasant narrowness, but without that peasant strength which comes from contact with their native earth. In the 80's however, Russian capitalism and proletariat began to rapidly develop. It now became evident that here was a wholly new revolutionary class. The first to recognize this were the Marxists,—Axelrod, Deutsch, Plechanow, Vera Sassu-

litsch, who, in 1883, founded the *League for the Emancipation of Labor*. This organization was in full accord with the German Social Democracy. It took up, not simply the battle against absolutism but also made the organization and education of the laborers to the end of conducting an independent class-struggle, a part of their program. Even at this time the conditions for the formation of a labor party in Russia were very unfavorable. But the comrades whose names we have just given did not permit this fact to discourage them. They labored with tireless activity, until in 1898, they at last succeeded in founding a Russian Social Democracy.

They did not attain this however, except after a continuous energetic fight against the *Narodniki* and the terrorists, to which, in the days of its greatest effectiveness, they had themselves belonged. Both their ultimate aim and their tactics brought them into conflict with the Socialist Revolutionists, who after the old terrorist wing had disappeared, sought to bring about a revival of the traditions of the *Narodnaja Wolja* through the invigorating power of the new labor movement, by establishing the *Socialist Revolutionary Party* in 1901.

The Social Democracy sees in the industrial proletariat the force that must carry the revolutionary and socialist movement. A strong industrial proletariat, however, presupposes a developed capitalism. The Social Democracy resting upon the capitalist development of Russia, sees in its rapid progress the inevitable preliminary condition of revolution.

The terrorists seek to found socialism on the inherited village communism. The enthusiasm for the little industry, the dislike of the economic development that dissolves the village communism, the desire to confine this development,—all create reactionary economic tendencies among the terrorists, and bring their economic goal into opposition to that of the Social Democracy.

On the other hand also terrorism rests fundamentally upon the firmly rooted distrust of the political initiative and revolutionary attitude of the masses which existed at the time of its origin, as well as upon the conviction that only through the heroic courage of a few chosen individuals and not through action of the masses can absolutism be overthrown. The Social Democracy makes it its special mission to destroy this very distrust, to arouse the masses, and to show them that only through themselves can they be freed; that they cannot depend upon any Messiah, that the boldest and most sacrificing heroism of individuals is incapable of accomplishing what only an uprising of the proletarian masses can accomplish.

As a result there followed the bitter struggle of the Russian Social Democracy, first with the *Narodniki* and then with the

Socialist-Revolutionists, that has already been going on for two years, and that is just as "peculiarly Russian" and "historically unavoidable" as terrorism itself: unavoidable and necessary in order to raise the revolutionary movement out of its imperfect outgrown forms up to a higher plane.

If they have today attained this higher plane and are able from it to direct socialism in its battle against absolutism with far different resources and objects than were possible for the *Narodnaja Wolja*, then this is due, apart from the mightiest factor of all, the economic development, to the Russian Social Democracy, and the tireless criticism that it has directed against the *Narodniki* and their allies, the Socialist-Revolutionists.

So great were the results of the economic development, and the propaganda of the Russian Social Democracy, who, thanks to their theoretical training, comprehended the tendencies and direction of this development better than any other revolutionary group, that the Socialist-Revolutionists were themselves affected by it. The standpoint of the old *Narodnaja Wolja* is today everywhere given up. The new terrorism is a wholly different thing from the old. It is compelled to adapt itself to the new facts and theories, and take more and more into consideration the proletarian class-struggle. On the other hand it is easy to understand how the Social Democrats in the heat of their polemic against the Socialist-Revolutionists might go to extremes. Because they value the action of the masses higher than the bomb, it may many times appear as if they completely rejected the terrorist tactics, something wholly aside from their intention. When they lay the emphasis upon the conversion and organization of the city proletariat, and point out the reactionary economic tendencies of the village communism, it may sometimes appear as if they undervalued the significance which a peasant uprising might have during a time of revolution in weakening absolutism—something also of which they have no intention.

At all events the actual antagonisms between the Social Democrats and the terrorists are less today than they were twenty-five years ago. But nevertheless the differences are great enough to lead the Social Democrats to refuse to unite with the Socialist-Revolutionists.

The latter are more "tolerant", but this is simply because they have not yet passed the stage of continuous ferment, so that even at the present time they have no definite program. Their ranks are open to the most divergent factions—such as formerly composed the German National Socials—with which, however, I certainly do not wish to compare them. We find among them people who stand very close to social democracy, together with elements that are distinctly anarchistic, as well as small capitalist

democrats and social reformers. The objects and their tactics are as indefinite as their boundaries, but everywhere there are antagonisms between them and the Social Democrats; not simply in theory but also in political tactics.

This was shown, for example, a few months ago, when Socialist-Revolutionists at Paris, in opposition to the Russian Social Democratic organizations formed an alliance with the Liberals. This served to considerably widen the division between them and the Social Democrats—a strange way to prove the necessity of a union with the Social Democracy. But they thereby to be sure gained the endorsement of the *Vorwaerts*, whose sympathies they had long had, and which preached against the Social Democrats because they held themselves apart from the Liberal-Socialist alliance. It held that it was imperatively necessary for all the opponents of absolutism to unite. Certainly there is nothing more desirable than such a union, for in union is strength. But why should not the Russian Social Democracy be recognized as the base for unity? In practice the question always is, *for what* shall we unite? Shall all the elements of the opposition unite simply to shout “Down with absolutism?” Unfortunately the days of Jericho are past. Nothing is done by shouting alone. Fighting is what is needed. But for a common *fight*, common *tactics* are required. The creation of such a tactic is the preliminary condition of every union for fighting. So long as the antagonisms remain, any unity would be but an ineffectual pose. And this is just what the Liberal-Socialist alliance has become in spite of the enthusiasm of the *Vorwaerts*. Its first act was also its last—the sending out of a signed proclamation to the various organizations. It has proceeded no further. Its single action consisted of a few phrases.

How then, for example, can the Liberals and the Socialist-Revolutionists fight together? The Liberals rest mainly upon the great land-owners, the Socialist-Revolutionists to some degree upon the peasants; the first demand a constitution in order to secure their landed possessions, the latter wish to seize this property. The fight against absolutism is only a class struggle to a certain degree, since each class is conducting it in a different manner and for a different purpose.* The different classes can cooperate for certain *definite objects*, but a permanent alliance between them for a whole revolutionary period, with its rapidly changing combinations is evidently an absurdity.

But *one* motive, aside from mutual hate of absolutism, served to unite the various organizations that formed an alliance in Paris,—distrust of the fighting capacity of the Russian proletariat.

* Even as I write word comes from St. Petersburg that the liberal papers are utilizing their slight temporary freedom of the press to preach against Socialism.

This is the animating thought of the Liberals. Their representative in Paris, the editor of *Oswoboschdenje*, Peter Struve, was at one time a Social Democrat. He declares at the present time that he is not false to his social democratic ideals in going over to the Liberals, but that he has become a Liberal for Russia only, because its proletariat is not in a condition to form an independent and militant political party.

In spite of all its transformations the old mistrust of the Russian industrial proletariat ever clings to the Socialist-Revolutionists. The Polish socialist party, when it finally concluded the agreement, stood firmly upon the ground of the class-struggle, but only for Poland, and they gave us a reason for their peculiar position in antagonism to the Russian Social Democracy, that the Polish proletariat, but not the Russian, was ripe for revolution, and that the former could not allow itself to be retarded in its struggle for freedom by the backwardness of the latter. This is one of the grounds of antagonism between them and the Social Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, the latter fighting as a part of the whole Russian proletariat.

No sooner, however were the three named organizations and a few others of insignificant importance, united with the *Vorwaerts* in declaring the failure of the tactics of the Russian Social Democracy, than the latter were most splendidly justified by the events of the 22nd of January and the days that followed, which showed the Russian proletariat to be a revolutionary force of the first rank, and by far the strongest revolutionary force in the Russian empire. In spite of this the *Vorwaerts* did not cease praising the Socialist-Revolutionists in contrast with the Social Democrats, as their note concerning Gapon and comment on the Marxian letter showed, which would however, have been wholly meaningless had they not stated that Marx in an exhaustive discussion had declared that the tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionists were the only correct ones for Russia.

.....

Naturally we do not demand of the *Vorwaerts* that it reverse its previous tactics and oppose the Socialist-Revolutionists. In spite of all theoretical considerations we must grant our warmest sympathies to these fighters, who represent an important division of the Russian proletariat, and have entered heroically into the battle against absolutism, that is going on before our eyes and is creating a new Russia. This historic mission is so colossal that we can spare no force that makes for its realization, and the battle field is broad enough to offer room for the activities of all. Wherever we can help the Socialist-Revolutionists in their fight against absolutism we must do so. But we have not the slightest reason for supporting them when they come in conflict

with the Social Democratic organization. They have done nothing which would justify such an action.

Neither is socialist unity furthered by such interference, no matter how often the word "unity" may be used.

Fortunately there are just at this time far more powerful forces working for unity of the Russian socialists than the wise warnings of outside comrades. These forces arise from the very nature of the revolution itself, which is more and more compelling the activity of the Russian socialists to take on the form of a movement of the whole popular masses, in which the differences of the various groups are constantly dissolving, until at last a uniform tactic will grow out of the events, which in turn, will make possible a single organization.

The less a movement apparently progresses, the more urgent the demand for new tactical methods, and the greater also the diversity of views concerning these methods. The smaller a movement, and the more secret, the more do differences of opinion of individuals gain in strength and power to influence party activity. Just as easily do these differences lead to divisions. Smallness of party, slowness of growth, and dissensions in the ranks generally go hand in hand. The last however is much more of an effect than a cause. The party is more often split because it is small and ineffectual, than small and ineffectual because it is split. Once a party movement becomes a great popular mass movement, gaining victory after victory, and the differences lose their force and significance, and as the conflict goes on the party becomes continually more consolidated and united—so far at least as it rests upon the interests of a single class, as does the social democracy. A party that includes various and often antagonistic classes, as do the most bourgeois parties will to be sure, on the other hand, more frequently incline to divisions than to closer cooperation, as the party development in France during the great Revolution shows. It is just exactly during the time of revolution that a coalition of various classes is the hardest to hold together.

It was just because the revolution was at the very door that the Liberal-Socialist alliance was a still-born child. On the other hand the revolution has already strengthened the solidarity of the Social-Democratic forces. From Poland as well as from Russia comes the news that the latest activities have been common activities of the previously warring Social Democratic organizations.

Just what will be the relation between the Social Democratic organizations and the Socialist-Revolutionists is not yet clearly evident. Class parties are welded more firmly together by revolutions, while those that represent divergent interests are torn asunder. The Socialist-Revolutionists however are no purely

proletarian party. They wish to serve the interests of the whole "laboring people," by which they mean the peasants and the small tradesmen as well as the proletarians. The revolution will certainly bring about a deep transformation in this party. The direction of this transformation will depend upon whether it draws closer to the Social Democrats until the momentary cooperation of today leads to permanent amalgamation, or whether the antagonism between them grows sharper.

All that we in other countries can do must appear insignificant contrasted with the gigantic forces that are today operating in Russia, and which are determining the relations which party organizations shall bear to each other. These forces are working so energetically and so irresistibly for proletarian interests that we have not the slightest reason to take a pessimistic view of Russian affairs, or to speak of a "chaos" in the Russian Democracy. The relations of the Russian comrades are perfectly clear and intelligible for whoever has followed their development from the beginning, and the revolution itself is now at hand to still further clarify them. Chaos exists far less in the ranks of the socialists than in those of the ruling classes. It is there we find dissension, anarchy, and mutual antagonism on the increase. In the midst of this chaos we find the chaos of the latest of the social strata to enter into political life—the peasants. This chaos will grow ever greater, but in the degree that it grows will grow the power and the influence of the industrial proletariat, united through the teachings of the class-struggle, impressing more and more its stamp upon the new Russia, that will finally arise from the chaos.

KARL KAUTSKY, in *Neue Zeit*.

Translated by A. M. Simons.

Materialistic Conception of History and Class Struggle.

One of the most amusing features of modern Marx criticism is the grave discussions by the critics, of the question whether or not Marx was a philosopher and whether or not Marxism is a philosophy. Most divergent and contradictory opinions are held by the different eminent and learned critics. And not only this but the most contradictory accounts are given as to what Marx himself thought on the subject. The confusion is so great that there seems to be no way out of it,—unless one turns to Marx himself, or to Engels..... This, by the way, is always the best way out when one finds himself in one of the mazes of contradictory accounts of Marxism which abound so much in anti-Marxian literature.

A careful study of the writings of Marx and Engels discloses the fact that in their opinion what used to be known before their day as "philosophy" reached its culminating point and came to a close with Hegel. That henceforth the place of philosophy is taken by science. Already Ludwig Feuerbach said:—"My philosophy is—no philosophy," and Marx and Engels carried this statement into effect by replacing abstract philosophy by concrete science. Engels therefore says,—(Ludwig Feuerbach P. 56) :—"This conception (the materialistic conception of history) puts an end to philosophy on the historical field, just as the dialectic conception of nature makes all natural philosophy unnatural and impossible." Marxism is no abstract philosophy. It is just the reverse, it is concrete science, and therefore, the heir and successor of all philosophy.

It is heir to all philosophy, because notwithstanding the break with the old philosophy which the new method of treating human society has effected, and the superseding of philosophy by science, there is a continuity of thought running through philosophy and the science of human society just as there is a continuity of human society itself notwithstanding the changes in the form of its organization, or just as there is continuity in the economic structure of human society notwithstanding the different "economies" which were prevalent at different stages of its development.

The Marxian science is the result and logical sequence of the whole development of mankind. Marx found awaiting him the component parts of philosophy: the dialectic or evolutionary

method of contemplating the world, and the materialistic view, that is the view that the material conditions of the world being the only thing we know are therefore the only thing we can take cognizance of. His was the new combination and the method of application which, however, were loudly demanded by the needs of the time.

In order, however, that we may come unbiased to the study of this science which is variously known as "economic materialism," "dialectic materialism," or "The Materialistic Conception of History," we must rid ourselves of some prejudices which cling to the name because of the association of the words which represent the ideas forming its component parts, in vulgar parlance, with certain objectionable moral and mental qualities. Dialectics is commonly associated with a certain mental trick by which a shrewd debater *seemingly* proves something which may be quite untrue; the reasoning by which the proof produced contains a mental shuffling of cards. It is sometimes used in the same sense as "sophistic,"—another much-abused term. But worse yet are the vulgar associations of materialism. A materialist is commonly supposed to be a man who is gross, mean and egotistical. A materialist philosopher, according to the common notion, is a man whose ideas are chained to the gross pleasure of life, who always has his eyes open to the main chance, a man who has neither God in his thoughts nor humanity in his feelings; a man to whose constitution any ideal or higher motive is an absolutely foreign element.

This is, of course, fallacious. Philosophic idealism or materialism has absolutely nothing in common with the influence of, or adherence to, ideal motives in practical life. Idealism or materialism in philosophy is simply the question whether we must go beyond the world that we perceive with our senses in order to get to the *real world*, that is to say, to the world which has a full and independent existence, and therefore, contains in itself the laws of its own existence and development. The idealists insist that the world of matter which surrounds us and includes us has no independent existence at all; that certain non-material things, or *ideas*, are the only things having an independent existence, and therefore their own laws of development; and that the material world merely follows the development of those ideas, of which it is the shadow of manifestation. The materialists, on the other hand, declare that the only real world, for us, is that material world which we perceive with our senses; that, furthermore, we know nothing beyond what knowledge we gain by the help of our senses, that ideas have not, and can not have any real independent existence, but are merely the *reflection* of the material world as perceived by us through the medium of the senses.

This is something different, and apart, from the preconceived

notions of idealism and materialism. It is now easy to understand that the fact that one is a materialist in his philosophic views cannot possibly prevent him from, or have any bearing upon his being an "idealist" in practical life. Nor is this changed by adding "dialectics" to materialism, that is to say by transferring the discussion to the historical field, because that is all that "dialectic method" really means. In other words it simply means that we do not look at the world as something dead and unchangeable, but as something which is continually changing; as the great Greek philosopher who first saw this great truth expressed it: nothing *is*, everything becomes, or, to be more exact, existence is a constant process of change or growth. If we want to understand things we must understand their appearance and disappearance, their growth and decline.

This way of contemplating things in their *movement*, of studying their birth, growth and decline, when applied to the study of the history of human society by a materialist, that is to say by one who knows that only material facts exist and develop independently, and ideas only reflect the existence and development of the material world,—is the Materialistic Conception of History, the foundations of the Marxian Scientific System. In other words, the Materialistic conception of history maintains that the evolution of human society as a whole, and that of all human institutions, is not, as the idealists insisted, the result of the changes in men's *ideas* relative to the society they were living in and its institutions, which changes are brought about by the inherent law of development of the ideas; but that, quite to the contrary the development of society, including men's ideas of human society and institutions, are the result of the development of the material conditions under which men live; that these conditions are the only ones which have an independent existence and development; that the changes of the material conditions cause the institutions of human society to be changed to suit them; and that the ideas on all subjects relating to man in society, including those of right and wrong between man and man and even between man and his God, are changed by man in accordance with and because of, those changed material conditions of his existence.

As was stated before, both the component elements of this philosophy: the materialistic "view" and the dialectic "method," were found by Marx ready to do service, and his great merit in this field was the combination of the two, and the reduction of the combination to a clearly defined system.

This, however, was not all, and, perhaps, not even the most distinctive contribution of Marx to philosophy, science. The mere statement of the philosophic doctrine still left the *course* of human history unexplained, until Marx applied his genius and

transformed history, a sealed book to his predecessors, into a science. A science which, if not as exact, is just as useful, as any one of the natural sciences. This he achieved by abandoning abstract philosophy and treating history scientifically. That is to say, he examined the facts of history itself, in order to obtain from such examination the laws of their evolution and relation to each other. This was strictly in accordance with his materialistic "philosophy" which would not admit of any outside preconceived constructions, and insisted that we get all our knowledge and ideas from the existing "matter" itself.

His "Materialistic" conception gained, the next thing for Marx to do was to determine what were the "material" factors of history. His investigations led him to the belief that the economic conditions were the prime movers of history. Accordingly, he found it necessary to substitute the term "economic" for the term "material." This completed Marx's conception of history and gave it that distinguishing characteristic which stamps it, and the whole of it, as truly Marxian, notwithstanding the many claims of priority; that characteristic which at once gives it its scientific value and makes it the butt of all pseudo-scientific criticism.

The great merit of this theory of history, is—that it really explains, in the course of history, something which could not be said of the previous attempts at explaining history, including those of "materialists" like Taine and Buckle.

Marx's insistence on the predominance of the economic factor is not the result of any arbitrary predilection or any preconceived schematic explanation brought into the study of history from outside considerations. The economic factor is insisted as THE material factor because it is the only material factor that changes and develops, and consequently is the only one which can cause change and development in what Marx calls the "superstructure" of society. It goes, of course, without saying, that something that does not change can not produce any change. No mathematician has ever attempted to ascribe the change in a mathematical operation to the factors that remain constant. It is the varying factors that produce changes in the results. But all the material factors that have been mentioned beside the economic factor remain constant, or nearly so. Such are race, geography, etc. To the extent, however, that these factors do change, and by their change affect the course of human history, full credit is given them. So in the study of primitive, undeveloped, society, where, owing to the crude character of his tools, man is dependent entirely upon nature and is directly affected by its least changes, or where, as in the case of great discoveries, certain geographical features hitherto of no importance

become important, these factors are fully recognized and their influence carefully studied and determined.

In other words, all the material factors, outside the economic, are "taken into account," except that upon careful account taken the influence of these factors appears to be very small and tributary to the main, the economic, factor, and, (and this is most important of all) this influence is constantly diminishing, with the progress of mankind. They may, therefore, be left out of account when outlining the general scheme of the evolution of society.

The adherents of the Materialistic Conception of History therefore assert that production, and, next to production, exchange of the product, is the basis of every social order; that in every historic form of society the distribution of the product of human labor produced by it, and with it the social arrangement into classes or estates, depends on what and how is produced in that society and how the product is exchanged. Accordingly, the last causes of all social changes and political transformations are to be sought not in the increasing insight of men into the laws of eternal truth and justice, but in the changes of the methods of production and exchange. Not in the philosophy, but in the economics of the given epoch. They are not to be sought in morality, because morality itself is changeable and is itself the result of circumstances which lie deeper in the structure of human society. "Every moral theory which has existed until now was, in last analysis, the result of the economic conditions of the society in which it prevailed. The awakening insight that the existing social arrangements are unreasonable and unjust, that reason became nonsense and charity torture, is only a sign of the fact that the methods of production and forms of exchange have been quietly undergoing such changes that the social arrangements which have been cut to suit previous economic conditions are now out of joint. It also betokens that the means of remedying the discovered evils have already to a more or less degree been evolved with the changed relations of production."

The basis and superstructure of society of which Marx speaks in his famous preface to his "Zur Kritik," a portion of which was quoted in the preceding article, may therefore be formally constructed on something like the following plan: The basis of the structure is a given state of the development of the productive forces of society; this brings about certain relations between the individuals composing that society in the social process of production and exchange, which determine the distribution of the product among them; this, in its turn, results in a certain form of society, certain social institutions, which expresses these relations; the society is then permeated by a condition of the minds and a set of habits and customs which conform to the form of

society; and all that culminates in the philosophy, literature, and art of the society which will be the result of the abilities, the tastes, and inclinations which this condition of the minds, the habits and customs will produce.

The ideas which prevail in a given society exert a powerful influence on that society. These ideas, however, have their source in the social milieu of that society, which milieu, in its turn, is the result of the economic relations of that society. The ideas, therefore, whether political, moral, religious, or otherwise, which prevail in a given society, and which influence the conduct of men in that society while they prevail, cease to prevail, and are gradually discarded, when the economic conditions in which they had their inception undergo a change. Furthermore, in our society which is divided into classes based on economic interest, the ideas prevailing in it at any given time will not only be the result of certain economic conditions, but will in the main answer the needs, desires, or aspirations, of the social class which was brought to the front by those economic conditions. So that there may be, and very often there is, more than one set of ideas on one given subject current in a given society at the same time; that these ideas are in direct conflict with each other; and that they are held, respectively, by those classes of that society whose interests they give expression to.

Usually there is only one set of ideas prevailing in society, and for the following reasons: In our society, that is society based on the private ownership of property, there is always a class of persons having in their possession or control the means where-with society produces the things on which it subsists and from which it derives its comfort. This class, by reason of its control of society's means of production, carrying as this does with it the management and supervision of society's production and exchange, shapes the institutions and customs of society to suit its interests and to insure its dominion in society. It has absolute sway except that it must not disregard the law of its own existence. That is to say: its dominion must be exercised in conformity with and in furtherance of the economic powers which created it, giving them full play so that their latent forces may fully develop and give to society all the benefit there is contained in them.

This dominion of the class which control the production of society is due not only to the coercive power it possesses over the other members of society by reason of such control, and of the control of society's means of subsistence and comfort which result therefrom, but also to its persuasive powers. From the standpoint of interest it must be admitted that its interests lie along the road of the progress of society, and therefore coincide with the interests of society as a whole. From the higher,

"ideal," standpoint its position is also impregnable: what it obtained by might has in due course of time become its right by the rule of prescription, euphoneously known as "tradition," the greatest and most potent source of right as it requires no evidence of title and works itself into the very inner consciousness of man and becomes co-extensive with his feelings. To help and augment this natural feeling of its right, the dominating class, which controls the spiritual food of society along with the material, inculcates the ideas of its rights into the members of society artificially. So that the whole of society is usually permeated with the ideas of the dominating class.

But "the world do move." Man, in his struggle with nature for its domination, is very inventive. His inventiveness (its tempo) will depend on many circumstances, but he almost continually changes his tools wherewith he exploits nature by inventing new ones. With the change of tools he changes the methods, and sometimes the fields, in which he had heretofore exploited nature. The change does not, however, come suddenly. The new, improved, tools, and the new methods which they bring with them, are being slowly perfected and brought into use, and slower still are the new fields of exploitation becoming popular. But the march of the new economic force embodied in the new tool is irresistible. Slow though its progress be at first, it gains in velocity and momentum as it proceeds along, like the falling stone, until its slow progress is converted into a rushing torrent sweeping along in its course all obstacles.

When a new tool makes its appearance, a new political force is born into society. This force grows with the growth of the importance of the new tool in the economy of society, and, in its turn, helps the new tool to unfold itself properly, if it is hampered by artificial barriers from asserting itself. This new political force, the class which owns and controls the new tool, and consequently the product which is produced by means thereof, enters into a struggle with the then governing class, that is with the class which owns and controls the old means of production, and this struggle for the control of the organization of society, grows from day to day with the growth of the use of the new tool. Each recruit to the new field of economic activity becomes a soldier in the army of the class controlling that field.

This struggle continues until the inevitable result is reached: Economically, the new improved means of obtaining society's goods becomes pre-eminent; politically, the class which operates and controls those improved means of production becomes predominant. Then a new order of things is created, if the new method of production is sufficiently different a new society is born: New political institutions, new religious beliefs, new moral notions, new aesthetic tastes, new philosophic systems. So does

History run her course. The new of yesterday is the old of to-day, and the new of to-day is the old of to-morrow. Each order of things is in turn young and old; struggling for existence and recognition first and then struggling for existence and the maintenance of its authoritative position against the recognition of new elements which threaten to undermine its existence. The progressive of to-day is the reactionary of to-morrow.

In this struggle for existence between two economic forces and the two classes of society representing them, for social dominion, force as well as persuasion are usually used, the manner and proportion of their use being determined by local influences. The established opinion, whether born of interest (class-interest) or received by tradition exert a powerful interest on society as a whole, as already stated, until the new economic forces become strong enough to formulate their own set of opinions, their own "ideology," and inculcate them into the minds of men. The new ideas formulate slowly, and make converts even slower. But when the time has come, society has been sufficiently revolutionized economically, these ideas become a revolutionary factor in themselves and help destroy the old order of things. Not only is the class whose interests lie in the economic changes which gave birth to these ideas fired by these ideas to such an extent that it often forgets those economic interests themselves and is carried away by the ideas alone, but neutral classes of society and even people whose interests lie in the opposite direction are carried away by the new ideas and enter the lists for the new order of things.

New ideas, therefore, are always the result of new economic conditions, produced sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, but they always have an important place in the struggle of the classes for the progress of human society, for each new class fights for society as well as for itself, and they truly characterize the social forces engaged in the struggle.

L. BOUDIN.

(To be continued.)

Veblen the Revolutionist.

IT must have been highly gratifying to every Marxian to find that the first article in the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW for April was devoted to calling attention to the work of Thorstein Veblen, the greatest exponent, who has yet arisen, of the psychological effects of economic causes. Unfortunately the article is by a writer whose ignorance of Marx is eclipsed only by his ignorance of Veblen.

While it is not worth while to dwell upon it here, it may be noted in passing that Comrade Walling has not yet emancipated himself from the handicap of the Great Man theory of history, and is still looking for Providence (?) to raise up an American Moses to found an American Socialism (God save the mark!) and free the American toilers from the bondage of Capitalism. A closer study of his own pet Great Man, Veblen, would have led him to "put not his trust in princes," but to rely upon the "Cultural Incidence of the Machine Process" to develop "socialistic disaffection" among the industrial workers, and he would thus have remained upon the solid ground of the teachings of Karl Marx, who, he tells us, "has been outgrown in Europe" and "must become an historical reminiscence in the United States."

While the attempt to establish an antithesis between the teachings of Marx and those of Veblen was of immense service to the meretricious rhetoric of Comrade Walling, it is much to be deplored, for it is but too sure to cause many revolutionary Marxians to whet their tomahawks for Veblen.

Most socialists have hitherto accepted as axiomatic, as it were, this statement of Marx in the Preface to the Critique of Political Economy, "The mode of production obtaining in material life determines, generally speaking, the social, political, and intellectual processes of life." But they have been unable and have apparently cared but little to explain how psychological processes were moulded by material and economic causes. Even Labriola was little more than suggestive along this line — merely stimulated thought upon it. Now it is the peculiar merit of Prof. Veblen that he has explained the *modus operandi*, by which economic causes produce psychological effects. In this field he is not only *facile princeps*, he is practically alone. His "Theory of the Leisure Class" is, in the writer's judgment, the most serious contribution to Socialist thought since the Communist Manifesto. But Veblen is not great as a rival of Marx, but

as an expounder of Marx, a developer of Marxian theses. It is not too much to say that all his best work is nothing more than Marxian exegesis.

But Comrade Walling is not wholly to blame for having misapprehended the nature of Prof. Veblen's work. Part of the blame must rest upon Veblen's shoulders, for he never gives credit to Marx and Engels, but constantly assumes that he, Veblen, is an original investigator. In this respect Thorstein Veblen and Achille Loria are curiously alike. Writing in the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* for Sept., 1900, of the latter's book, "The Economic Foundations of Society," the present writer said: "Curiously enough in this long book he never once gives Marx the credit of having discovered this theory, but constantly talks as though he — Loria — had revealed it to a waiting world." In a recent number of the *Chicago Socialist* Comrade Untermann translated a passage from one of Engel's prefaces to one of the posthumous volumes of "Capital" making substantially the same charge against Loria. But in this respect Veblen is not so egregious a sinner as Loria, for he gives frequent references to Marx in his foot notes. But on the other hand at times — either ignorantly or intentionally — he positively misrepresents the teaching of Marx and Engels, as in the foot note on page 340 of "The Theory of Business Enterprise," where he says that the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels "was a product of Hegelianism blended with the conceptions of natural rights, its chief count being the 'claim to the full product of labor.'" In his review of the book just referred to the editor of this *REVIEW* showed how erroneous was this statement that the chief count of Marxian Socialism was the "claim to the full product of labor." One wonders how Prof. Veblen would harmonize "the conceptions of natural rights" with this famous sentence from the Communist Manifesto: "the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."

Comrade Walling's ignorance of Marx is so obvious it requires no demonstration. His ignorance of Veblen can best be shown by printing in parallel columns the following excerpts from Walling and Veblen:

WALLING.

The capitalist system will not fall of its own weight. There is no possibility of a cataclysm. The problem of disposing of the growing surplus for which foreign markets are so urgently demanded, can be easily disposed of by the ruling class. The methods of doing this are two-fold. Either the country

VEBLEN.

The persistent defection of reasonable profits calls for a remedy. The remedy may be sought in one or the other of two directions: (1) in an increased unproductive consumption of goods; or (2) in an elimination of that "cutthroat" competition that keeps profits below the "reasonable" level. If enough of the work or of the output is turned to wasteful expenditures, so as to ad-

can be hurled into international war and all the wasteful preparations that precede and degradations that follow international war, or a benevolent feudalism can be developed. If the trusts continue their present rapid rate of growth, the latter seems the more likely outcome.

How the surplus will be disposed of in that case, Prof. Veblen showed in his recent book on the leisure class in America. Here Veblen conceded that the business man himself does not waste any vast sums in consumption, however wasteful and anti-social may be his operations in production.

In consumption it is his wife and children who spend the money. To the possibilities of consumption in this line, there is no limit. If the money-making sport comes to an end on account of the complete organization of industry by the great financiers, then the vast sums formerly manipulated by the business men for various speculative purposes will be entirely turned over to his wife and children who have already made such splendid records in extravagant living and "conspicuous waste."

In the book just mentioned, Prof. Veblen not only shows this waste, but he analyzes its causes. These are an effort to spend money in an emulative manner in order to make obvious to all observers either the amount of wealth owned or the length of time it has been in the possession of the family. Expenditure, in other words, is not for material brute comforts as Marx and all his followers have supposed. To such expenditures there is a physical limit. To the very "spiritual purpose" on the other hand of showing off a supposed social superiority which may take the form of innumerable houses, servants, dia-

mit of but a relatively slight aggregate saving, as counted by weight and tale, profitable prices can be maintained on the old basis of capitalization. If the waste is sufficiently large, the current investment in additional industrial equipment will not be sufficient to lower prices appreciably through competition.

Wasteful expenditure on a scale adequate to offset the surplus productivity of modern industry is nearly out of the question. Private initiative cannot carry the waste of goods and services to nearly the point required by the business situation. Private waste is no doubt large, but business principles, leading to saving and shrewd investment, are too ingrained in the habits of modern men to admit an effective retardation of the rate of saving. Something more to the point can be done, and indeed is being done, by the civilized governments in the way of effectual waste. Armaments, public edifices, courtly and diplomatic establishments, and the like, are almost altogether wasteful, so far as bears on the present question. They have the additional advantage that the public securities which represent this waste serve as attractive investment securities for private savings, at the same time that, taken in the aggregate, the savings so invested are purely fictitious savings and therefore do not act to lower profits or prices. Expenditures met by taxation are less expedient for this purpose; although indirect taxes have the peculiar advantage of keeping up the prices of the goods on which they are imposed, and thereby act directly toward the desired end. The waste of time and effort that goes into military service, as well as the employment of the courtly, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical personnel, counts effectually in the same direction. But however extraordinary this public waste of substance latterly has been, it is apparently altogether inadequate to offset the surplus productivity of the machine industry, particularly when this productivity is seconded by the great facility which the modern business organization affords

monds, laces, etc., there is no limit whatever. There need be no more crises or underconsumption if capitalists work this outlet for its full value.

Between international war and "conspicuous waste" there is no danger of the capitalist ever becoming seriously embarrassed by the surplus. In Marx's time the petty bourgeois ideal of personal economy and rational living prevailed widely. In our times the ruling element in the ruling classes everywhere are troubled with no such scruples. Even the "simple life" requires enormous expenditures in charity and display of a "quiet" kind.

for the accumulation of savings in relatively few hands. There is also the drawback that the waste of time involved in military service reduces the purchasing power of the classes that are drawn into the service, and so reduces the amount of wasteful consumption which these classes might otherwise accomplish.

So long as industry remains at its present level of efficiency, and especially so long as incomes continue to be distributed somewhat after the present scheme, waste cannot be expected to overtake production, and can therefore not check the untoward tendency to depression.

Theory of Business Enterprise pp. 255-6-7-8.

It will be seen that it was fortunate for Comrade Walling's purposes that he did not read Veblen before attempting to expound his teachings.

In his seventh chapter (in *The Theory of Business Enterprise*) on "The Theory of Modern Welfare," Prof. Veblen gives an interesting and original theory of crises and depression. This may be regarded, and undoubtedly Prof. Veblen so regards it, as an attack upon and a substitute for the Socialist theory of crises popularized in Bellamy's "Parable of the Water-Tank." The gist of the theory is that crises and depression are to be traced to disparity existing or arising between the earning capacity and the capitalization of business enterprises. "Depression is primarily a malady of the affections of the business men." As a substitute for the Socialist theory, this theory is up in the air — pure moonshine. There is nothing to start the chain of events so clearly analyzed by Prof. Veblen. It is the lack of purchasing power of the working class that punctures the balloon of loan-credit and serves as the starting-point for Prof. Veblen's whole cycle. As an addition or complement to the ordinary Socialist theory, it is difficult to cavil at Prof. Veblen's theory. As an independent theory it is without foundation, and is utterly inconsistent with Economic Determinism which is the foundation of most of Veblen's work.

Prof. Veblen himself hints at the necessary hard-fact foundation for his psychological superstructure on page 190 (*Business Enterprise*): "The readiness with which contracts of purchase and sale are negotiated is appreciably greater in brisk times than in times of depression; that, indeed, is the obvious difference between the two."

What are the chief lessons that we as Socialists can learn from

Prof. Veblen, especially from his later book, "The Theory of Business Enterprise?" In attempting to answer this, we must bear in mind that Prof. Veblen's conclusions are not only most carefully guarded, but are often purposely hidden and obscured. This is not surprising when we remember that when he wrote his books, he was working as one of John D. Rockefeller's "hired hands."

But if we make due allowance for this difficulty in finding positive, definite, clear-cut statements in his books, I think it is fair to say we will find that, among other things, Prof. Veblen teaches:

First. That Socialism is inevitable.

Second. That the Socialism generated by the "Cultural Incidence of the Machine-Process" is, of necessity, Revolutionary Socialism.

Third. That Capitalism and the Natural Rights philosophy are inextricably interlinked and intertwined.

It is true that in his closing chapter, he carefully avoids drawing the conclusion that Socialism is inevitable, but he does assert clearly enough that the only alternative is the revival and vigorous development of "warlike enterprise and prowess." He describes the effect of this latter alternative in one of his best ironical passages as follows: "The regime of status, fealty, prerogative, and arbitrary command would guide the institutional growth back into the archaic conventional ways and give the cultural structure something of that secure dignity and stability which it had before the times, not only of socialistic vapors, but of natural rights as well. Then, too, the rest of the spiritual furniture of the ancient regime shall presumably be reinstated; materialistic skepticism may yield the ground to a romantic philosophy, and the populace and the scientists alike may regain something of that devoutness and faith in preternatural agencies which they have recently been losing. As the discipline of prowess again comes to its own, conviction and contentment with whatever is authentic may return to distracted Christendom, and may once more give something of a sacramental serenity to men's outlook on the present and the future." (P. 399).

Any one who can believe that Prof. Veblen really regards this alternative as a possibility must have been born devoid of a sense of humour.

But Prof. Veblen teaches the inevitability of Socialism much more clearly than this, as may be seen by linking together the two following quotations from the chapter on the "Cultural Incidence of the Machine Process":

"The discipline of the modern industrial employments is relatively free from the bias of conventionality, but the difference between the mechanical and the business occupations in this re-

spect is a difference of degree. It is not simply that conventional standards of certainty fall into abeyance for lack of exercise, among the industrial classes. The positive discipline exercised by their work in good part runs counter to the habit of thinking in conventional, anthropomorphic terms, whether the conventionality is that of natural rights or any other. And in respect of this positive training away from conventional forms, there is a large divergence between the several lines of industrial employment. In proportion as a given line of employment has more of the character of a machine process and less of the character of handicraft, the matter-of-fact training which it gives is more pronounced. In a sense more intimate than the inventors of the phrase seem to have appreciated, the machine has become the master of the man who works with it and an arbiter in the cultural fortunes of the community into whose life it has entered.

"The intellectual and spiritual training of the machine in modern life, therefore, is very far-reaching. It leaves but a small proportion of the community untouched; but while its constraint is ramified throughout the body of the population, and constrains virtually all classes at some point in their daily life, it falls with the most direct, intimate and unmitigated impact upon the skilled mechanical classes, for these have no respite from its mastery, whether they are at work or at play.

"The ubiquitous presence of the machine, with its spiritual concomitant—working ideals and scepticism of what is only conventionally valid — is the unequivocal mark of the Western culture of today as contrasted with the culture of other times and places. It pervades all classes and strata in a varying degree, but on an average in a greater degree than at any time in the past, and most potently in the advanced industrial communities and in the classes immediately in contact with the mechanical occupations. As the comprehensive mechanical organization of the material side of life has gone on, a heightening of this cultural effect throughout the community has also supervened, and with a farther and faster movement in the same direction a farther accentuation of this "modern" complexion of culture is fairly to be looked for, unless some remedy be found. And as the concomitant differentiation and specialization of occupations goes on, a still more unmitigated discipline falls upon ever widening classes of the population, resulting in an ever weakening sense of conviction, allegiance, or piety toward the received institutions." (pp. 322-3-4.)

"With such generality as commonly holds in statements of this kind, it may be said that the modern socialistic disaffection is loosely bound up with the machine industry—spreading where this industry spreads and flourishing where this industry gives

the dominant note of life. The correlation between the two phenomena is of such a kind as to leave no doubt that they are causally connected; which means either that the machine industry, directly or indirectly, gives rise to socialism, or that the two are expressions of the same complex of causes. The former statement probably expresses the truth of the case in great part, but the latter need not therefore be false. Wherever and in so far as the increase and diffusion of knowledge has made the machine process and the mechanical technology the tone-giving factor in men's scheme of thought, there modern socialistic iconoclasm follows by easy consequence." (pp. 354-5.)

Here we have a conclusive demonstration of the inevitability of socialism, and with a change of terminology the argument is precisely the same with which it is to be hoped readers of this Review are familiar in the Communist Manifesto and in Engel's "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."

The revolutionary character of the "socialistic iconoclasm" generated by the cultural discipline of the machine process is well brought out in the following passage:

"The machine process gives no insight into questions of good and evil, merit and demerit, except in point of material causation, nor into the foundations or the constraining force of law and order, except such mechanically enforced law and order as may be stated in terms of pressure, temperature, velocity, tensile strength, etc. The machine technology takes no cognizance of conventionally established rules of precedence; it knows neither manners nor breeding and can make no use of any of the attributes of worth. Its scheme of knowledge and of inference is based on the laws of material causation, not on those of immemorial custom, authenticity or authoritative enactment. Its metaphysical basis is the law of cause and effect, which in the thinking of its adepts has displaced even the law of sufficient reason.

"The range of conventional truths, or of institutional legacies, which it traverses is very comprehensive, being, indeed, all-inclusive. It is but little more in accord with the newer, eighteenth-century conventional truths of natural rights, natural liberty, natural law, or natural religion, than with the older norms of the true, the beautiful, and the good which these displaced. Anthropomorphism, under whatever disguise, is of no use and of no force here." (pp. 311-2).

Does not this suggest to the reader's mind this paragraph from the Communist Manifesto?

"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property-relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

But it is above all the difference in the mental processes of the

conservatives and of those "tainted" with the "socialistic disaffection," which makes compromise and half-measures impossible, and makes modern socialism, our socialism, whether we will or no, revolutionary. That two classes differently circumstanced materially and economically should reason differently is a logical corollary from Marxian principles, so that it is in vain that Walling and Veblen attempt to differentiate the Veblen class-struggle from the Marxian class-struggle.

Prof. Veblen tells us:

"Leaving aside the archaic vocations of war, politics, fashion, and religion, the employments in which men are engaged may be distinguished as pecuniary or business employments on the one hand, and industrial or mechanical employments on the other hand... * * * There is an appreciable and widening difference between the habits of life of the two classes; and this carries with it a widening difference in the discipline to which the two classes are subjected. It induces a difference in the habits of thought and the habitual grounds and methods of reasoning resorted to by each class. There results a difference in the point of view, in the facts dwelt upon, in the methods of argument, in the grounds of validity appealed to; and this difference gains in magnitude and consistency as the differentiation of occupations goes on. So that the two classes come to have an increasing difficulty in understanding one another and appreciating one another's convictions, ideals, capacities, and short comings.

"The ultimate ground of validity for the thinking of the business classes is the natural-rights ground of property,—a conventional anthropomorphic fact having an institutional validity, rather than a matter-of-fact validity such as can be formulated in terms of material cause and effect; while the classes engaged in the machine industry are habitually occupied with matters of causal sequence, which do not lend themselves to statement in anthropomorphic terms of natural rights and which afford no guidance in questions of institutional right and wrong, or of conventional reason and consequence. Arguments which proceed on material cause and effect can not be met with arguments from conventional precedent or dialectically sufficient reason, and conversely." (pp. 314 and 317-8).

Is it a violent inference to conclude that when conflicting material interests hurl against one another two classes that have absolutely no common ground in the realm of reason, the conflict can be settled by force alone, whether that force be the force of the workers' folded arms or the force of bullets and bombs? At any rate we may be quite sure the socialist iconoclast moulded by the cultural discipline of the machine process will not shrink from the use of force whenever and wherever the circumstances make its use expedient.

While, according to Prof. Veblen, the distinctive ear-mark of socialism is its disloyalty to the existing institution of property, "this is backed," he tells us, "by a similar failure of regard for other articles of the institutional furniture handed down from the past." To understand just how revolutionary this "failure of regard" is, one must read Veblen's "Theory of the Leisure Class," for in that epoch-marking volume, Veblen, the revolutionary iconoclast, hurtles around among the inherited "institutional furniture," the traditions and conventions and ethics bequeathed to us by the past, with all the joyous unconcern of a bovine male in an emporium for the sale of ceramic products. And how can a socialist fail to gurgle with glee when he realizes that this bomb was constructed by a Rockefeller employee in the Standard Oil laboratories at the University of Chicago?

How contemptuously Veblen regards reform and non-revolutionary socialism is shown by the following foot notes:

"Where members of the well-to-do classes avow socialistic sentiments and ideals it commonly turns out to be a merely humanitarian aspiration for a more equitable distribution of wealth, a readjustment of the scheme of ownership with some improved safeguarding of the 'reasonable' property claims of all members of the community." (pp. 342-3).

"If this account of the class limitation of the socialist bias is accepted, it has an immediate bearing upon a question which is latterly engaging the attention of the advocate of socialism. The question is as to the part played by propertyless office employees and by the business men whom the modern consolidations of business reduce to the position of salaried managers and superintendents. With a faith prompted by their own hopes rather than by observed facts or by the logic of events the spokesmen for socialism are strongly inclined to claim this business proletariat as a contingent which the course of economic development is bound to throw into the socialist camp. The facts do not in any appreciable degree countenance such an expectation. The unpropertied classes employed in business do not take to socialistic vagaries with such alacrity as should inspire a confident hope in the advocates of socialism or a serious apprehension in those who stand for law and order. This peculiarly disfranchised business population, in its revulsion against unassimilated facts, turns rather to some excursion into pragmatic romance, such as Social Settlements, Prohibition, Clean Politics, Single Tax, Arts and Crafts, Neighborhood Guilds, Institutional Church, Christian Science, New Thought, or some such cultural thimble rig." (pp. 351-2).

"What may be called the normal socialism, socialism of the later, more dangerous, and more perplexing kind, does not build on the received metaphysical basis of the 'natural order.' It de-

mands a reconstruction of the social fabric, but it does not know on what lines the reconstruction is to be carried out. The natural rights of the individual are not accepted as the standard (except by certain large bodies of neophytes, especially rural Americans, who are carrying under socialist mottoes the burden of animosities and preconceptions that once made populism,) but nothing definite is put in the place of this outworn standard." (p. 339).

Veblen's view of "immediate demands" in a socialist platform may be inferred from the following foot note reference to Hobson, a typical "intellectual" socialist:

"Hobson (Problem of the Unemployed), whose analysis of overproduction and its relation to depression goes farther than any other, reviews and criticises (ch. VII) the palliative measures that have been advocated. He finds them, all and several, inadequate and inconsequent, in that they do not touch the root of the evil—oversaving or 'underconsumption.' They do not touch this because they do not mitigate the automatic saving and investment process that necessarily goes with the possession of large private incomes. But in point of practical efficiency his own proposed remedies must also be scheduled under the head of 'palliatives.' These proposed remedies are measures looking, to a 'Reformed Distribution of Consuming Power (ch. VI), such as taxation of 'unearned' incomes, higher wages, shorter working day. The aim is, to increase the proportion of the total wealth of the community, which falling to them as wages shall be spent in raising the general standard of working-class consumption.' The contemplated move is manifestly chimerical in any community, such as the modern industrial communities, where public policy is with growing singleness of purpose guided by business interests with a naive view to an increase of profits." (p. 257.)

Prof. Veblen's second chapter on "Business Principles" shows that the metaphysical basis of the business or capitalist concept of ownership, of property, is derived from the Natural Rights philosophy as expounded by Locke.

"It became a principle of the natural order of things that free labor is the original source of wealth and the basis of ownership. In point of historical fact, no doubt, such was not the pedigree of modern industry or modern ownership; but the serene, undoubting assumption of Locke and his generation only stands out the more strongly and unequivocally for this its discrepancy with fact." (Veblen pp. 78-9.)

"Political economy confuses on principle two very different kinds of private property, of which one rests on the producers' own labor, the other on the employment of the labor of others. It forgets that the latter not only is the direct antithesis of the former, but absolutely grows on its tomb only." (Marx, Capital Vol. I p. 488, Humboldt Edition.)

"Such a concept belongs to the régime of handicraft and petty trade, and it is from, or through, the era of handicraft that it has come down to the present." (Veblen p. 79.)

This thought is more fully elaborated in the eighth chapter on "Business Principles in Law and Politics," as will be seen by the following excerpts:

"Modern (civilized) institutions rest, in great part, on business principles." "Legislation and legal decisions are based on the dogma of Natural Liberty. This is peculiarly true as regards the English-speaking peoples, the foundation of whose jurisprudence is the common law, and it holds true in an especial degree of America. The dogma of natural liberty is peculiarly conducive to an expeditious business traffic and peculiarly consonant with the habits of thought which necessarily prevail in any business community.

"The current body of natural rights preconceptions antedates the modern business situation. The scheme of natural rights grew up and found secure lodgement in the common sense of the community, as well as with its lawgivers and courts, under the discipline of the small industry and petty trade ('domestic industry') whose development culminated in the eighteenth century." "The movement of opinion on natural-rights ground converged to an insistence on the system of natural liberty, so called. But this insistence on natural liberty did not contemplate the abrogation of all conventional prescription. 'The Simple and obvious system of natural liberty' meant freedom from restraint on any other prescriptive ground than that afforded by the rights of ownership. In its economic bearing the system of natural liberty meant a system of free pecuniary contract." "This principle of natural (pecuniary) liberty has found its most unmitigated acceptance in America, and has here taken the firmest hold on the legal mind. Nowhere else has the sacredness of pecuniary obligations so permeated the common sense of the community, and nowhere does pecuniary obligation come so near being the only form of obligation that has the unqualified sanction of current common sense. Here, as nowhere else, do obligations and claims of the most diverse kind, domestic, social, and civil, tend to take the pecuniary form and admit of being fully discharged on a monetary valuation. To a greater extent than elsewhere public esteem is awarded to artists, actors, preachers, writers, scientists, officials, in some rough proportion to the sums paid for their work." "Freedom of contract is the fundamental tenet of the legal creed, so to speak, inviolable and inalienable; and within the province of law and equity no one has competence to penetrate behind this first premise or to question the merits of the natural-rights metaphysics on which it rests." "As should fairly be expected, the higher courts, who are presumably in more in-

timate touch with the principles of jurisprudence, being more arduously trained and more thoroughly grounded in the law at the same time that they have also presumably a larger endowment of legal acumen—these higher courts speak more unequivocally for the metaphysical principles and apply them with a surer and firmer touch. In the view of these higher adepts of the law, free contract is so inalienable a natural right of man that not even a statutory enactment will enable a workman to forego its exercise and its responsibility. By metaphysical necessity its exercise attaches to the individual so indefeasibly that it cannot constitutionally be delegated to collective action, whether legislative or corporate.” (pp. 68 to 280).

How beautifully the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the New York State law making ten-hours a legal working-day in bake-shops illustrates and enforces these remarks of Prof. Veblen!

Now, just as the Natural Rights philosophy is the metaphysical basis of capitalist apologetics, so the most marked characteristic of socialism is not so much a tendency to reject, as an utter incapacity to comprehend this same philosophy. In Veblen's words, “the immediate point of danger in the socialistic disaffection is a growing disloyalty to the natural rights institution of property.”

That socialism meant a total rejection of the whole natural rights scheme, including Natural Liberty, was clearly enough understood by Marx and Engels, as witness this sentence from the Communist Manifesto:

“The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.”

Prof. Veblen points out that it is this rejection of natural rights and Natural Liberty which differentiates socialism most clearly from anarchy. He says:

“In their negative proposals the socialists and anarchists are fairly agreed. It is in the metaphysical postulates of their protest and in their constructive aims that they part company. Of the two, the socialists are more widely out of touch with the established order. They are also more hopelessly negative and destructive in their ideals, as seen from the standpoint of the established order. This applies to the later socialists rather than to the earlier, and it applies, of course, only to the lower-class, democratic socialists, not to the so-called state and Christian socialists.

“Anarchism proceeds on natural-rights ground, and is accordingly in touch with the postulates of the existing property arrangements to that extent. It is a more unmitigated working out of the same postulates. It is a system of ‘natural liberty’ unqualified to the extent even of not admitting prescriptive ownership. Its basis is a (divinely instituted) order of nature, the key-

note of which is an inalienable freedom and equality of the individual, quite in the eighteenth century spirit. It is in this sense an off shoot of the Romantic school of thought. Anarchism is a *de jure* scheme, which takes no account of mechanical exigencies but rests its case altogether on anthropomorphic postulates of natural-rights. It is, from the natural-rights standpoint, substantially sound, though senselessly extreme." (pp. 338-9.)

In the light of all this how absurd was the spectacle of an American Socialist convention adopting an American Socialist platform representing the American socialist party as the defender of the (capitalist and anarchist) idea of (natural) liberty in which this nation was born! Let us hope the party will provide each member of its next platform committee with a copy of Veblen's "Business Enterprise," and (will Comrade Walling regard me as hopelessly behind the times if I add?) the Communist Manifesto.

It is true the S. L. P. also has a natural-rights platform, though the natural-rights philosophy is not so obnoxiously in the foreground as it is in ours, but I do not care to dwell on the shortcomings of the S. L. P. as it is always painful to speak ill of the dead.

I am unable to agree with Prof. Veblen's contention that "the pervading characteristic of the trade-union animus is the denial of the received natural-rights dogmas wherever the mechanical standardization of modern industry traverses the working of these received natural rights." (pp. 328-9). For reasons that I gave at length in this REVIEW about a year ago, it seems to me that the pure and simple craft unions in defending their ordinary methods must have recourse to the same natural-rights philosophy upon which capitalism relies. It is only in the later developments of industrial unionism that I can perceive a tendency to break with the natural-rights philosophy.

Indeed I am inclined to think it would be a matter of no great difficulty to disprove Prof. Veblen's statement that "the growth of trade-unionism and of what is called the trade-union spirit is a concomitant of industry organized after the manner of a machine process." (p. 327.) There is much reason for maintaining on the contrary that unions are strongest in just those trades that are most nearly akin to handicrafts, and that the more machinery dominates a given trade the weaker either numerically or in efficiency do the unions in that trade become. If this be true, the largest and most powerful unions would be composed of just those workmen who had been least exposed to the cultural discipline of the Machine Process. I do not care to press this point, but it appears to me to afford at least a very fair working hypothesis to account for the ultra-conservative attitude of the American Federation of Labor.

In conclusion, to speak plainly, let me say that I regard Veblen's as the very greatest intellect that has been applied to economic and social questions since Marx and Engels; but, that if, as is not unlikely, he is about (to use George Ade's phrase) to "break into" the Socialist Party I shall not blister my hands celebrating the event. Why not? Because nine out of ten intellectuals who join the movement do so to lead it and not to serve it, and nine out of the said nine, if they attain leadership, prove misleaders. The only one who is ever worthy of trust in the movement is the one out of the ten who joins not to lead, but to serve.

In Veblen's case his straining after what he would call the "renown" of originality (when he was for the most part merely revamping Marxian doctrines) and his failure to give due credit to Marx, Engels and others, does not inspire me with confidence.

In general, when I hear that a new "intellectual" has joined the party my feelings are much the same as those of a sailor who sees a storm-signal hoisted when he is about to sail. The intellectual who will come in with the clear understanding that there are *no* reserved seats and all the benches are hard, will always have a comrade's welcome from me; but, frankly, what is the use of jumping out of the frying-pan of Herronism into the fire of Veblenism?

ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE.

Evolution of the Theory of Evolution.

(Continued.)

THE English and French jingoes of the 17th and 18th centuries were doubtless convinced that their countries were not only the leaders of Europe in economic and political progress, but also the pathfinders in science and philosophy. The wider horizon of the present day enables us to notice without difficulty, that a few thinkers of other nationalities, who viewed the events in England and France at a distance and enjoyed the advantage of undisturbed study and seclusion, did as much, if not more, for the evolution of human understanding as the scientists and philosophers of those industrially and politically more advanced countries.

Of course, the list of the scientific accomplishments of those two countries is not exhausted by the enumeration of the few facts previously mentioned as mile-stones in the road of evolutionary theories. Many other significant advances might be mentioned. To name but a few, the work of Hooke and Grew for the elaboration of the cell-theory, the discovery of the function of the stamens of flowers by Millington, and the attempts at classification made by Ray, the forerunner of Linnaeus, were among the minor steps in a forward direction. Priestly's studies on the absorption of carbon-dioxide and the evolution of oxygen by plants were rendered epoch-making by the deeper research of Lavoisier, who subverted the entire phlogistic theory of chemistry by showing the actual function of oxygen. But the significance of these discoveries for the progress of science was not appreciated in those times, not even by their authors. Their relation to philosophy was still less suspected.

This is especially true of an invention, which opened up entirely new fields of study, and has become one of the most revolutionary aids in evolution, the microscope. It developed out of the magnifying glass, and came into use as a scientific instrument about the beginning of the 17th century. Francesco Stelluti is regarded as the first, who made its use known to science. It became especially effective in the hands of Malpighi and Leeuwenhoek. Malpighi, in the latter half of the 17th century, published a complete anatomy of the silk-worm and studied the development of the chicken in the egg. Leeuwenhoek discovered the blood corpuscles and described the active elements

in the semen of male animals. After these scientists came an able corps of investigators and used the microscope to good effect in laying the foundation for an understanding of the individual development (ontogeny) of beings. From ontogeny to phylogeny, that is to say to the development of species, genera, classes, families, races, was but a logical step, which was made in the 19th century as soon as the material premises for it had developed.

But in the 17th and 18th centuries, the microscopical revelations "fell flat." This was mainly due to the prevailing theological conception of nature and to the lack of interrelation between the various sciences, which aggravated the difficulties arising from insufficient experience and from the undeveloped state of human control over society and nature.

Under these circumstances, a similar fate befell a work, which in our day ranks high in the literature of evolution—Kant's "Natural History and Theory of the Heavens," published in 1755, the year of the great earthquake, which in five minutes destroyed the city of Lisbon and killed 60,000 people. Hardly anyone took notice of the ideas advanced in this work, until Laplace, in 1799, published his "*Mécanique Célèste*" and furnished the mathematical proof for the Kantian hypotheses. Yet Kant's work was the most revolutionary, and, from the standpoint of materialist monism, most epoch-making publication since the time of Democritus. In it the Königsberg philosopher undertook to treat of the "constitution and the mechanical origin of the entire universe on the basis of Newtonian principles." He proceeded to demonstrate that the sun and its system had developed mechanically by a rotation of a primitive nebular substance filling universal space, and thus established a theory, which has maintained itself up to the present day. Only in the beginning of the 20th century a few voices have been lifted against it and a new cosmogony advocated, which nevertheless, in its essence, is still a mere modification in modern garb of the atomic theory of Democritus, on which Kant's theory is likewise based.

By demonstrating the mechanical origin of the universe and transforming the "divine" act of creation into a historical process, Kant went far beyond Newton, who had assumed that a god had given the first impulse to the universe and then left it to follow its own laws. Yet Kant, too, was loath to dismiss the creator. There was still a last hiding place for the mysterious element of dualism in the fact that the human understanding, with its present organization in the cosmic process, does not penetrate to the "final nature" of things. Kant made this fact the basis for carping attacks on Democritus, on whose shoulders he stood and whose philosophy was in many respects superior to his own.

Moreover, Kant never grasped the historical relation of Democritus to Epicurus, and always regarded Epicurus as the father of "sensualism" (materialism), while we have seen that Epicurus was a follower of Democritus. It is also indisputable that lack of historical perception was not the least of Kant's shortcomings. His philosophy suffers especially from his unfamiliarity with those natural sciences, without which no sound theory of understanding can exist, namely comparative physiology, biology, and sociology. He never realized, that philosophy requires not alone the direct co-operation of these special sciences, but in the last analysis of every department of human knowledge. Even if we admit that this defect was largely due to the scantiness of the empirical material of his time and to the incomplete equipment of the Prussian universities under Frederick the Great, it was also a consequence of his extreme philistinism and book-worm tendencies. He certainly made more liberal concessions to the arrogance of orthodox and bureaucratic censorship, than many of his humbler intellectual contemporaries in Prussia.

But in spite of his mental gymnastics in the matter of a god, the fact remains, that his nebular theory of the origin of the universe, in its logical application, knocks the main prop from under the Mosaic world-conception, which had already been considered ably shaken by the discoveries and demonstrations of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton. Laplace was more consistent and courageous than Kant and did not hesitate to declare in reply to a question of Napoleon I., that he had no need of the hypothesis of a creator. No better proof is required for the soundness of this position, than the persistent silence, which the theologians have maintained about Kant's nebular hypothesis, while praising the dualistic ethics and theory of understanding contained in his second work. "The Critique of Pure Reason," published in 1781.

In order to appreciate Kant's philosophy fully, this work must be compared with his "Critique of Practical Reason," published in 1788. The essence of his teaching in the former work is, that the world of phenomena, such as we perceive it, is entirely conditioned on the organization of our senses. Owing to this fact, we can never perceive the true nature of a thing, the "thing in itself." There is only one universe, and everything in it is regulated by natural laws, operating as sternly as the law of gravitation. The freedom of will cannot be demonstrated by "pure" reason. The existence of a god and the immortality of the soul cannot be ascertained within the possible limits of experience.

However, throughout the work there are scattered passages stating the exact opposite. One would be at a loss to understand what Kant was really driving at, if he had not given an explanation for his contradictions in his preface to the second edition

of this work, 1787. There he says that he had "to abolish reason, in order to make room for belief." And this was necessary, in order that he might "confer an inestimable benefit on morality and religion, by showing that the objections urged against them may be silenced forever by the Socratic method, that is to say, by proving the ignorance of the objector. For as the world has never been, and no doubt will never be, without a system of metaphysics of one kind or another, it is the highest and weightiest concern of philosophy to render it powerless for harm, by closing up the sources of error." One of these sources of error, as he says in his "Critique of Pure Reason," is found in men like Locke, who promote the idea that the existence of a god and the immortality of the soul *can* be proven with mathematical certainty from the fact that there is no knowledge outside of experience.

What a strange spectacle! Materialist Locke reprimanded by idealist Kant for insisting that the existence of a god and the immortality of the soul *can* be mathematically demonstrated, and idealist Kant violently insisting that such a thing is entirely outside of all possible experience and must be *believed*! And all for the benefit of religion and rulers! And what a peculiar logic! Fancy the Socratic method in the role of the invincible sword, which will lay open the ignorance of all objectors to religion, and remember that no religion in the world could stand the test of that method!

This, then, was the mighty outcome of two thousand years of philosophy since the time of Democritus, that religions were considered safe, and the states defended by them secure, *because* it could *not* be proven by experience that a god existed and that the human soul was immortal; that the mass of the people could never ascertain the truth of these things by their own unaided faculties, but must *believe* them upon the word of authorities! Surely, the mountain need not have labored through 500 pages of gold-brick science to bring forth such a mouse!

Of course, Kant had spoken the truth, when he said that theology must be believed. But what a strange fact, that all other schools of thought, especially the natural sciences and psychologies, should be compelled, under penalty of immediate ridicule, to demonstrate every iota of their theories by irrefutable evidence, while the champions of religion should be privileged to fling their unprovable assertions into our teeth and insist that they were speaking the truth, *because* it could not be demonstrated. And that from the man, who had done more than any of his predecessors to undermine the world foundations, on which this preposterous assumption is resting!

Kant thus acknowledged voluntarily, that he was not a philosopher, who stood high above the world and men, but merely a

common bourgeois sophist, who served the interests of the ruling class. As such he destroyed the dogmatic philosophy, which had done the work of feudal society so well, and established a philosophy, which was made to order for the requirements of the rising bourgeoisie. As a scientist, he was a materialist, who re-iterated the philosophy of Democritus, Epicurus, and Locke, and who re-established the principle of mechanical development in nature, which was a distinct advance over the English and French materialists, if not over the Grecian natural philosophers. But as a philosopher, he was as scholastic, sophistical and reactionary as any foe of progress could be.

Much is made of Kant's "categorical imperative," the basis of his ethics, which runs: "Act at all times so that thou usest man in thy own person as well as in that of others not only as a means, but also as an end." This ethics, like many another conceived by bourgeois minds after Kant, falls to pieces the moment it is tried as a rule of conduct in society. Its ambiguity, and therefore its meaninglessness, becomes apparent in the effects of class-environment on human reason. Well does Franz Mehring characterize the Kantian imperative, when he writes: "For the historical thinker, this statement of Kant's appears at once as the historical precipitation of the economic fact, that the bourgeoisie, in order to obtain objects of exploitation suitable for their ends, must not only use the working class as a means, but also take care to create a proletariat, in other words, to free them in the name of human liberty from feudal rule."

But in spite of his categorical imperative, and his admiration for the French revolution, Kant demanded full liberty only for the *citizens* of the state, not for all its members, especially not for the women and for the working class. Thus he fell back to the status of the Roman constitution under the Caesars.

In his "Critique of Discrimination," Kant discovered the laws of creative imagination and demonstrated that art is an innate faculty of man. This work also contains the statement that the descent of all organic beings from a common primeval ancestor is a thesis which is in conformity with the principle of mechanical development in nature. But Kant deprecated such a hypothesis as a "risky adventure of reason." He was afraid of the logical application of the very principle which he had established in his cosmogeny. In other respects, however, this work and his cosmological views may be read with profit, even by modern proletarians.

The thinker of the present day, with his vast array of empirical facts, is apt to be too harsh in his judgment of the shortcomings of his predecessors in earlier centuries. But I cannot blame Paul Ree for summing up Kant's philosophy in these words: "In

Kant's works you feel as though you were at a country fair. You can buy from him—anything you want—freedom of the will and captivity of the will, idealism and a refutation of idealism, atheism and the good Lord. Like a juggler out of an empty hat, so Kant draws out of the concept of duty a god, immortality, freedom, to the great surprise of his readers. True, these illegitimate children of Kant's philosophy do not like to venture forth into the light of day. They are somewhat ashamed of their existence, more especially so, because they find favor in the eyes of god and men, particularly of men clothed with authority."

The followers of Kant claim that he has defined the powers and limits of human perception for all time to come. But the "Critique of Pure Reason" demonstrates precisely the impossibility of such absolute perception on the part of Kant or of any other man. His own powers of perception, especially in sociology, certainly never penetrated beyond the bourgeois horizon, and in other respects even some of his immediate followers surpassed him, for instance Laplace in his elaboration of the nebular theory, and Schopenhauer, the legitimate heir of his philosophy, in ethics. As for the germ of truth contained in Kant's "categorical imperative" and in his "thing in itself," we shall see that proletarian philosophers gathered out of it an advance in thought for the revolution of the modern working class.

In the same year, in which Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" appeared, Herschel discovered the planet Uranus. And two years later, the brothers Montgolfier made their first successful balloon ascension, opening new fields of research in the atmosphere and spurring the inventive minds of humanity to greater technical exertions. In 1789, Lavoisier established the law of the conservation of matter, which, supplemented in 1842 by Robert Mayer's law of the conservation of energy, remained one of the fundamental tenets of modern science, until the evolutionary conception of the transformation of energy was introduced at a later stage. In 1791, Galvani published his discoveries in animal electricity, and Thomas Paine appeared with his "Rights of Man." Galvani's discovery led to startling industrial revolutions in the 19th century. Paine's idea that man has natural rights, which no other creature in the universe has, furnished a great deal of powder to the bourgeoisie, so long as they were revolutionary, but philosophically it was a step backward and away from a monistic conception of the universe and human society. Paine stood in sociology on the same ground as Rousseau, and was as little aware of the existence and functions of evolutionary development and class-struggles as the celebrated Frenchman.

The French revolution had broken out in the meantime, and the philosophers now had an opportunity to watch what pure

reason, practical reason, natural rights, the categorical imperative, the social contract, and metaphysical idealism could accomplish. After wading through rivers of blood at the instigation of practical reason, pure reason mounted the throne by decree of the national convention, on November 10, 1793. The worship of reason, lasted till June 8, 1794, when Robespierre brought god and metaphysical idealism back to the throne, dethroned reason, declared atheism to be an aristocratic sin, and celebrated the festival of the supreme being. But on July 27, 1794, the supreme being remembered the categorical imperative, left Robespierre ungratefully in the lurch, and looked on at a safe distance while "eternal justice" chopped off the good man's head with that gory instrument of natural rights introduced by practical reason, the guillotine. Lavoisier received the same reward for his services to mankind that Robespierre earned for his services to the supreme being. Reason and the supreme being continued to relieve one another, until finally Napoleon I. replaced them both by bayonets and cannons, and discredited the supreme being by declaring that it was always on the side of the strongest battalions. And so the reign of reason and of the supreme being ended in the nauseating farce of the restoration of "law and order."

The reign of reason appeared on closer scrutiny as a transcendental image of the capitalist state. The existence of the supreme being had not been proven, neither by decree of parliament nor by the guillotine, and for that very reason it continued to exist in those heads which were accustomed to reason no better than those which had been chopped off. The categorical imperative, stripped of its gaudy trappings, stood forth as the impotent and incapable wag that he was. The social contract was renewed on the basis of "Every one for himself and the devil takes the hindmost." And the natural rights were bossed around by the right to exploit the proletariat and to place private property above propertyless man.

In the beginning of the 19th century, the disappointment over the failure of all the glittering ideals of bourgeois philosophy soon made itself felt in an awakening of evolutionary ideas in social science among the champions of the working class. Fourier began to elaborate his theories of social reconstruction, in 1799, and to aim the danger thrusts of his critique at the heart of capitalist society. And for the first time since the overthrow of women's equality with men in prehistoric times, a woman, Mary Wollstonecraft, raised her voice in protest against the economic and social slavery of her sex. Saint Simon saw dimly that material forces are the active element in social movements and compel society to develop mechanically through class-struggles. And Fourier, after him, drew the first theoretical outline of the evo-

lution of man from savagery, through barbarism and patriarchy, to civilization. The investigators of the 19th century following him were soon to supply the empirical proofs for this theory. On the other side of the channel, Robert Owen startled the comfortable English bourgeois with his colony at New-Lanark and threw the firebrand of the Chartist movement into the quiet dullness of British life.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

(To be Continued.)

EDITORIAL

School "Strikes" in Chicago.

Nothing that has occurred in connection with the great teamsters' strike has created as much comment as have the "strikes" of the children of the public schools. Not even the importation of criminal cut-throats, who have committed more crimes during the past month than can be laid at the door of the unions for the last decade has aroused the professional moralists of capitalism like the signs of sympathetic resistance to tyranny on the part of the children of the public schools. Every daily in the city has filled its editorial columns with wise gush about the horrible actions of these young "lawbreakers." The board of education, the truancy department and the police have been all called into action to "crush out rebellion in the public schools." The Teachers' Federation has been fiercely attacked, for even a suspicion of sympathy and sermons have been preached without number all agreeing that it is a most "deplorable situation."

Especially interesting has been the attitude of these professionally good people, sentimentalists, "sociologists," and class harmonizers, the Social Settlement residents. They have thrown aside their palaver about "no class" and rushed frantically into print in order to "express their disapproval" of any action on the part of the school children showing sympathy with their fathers and brothers in their struggle for better conditions for those same children.

And, as defenders of capitalism, exploitation, wage-slavery and all that goes to make up the present social hell, they are perfectly right. There has been nothing that has happened these twenty years that so certainly tells the story of the coming downfall of that same capitalism as the action of these children. It shows that the entire proletarian strata of society is becoming conscious of its rights, and still more of its wrongs.

Such spontaneous movements as these indicate the existence of a deep class-consciousness, a solidarity of action, rebellion and co-operation that bodes ill for the social tyrants of today, and forecasts much of good for the society of tomorrow.

"But," these moralists whine, "this is no question for the children to

take part in. They cannot possibly know what they are doing. It is wicked to involve these little ones in these great questions." But these same moralists do not object to the use of the public schools to teach lessons of "patriotism," servility and submission to the system that means enslavement for the laborer's child the moment he leaves the school. We heard no protest from those who are so frightened lest the children may now be misled, when on the twenty-second of last February the schools were given up to the most nauseous palaver concerning the institutions that condemn these same children to the narrow, cramped life of the wage-slave in the midst of a land so filled with bounty that all might be free.

So, backed by editor, priest, preacher and philanthropist, the truant officers have descended upon these little ones to prevent their corruption by sympathy for the struggle of their fathers, and have made them familiar with the inside of courts, prison walls, and reform schools. Their parents have been fined or imprisoned because they did not use force to crush out every symptom of righteous sympathetic rebellion on the part of their children.

We are proudly told that at last the "majesty of the law" has been vindicated because the police and courts of Chicago have succeeded in sending twenty or more of these children to a "truant school." Surely that will make them love "law and order." It will instill into their minds an abiding affection for the institutions of justice as at present administered, of a sort that will take many a Fourth of July and Washington's Birthday oration to eradicate.

It is certain that the children who refused to attend school, because the educational authorities were employing scab drivers, and who were dragged into court and placed in confinement for so doing will have learned at least one lesson that was not in their text-books,—and that lesson is that the society in which they now live is a class-ruled society, in which the ruling class is their enemy. The years are but few when they will put that lesson into practical application at the ballot-box. When that day comes we may perhaps thank our "dear friends the enemy," for having kindly helped in this way to wipe the whole system of class-rule, exploitation and slavery off the earth.

Something About the Review.

There are four reasons why we want to say a few words about the REVIEW to our readers at this time.

First, We believe that the present is perhaps, the very best number we ever issued. The Kautsky article is attracting international attention, and has been referred to in various capitalist as well as socialist publications of this country as a remarkable analysis and contribution to the understanding of a very complicated situation. The series by Comrade

Boudin is, we believe, the most important contribution to Marxism that has ever appeared in the English language, and is exceeded by few if any treatments of this subject that have appeared in other languages. Its study constitutes no mean education in socialist philosophy.

The series now running by Comrade Untermann has also attracted a large amount of favorable comment and is also entitled to be ranked as one of the few actual additions of permanent value. Comrade Lamonte's and Comrade Thompson's articles are examples of two wholly different kinds of controversial contributions, one a theoretical and educational treatment of a disputed point, the other a fiercely controversial discussion of a tactical difference.

The second reason for talking at this time on this subject is the fact that the present volume completes the fifth year of the REVIEW's existence and it is always customary to take stock at such a time. We ask our readers to go back over the five years and ask themselves if the REVIEW has not made good its title to a place in the American expression of the international socialist movement. We believe that an examination of its pages will show that it has been what it has claimed to be, a periodical history of international socialist thought and action. In this connection we might state that the material for the articles on socialism in the two leading American encyclopedias, was largely drawn from the files of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Third: We have just taken over the subscription list of "*The Comrade*," and this means that the present issue will go to many who have hitherto been strangers to the REVIEW. To such we ask that they lend us their support if, on examination of our work they believe we deserve it.

Fourth, we wish to call the attention of every reader to the fact that up to the present time the REVIEW has been published at a loss, and that this deficit has now reached a point where it endangers the future existence of the publication. If every present subscriber renew when his subscription expires, sending a full dollar, the deficit will disappear. By the way a large number expire this month. Is yours one of them? If so send in the dollar today. Some will not do this, so it will be necessary for others to subscribe. To get these additional ones must be largely the work of the present subscribers. If every reader whose subscription expires this June were to send in one additional name with the dollar the problem would be solved. When it is so easy to prevent it, it would be criminal and disgraceful to the American socialist movement to permit the REVIEW to stop. Read what Comrade Debs says on this point. Then go and do likewise.

Dear Comrade Simons:

Please find \$1.00 enclosed for which send the "REVIEW" for a year to some workingman who ought to have it.

It is not to the credit of socialists that they do not give better support

to the "REVIEW." I have read what you have been forced to say upon this point in the current issue with regret. The "REVIEW" holds a place of its own and is doing a great work and it ought to be far more liberally supported than it is.

Don't give up; you'll win out.

Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

No sooner did Congress adjourn leaving the eight-hour bill sleeping peacefully in a pigeon-hole of a committee room, to the great delight of the Parryites, who were shaking hands with themselves and each other because of their victory, when along comes Attorney-General Moody and announces that the present eight-hour law—which regulates the labor time of government employes, while the bill in Congress also proposed that supplies furnished the government must be produced on an eight-hour basis—does not apply to work on the Panama Canal. By what method of reasoning Moody has arrived at the conclusion that laws can be arbitrarily set aside in building the canal when it is enforced in building sewers, or constructing ships in the Brooklyn navy yard to float through the canal, is not mentioned, but in all probability the Attorney-General heard his master's voice, and that is sufficient reason. Roosevelt evidently wanted the decision just handed out, for the dispatches that gave the details stated that "this ruling is especially gratifying to the President and the Secretary of War." It is rather significant that this decision was rendered at the very first Cabinet meeting after Roosevelt's arrival from the West, where he displayed his human and lofty ideas of citizenship by slaughtering wild animals and delivering speeches for the benefit of the people in general and the Chicago striking teamsters in particular upon the necessity of "obeying the law." While this brazen violation of law on the part of the President and his politicians is bad enough, yet there is another phase of this question that demonstrates the utter heartlessness of Roosevelt where the interests of labor are concerned. Everybody, including the President and Secretary Taft, has read the dispatches announcing almost daily that hundreds of workers are fleeing from Panama because of the yellow fever epidemic, and that strikes are quite frequent on account of low wages, long hours, bad sanitation, poor food, shelter, etc. Medical experts declare that persons weakened by excessive labor or over-indulgence in liquor or poor food and housing are the first to fall a prey to the dreaded scourge; and so if there is any class of men on earth who ought to work the shortest hours, receive the highest pay and enjoy the best possible conditions it is those who are burrowing through the swamps of Panama for the glorification of American capitalism. Moody's decision is an outrage, but strictly in line with the whole policy of the present administration, which will go down in history as the most brutal and hostile to labor's progress that has ever been in office. For some reason that nobody has attempted to explain "Terrible Teddy" has been called "the workingman's friend" in many quarters; yet the reverse is true. Roosevelt's whole public career has been one in which he displayed supreme contempt for labor, beginning with his office of police commissioner in New York City, when he was credited with being

the inventor of a policeman's riot club bristling with spikes, a weapon so barbarous that a patent could not be obtained from the authorities. As governor of New York he called out the militia to help break the eight-hour law during the Croton Dam Strike, when the guns of his minions were turned against the laborers who attempted to compel the contractors to enforce the law, while the law-breaking employers were given full protection. Roosevelt also wrote in books and magazines, in one of which he declares that Grover Cleveland did the right thing in smashing state rights and breaking the backbone of the Pullman strike; in another he says the dissolute cowboys of the West, who are driven crazy by liquor and ride through town shooting right and left (his ideal existence apparently) are a better class than the workers of the shops and factories; in still another he declares that the advocates of abolition of government by injunction belong in the age of prehistoric man and the woolly rhinoceros. As President he has embraced every opportunity to make it known that his sympathies are with the union-smashing open shop fanatics. In the anthracite coal strike his man Carroll D. Wright wrote the commission's open shop agreement; in the government printing office case he encouraged disloyalty to the bookbinders' union and damaged the discipline of a whole department and humiliated responsible officials by upholding a man named Miller, enforcing the open shop principle. Then he appointed as Secretary of the navy the notorious lawbreaker and open shop disciple, Mr. Paul Morton, who was engaged at the time, as an official of the Santa Fee railway, in making every effort to destroy the unions of machinists, boilermakers and other workers. He also offered a Cabinet position to Mr. H. C. Frick, the pioneer open shop union-buster of Homestead infamy. When Senator Quarles, the Wisconsin open shop leader, was defeated for re-election Roosevelt quickly appointed him as a United States judge, where Quarles will have a life job to harass the organized working people. About the same time the cowardly ruffian, Sherman Bell, of Colorado bull-pen fame, informed the Denver newspaper reporters that Roosevelt, his dear friend, had offered him the position of special U. S. agent in Venezuela. Some of the apologists of capitalism may say that the government does not and cannot endorse trade unions, which in itself is a debatable question. Neither do the national and state constitutions and the laws endorse wholesale scabbery and all the open shop villainy that breeds poverty and suffering and every form of crime. Wipe out all the unions, and what would Roosevelt and all his satellites do for labor? Where have they ever championed a reduction of ten hours of toil, a raise of wages or improvement of conditions in any way? Let those who voted for the present occupant of the White House answer. Those workingmen who are Republican party slaves and defenders of criminal capitalism will have a mighty hard job to square the foregoing facts with their conscience, provided they claim to be free men.

Readers of the REVIEW will recall that last month I mentioned the fact that Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, made the deliberate misstatement that "the Socialists have called another convention to smash the American trade union movement," which convention is to assemble in Chicago on the twenty-seventh of this month to form an industrial federation, that the trade union declarations of the Socialist party were not adopted in good faith, and that I had challenged him to prove his charges at the Pittsburg session of the A. F. of L. next November. I asked him to prove, in a public debate, first, that the endorsement of the trade union movement by the Socialist party was not in good faith, or, second, that said Socialist party was directly or indirectly concerned in the formation of the proposed new federation, or thirdly, that Socialism is wrong in

principle (wrong, unsound and impossible, as he declared in the Boston A. F. of L. convention). This fair invitation to discuss the charges made at a time when he will be surrounded by his warmest partisans from every section of the country has elicited a three-page editorial roast in the American Federationist (May) of a personal nature. Mr. Gompers declares that in the past I have "indulged in the worst diatribes against the men in the trade union movement who have and are giving their all—aye, their very lives—to the cause and interests of their fellow workers," and further on, speaking of the challenge, he asks in an insulting tone whether I desire to place myself "in the category of the anti-trade unionists or as an opponent to trade unionism." He also modifies his charge that "the" Socialists are attempting to smash trade union movement by declaring that "the most active" members are misbehaving in this respect. But just as he originally charged that "the" Socialists were engaged in organizing the opposition federation, in the hope that the studied misrepresentation would lead the unthinking working people to believe that the Socialist party was going into the trade union business, so now he charges that I have indulged in the worst diatribes against "the men in the trade union movement who have and are giving their all—aye, their very lives—to the cause and interests of their fellow workers," etc. In other words, my sleek old friend would have it appear that I attacked the whole trade union movement, of which he poses as the savior, just as every political demagogue pretends to speak for "the people." That I have condemned the acts of *some* of Gompers' friends is true, and if he accepts my challenge, which still stands unless he retracts, he can have the privilege of defending them. For example, Mr. P. J. McGuire, formerly first vice-president of the A. F. of L., Gompers' right bower, Socialist smasher from Wayback Junction, who was repudiated by the union that he thought he owned, the Brotherhood of Carpenters, for malfeasance (a charitable term) of office. There was Henry Weissmann, general secretary of the bakers, left bower of Mr. Gompers, who did yeoman service at the New York A. F. of L. convention to defeat John McBride and boost Gompers back into office; Weissmann, the ingrate, who has been gloating like a fiend in the New York papers because he, as the walking delegate of the open shop baker bosses, succeeded in securing the decision from the United States Supreme Court declaring the ten-hour law unconstitutional. He was a great Socialist smasher in his time, but when any trade unionist pronounces the name of Weissmann now he ought to wash out his mouth with some strong antiseptic. Then there was "Bill" Pomeroy, the notorious labor skate of Chicago. How he used to denounce the Socialists and cultivate the acquaintance of boodle distributors and give champagne suppers—and all for the glory of the workingman! "Dick" Powers, Pomeroy's side-partner, also gave his all and his very life to the cause and interest of his debauched fellow skates. Only a short time ago Harry White, general secretary of the garment workers, who was wont to howl like a stuck pig about being "abused" when anyone essayed to criticise his acts, and who was ever ready to denounce the Socialists as enemies of trade unions, turned Judas in a life and death struggle against the open shop, and was ignominiously expelled from the organization. The late Sam Parks and his understudy, Weinsheimer, who wouldn't hesitate to steal a red-hot stove, were also "ferninst" the wicked Socialists. I have likewise attacked the methods of the late P. M. Arthur, ardent autonomist that he was, who gave his "very life" for a mansion on Euclid avenue, in Cleveland, and large holdings in stocks and bonds, acquired through his cleverness and thrift, probably in isolating the engineers when their brother workers were engaged in struggles, and his ability to win the confidence of the railway magnates, frenzied financiers and wall street manipulators. I confess to

having "roasted" in print and to their faces such old-time trade unionists as Frank Sargent, ex-chief of the railway firemen; Mahlon Garland, formerly president of the iron and steel workers; T. V. Powderly, ex-master workman of the K. of L.; "Mike" Ratchford, ex-president of the United Mine Workers; John McBride, Pat McBride, "Jim" Sovereign and others more or less obscure who "gave up their very lives" for political jobs while professing that labor should keep out of politics, or went over to the employers and are now using the valuable knowledge they obtained as union officials in "the cause and interest of their" capitalistic master. If Mr. Gompers insists upon defending these gents, "the" men in the trade union movement, from my "diatribes" I am perfectly willing to give him the opportunity at Pittsburg or any other place at any time or he may write an article for the REVIEW, and I will undertake to answer the same. My contention is and has been that the trade unions are no place for persons who would climb over the backs of their fellow-workers to do service for capitalism, as betrayers, political office-holders, agents, commissioners or in any other capacity. Labor has honored and rewarded them and supported them in comfortable circumstances, and deserves a better fate than to be sold into a new slavery. If to attack those who deliberately urge workingmen to vote for brutal labor-crushers and for policies and principles that have proven to be and are now a menace to the workers; if to advocate that labor resolve itself into a compact, disciplined and class-conscious mass, vote against capitalism and itself into control of the law-making machinery, the courts, the militia and police, if that is diatribe, denunciation or high treason, I plead guilty. Gompers asks whether I desire to place myself "in the category of the anti-trade unionists or as an opponent of trade unionism." The brazen cheek of the man! Neither I or my friends are not now Parry open shop advocates or boodlers, like the Weissmanns, Whites, McGuires, Pomeroy and the rest of the unprincipled bunch who attacked me and those who believe as I do, and attempted to sell labor from the auction block, as they sold themselves. Nor do I or my friends hobnob with the Belmonts and Carnegies and Cleverlands in the National Civic Federation, nor advocate the autonomy policy that causes one craft organization to remain at work while another is on strike, nor oppose political action while the capitalist class wields the big stick over the back of labor in every great strike. Trade unionist? Trade unionism? Where did Gompers get his knowledge of the organized labor movement from? Say, from the old British school? Well, while he has stood in his tracks like a petrified man for a quarter of a century the British have moved forward. The British Trade Union Congress (to which body we send fraternal delegates) as well as the Labor Representation Committee have declared in favor of socialism. Did he receive his knowledge from Australia? The trade unions and the Labor party, which recently had control of that commonwealth, have gone on record in favor of socialism. Surely Gompers did not get his education from the organized workers in Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and other continental countries, or even from far-off Japan or South Africa, for the toilers of those nations have declared in favor of Socialism. The man is simply attempting to enforce his peculiar policies for evermore upon the working people of the United States, even if they are to be isolated from the rest of the world, and to bully and browbeat everybody into accepting his views. He doesn't seem to have the slightest conception of the evolution of capitalism, industrially or politically, or care how much or from in what direction labor is oppressed, but there is an end to all things, even the "inside ring" of Gompersism.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

RUSSIA.

Very little is allowed to leak through concerning the progress of revolutionary forces in Russia. From what little can be learned it would seem that there is a condition closely approaching a continuous general massacre prevailing throughout the Russian empire. A private dispatch from one of the participants to *Vorwaerts* concerning an occurrence at Warsaw on the first of May gives a view of one of the terrible happenings in Russia. "About twenty thousand workers had gathered to celebrate the first of May when suddenly without the slightest warning or without the least occasion on our part, with no command to disperse, a volley was fired at us, which was but the beginning of a continuous firing. We rushed into a building but the soldiers like wild beasts, sprang upon us firing volley after volley into the mass crowded together within the room. The shooting continued for a full quarter of an hour, which seemed to us an eternity. More than fifty persons fell dead before our eyes, more than a hundred were severely wounded; the most of which were women, children and aged persons." Meanwhile the Russian Capitalist class is showing their true colors. The following article also taken from *Vorwaerts* shows how correct is the position taken by Comrade Kautsky in his article which appears elsewhere in this number. "Scarcely had the dawn of the new time appeared in Russia and the revolution attained its bare beginning when there arose within the classes that are interested in the abolition of present conditions the most fundamental class antagonism. To be sure the capitalists and the entrepreneurs are very anxious to see the autocracy abolished. They are very willing also that the proletariat should fight for this end, but they do not wish the demands of the working class to be attained. Very characteristic of the class struggle which actually exists today between capitalists and laborers in Russia are the resolutions which the factory owners association of St. Petersburg adopted a few weeks ago. This union is composed of 140 industrial firms. The first resolution opposes the shortening of the hours of labor, whether by law or by agreements of a private nature between factory owners and their laborers. The participation of laborers in determining wages or in the question of internal factory management are absolutely unallowable. Every attempt on the part of the laborers to take part in the decision of these questions must be rejected. The right to discharge must belong exclusively to the manager of the factory and any participation of laborers in this privilege must be opposed under all circumstances. The demands of the laborer for the abolition of fines are to be rejected. The demands of the Laborers for a guaranteed wage for piece workers as well as a

minimum wage for day laborers are not to be considered. Wages must be fixed by the law of supply and demand and any deviation therefrom, even if it appears to be merely formal, is to be considered dangerous, since it sets an undesirable precedent for the participation of laborers."

ENGLAND.

The Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labor Party have both held their annual conference during the past month. Both report increased growth. The Social Democratic Federation passed a resolution looking toward a unity of the two parties. The I. L. P. refused to consider unity unless the S. D. F. should first unite with the Labor Representation Committee. It was well recognized that this would not be done, and therefore the resolution of the I. L. P. can scarcely be considered as being wholly in good faith.

In this connection a letter to *Justice* from Comrade S. C. Hobson, who is known to most of our readers, is of interest. He states that "One if not two of the most influential members of the N. A. C. now sees the need for socialist consolidation. One of them is prepared to work in that direction and last week publicly expressed this intention. I refer to Keir Hardie. The situation now is that in the near future the L. R. C. must become so socialistic in tone and outlook as to justify the S. D. F. affiliation, or it must declare itself so distinctly non-committed in regard to socialism that the I. L. P. must leave it. Its present indeterminate position can not long continue, in either alternative unity is assured."

BOOK REVIEWS

"THE HISTORY OF THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY." By *Ida M. Tarbell*. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, Two Vols. \$5.00.

The story of Standard Oil has now been told thoroughly from three different points of view. Henry D. Lloyd gave us the methods by which it controlled government agencies. Lawson is telling the story of its "Frenzied Finance," and in these volumes Miss Tarbell writes more fundamentally from the industrial point of view. As is suited to her method of approach she speaks with less of vehemence than either of the others. She takes as a sort of introductory motto, Rockefeller's now famous saying that "The American Beauty Rose can be produced in its splendor and fragrance only by sacrificing the early buds which grew up around it." In the first chapter we have the story of the competitive stage. In 1859 the first well was sunk at Titusville, Pennsylvania. "By the opening of 1872 they (the oil men) had produced nearly 40,000,000 barrels of oil, and had raised their product to the fourth place among the exports of the United States, over 152,000,000 gallons going abroad in 1871....As for the market, they had developed it until it included almost every country of the earth—China, the East and West Indies, South America and Africa." On the mechanical side also the development was well-nigh complete. Pipe-lines were extensively introduced, and the methods of well-drilling perfected. The refining side was equally well developed. Indeed we are told that "it was overdone. The great profits on refined oil and the growing demand for it had naturally caused a great number to rush into its manufacture. There was at this time a refining capacity of three barrels to every one produced." It never occurs to the author at this point that since the limit of the world-market had been reached, there was no longer an opportunity for a competitive struggle to start new plants, and that consequently, the only thing left was a fight for life between those already in the field. In other words the "trust stage" in the oil industry was reached in 1872 as it has been reached by hundreds of other industries since that date, and it was that fact and not any "natural depravity" on the part of one John D. Rockefeller that led to concentration. To be sure it may have been his greater ability, or, as she seems to imply, in agreement with all other students of the subject, his greater unscrupulousness, that made him the particular "American Beauty Rose" that was destined to come out of the thorny thicket of the oil industry. It is strange that she does not see the force of this point, since at one place she plainly states it. This is on page 88, of Vol. I, where in describing the attitude of the "oil men," by whom she means the anti-Standard people, during the "Oil War of 1872," she makes them say, "Give the refiners open and regular freights, with no favours to any one, and the stronger and better equipped would live, the

others die." On the other hand (pp. 119-120 Vol. I) "Mr. Rockefeller and his associates proposed to save the strong and eliminate the weak. . . . Their program was cold-blooded but it must be confessed that it showed a much firmer grasp on the commercial practices of the day, and a much deeper knowledge of human nature as it operates in business, than that of the producers." The Standard men, it is needless to repeat, never were bothered with any such inconvenient business appendage as a conscience. She tells once more, and more thoroughly than it has ever been told elsewhere, how they bribed, and brow-beat the railroads into giving them rebates until they dominated the refining industry. Then came the struggle for control of pipelines, and once more she tells a story whose significance she seems utterly to miss. (p. 138, Vol. I.) "There was perhaps twice the pipe capacity needed for gathering all the oil produced and as the pipes were under at least a dozen different managements, each fighting for business, the result was, of course, just what it had been on the railroads and in the markets—severe cutting of prices, rebates, special secret arrangements, confusion and loss." She does not see, and the whole mass of struggling small capitalists who follow her do not see, that this is the preliminary condition to trustification, and that you can no more stop the trustification when it has reached this point than you can stop gunpowder exploding after fire has reached it. The remainder of the two volumes is largely given up to the story of the methods by which this process of concentration was accomplished, and the story is certainly not lacking in tragic elements. Just where this tragedy really comes in for the small producer she tells us in the following striking passages: "The thing which a man has begun, cared for, led to a healthy life, from which he has begun to gather fruit, which he knows he can make greater and richer, he loves as he does his life. It is one of the fruits of his life. He is jealous of it—wishes the honor of it, will not divide it with another. He can suffer heavily his own mistakes, learn from them, correct them. He can fight opposition, bear all—so long as the work is his. . . . To ask such a man to give up his refinery was to ask him to give up the thing, which after his family, meant most in life to him." It never occurs to Miss Tarbell that this is just what the entire working class are condemned to from the very nature of their industrial position,—that they can have no voice in the work they do, no right to exercise their inborn love of creative activity, and that big and little capitalist alike is robbing them of this opportunity as remorselessly as Mr. Rockefeller took it from the smaller exploiters. In so doing he used railroad rebates, and all the power of governmental institutions that he could control, just as the whole capitalist class uses all the forces at its disposal to continue the enslavement of the laborers. Had these particular methods been denied him (at least so far as the rebates are concerned) the chapter on "The Legitimate Greatness of the Standard Oil Co." shows that the process of killing the small fish would only have been a trifle slower, but no less certain. Yet of all this we hear nothing. But the socialist need not trouble himself on this point. Events are telling the rest of the tale so plainly that all who wish may read, and Miss Tarbell has furnished us with a story, of which it is only necessary to point the moral, and that is easily done. Meantime the work is one that no student of American Industrial history can afford to neglect.

"MODERN INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS." By Charles H. Cochrane. J. B. Lippincott Company. Cloth, 647 pp. \$3.00.

This is an elaborately illustrated presentation of the mechanical marvels of modern industry. The introduction contains a series of striking maps showing how fast the world has grown during the past century, of how Asia, Africa and Australia have been opened up to human knowl-

edge. Then comes a series of chapters on iron and steel, vehicles, great canals and tunnels, farms and farming machinery, etc., etc. In each of which illustrations and descriptions are given of the latest inventions and processes. The chapter on the "Conquest of the Air" is very full and gives descriptions of all the latest attempts to navigate this element. As a reference book of information concerning modern inventions it is of very great value. On the historical side, however, it is very weak. The thought which will come to every socialist reader of the work is the possibility which these wonderful machines offer for the freeing of humanity. It is a store house from which countless illustrations can be drawn to point the moral of how thoroughly man has conquered his environment, and yet how thoroughly subject he has become to the very instruments of that conquest.

"THE EVOLUTION OF MAN." By Wilhelm Boelsche. Translated by Ernest Untermann. "Library of Science for the Workers." Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 160 pp. \$50.

There is no greater need of the working class movement of the world than education, and in education there is no more important field than the knowledge of modern science. Were the facts that are contained in this little book really a part of the mental make up of a majority of the laborers of America, capitalism could not last a single year. Because in some dim way our rulers have become conscious of this fact, science, like the industrial factors of modern times, has been made the monopoly of a favored few. It is peculiarly the mission of the socialists to break this intellectual as well as the industrial monopoly. The series of books of which this is the first are most wonderfully adopted to this end. They are written in so intensely interesting a style that even the mind that has been corrupted by yellow journalism and cheap fiction will nevertheless read them with eagerness. They are so simple in language that whoever can read a newspaper can understand them. Yet on the scientific side they present the deepest and best of the great universities. In this work we see the steady upward growth of the human form from the first exhibition of life to modern man. Those who are familiar with Darwin, but have not had the time and opportunity to follow the work of scientific specialists since his time will marvel to see how one by one the missing links have been discovered, until today the chain of descent is unbroken throughout its length. Those who, like the great mass of people, have no clear conception of the great laws of evolution will find this work a revelation in its simple convincing statements of scientific facts. It should be in the hands of every boy and girl in America. The Socialist Local that wishes to lay the foundations of its movement so deep that no power can ever disturb them can do no better than push the circulation of this work. The socialist who builds his philosophy upon the facts he will find here will never be shaken by any passing storm. The translation is remarkably well done, preserving, and if possible, improving upon the simple lucid style of the original.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

WHAT CO-OPERATION HAS DONE.

Six years and three months ago, in the spring of 1899, American socialism was not only without a literature of its own, it was without access to the socialist literature of Europe. If this statement is challenged, barely enough exceptions will be found to "prove the rule." There were a few badly translated and badly printed books from the German, and there was a mass of the sentimental literature well characterized as "socialistic," the effect of which was to make votes for populism or Bryanism.

At that time the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company, already organized on a co-operative basis, and with a considerable number of past offenses to answer for in the way of publishing books of the sort just mentioned, came definitely in touch with the International socialist movement, and began to turn out the literature of which that movement stood in need.

We do not wish to be understood for a moment as making the absurd claim that the rapid growth of an American socialist literature was due to this action of ours. It was obviously due to economic causes, which made evident the intellectual bankruptcy of Bryanism, and demanded an application to American problems of the materialistic conception of history. But what we do claim is that the circulation of the literature which grew out of this necessity might have been retarded seriously, but for our co-operative organization which was in 1899 put at the service of the socialist movement.

The need of this literature was realized, not by people with large capital to invest, but by a slowly increasing number of working people, at first the same people who had previously been purchasing populist and utopian books. It was from these men and women, not from the party socialists, that the first stock subscriptions came that made possible the first issues of the Pocket Library of Socialism and the first translations of the German socialist classics. And most of them have long since become active party workers.

During these six years more capital has gradually been subscribed by about a thousand different stockholders in sums of ten dollars each;

the total capital stock as we go to press with this issue of the REVIEW is \$11,800. But this has been wholly insufficient to meet requirements of the business, and the managers have from the start been obliged to carry a crushing load of debt. This is now reduced to a lower point than ever before, and most of it is to stockholders, but so long as it remains it is a source of danger and a cause of wasted energy.

Meanwhile the work of the publishing house has been steadily growing. In 1900 it began the publication of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and it has each year expended upon the REVIEW more than a thousand dollars over and above the receipts from subscriptions and advertising. And scarcely a month has gone by during the whole six years without the addition of some valuable book, large or small, to its list of publications.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Just now there are two important developments, which need to be brought to the attention of the friends of the publishing house. One is the unqualified success of the new series of scientific books, the Library of Science for the Workers. A thousand copies of the opening volume, THE EVOLUTION OF MAN, have been sold in the first three weeks, and the enthusiasm with which the book is received wherever it is introduced shows that the new series is needed and will meet with a rapid sale. But to put on the market the next six numbers, all of which can soon be ready for the printers, requires an investment of about \$2,400.

Meanwhile one of our stockholders, Comrade Becker of Wyoming, who lent the company \$1,600 at six per cent some two years ago, writes us that he has immediate need for at least \$600 of the money. We can if absolutely necessary raise the money for him by borrowing from a bank at a higher rate of interest, but to do this involves danger in the event of a financial crisis, besides increasing the burden of interest.

There is a very simple way out of the difficulty. There are probably not less than three hundred readers of the REVIEW who intend some time to become stockholders in the co-operative publishing house, thus getting the privilege of buying books at cost as well as helping to make possible the publication of more books. If each of these would send ten dollars at once, the problem would be solved. However, most of those who subscribe for stock pay for it at the rate of a dollar a month because they never have the ten dollars to spare at one time. So it is not likely that the full \$3,000 can be raised in this way as soon as needed.

On this account Charles H. Kerr renews his offer to duplicate out of the balance due him from the company any contributions made before the end of June for the purpose of paying off the debt to Comrade Becker and bringing out the new scientific books. No monthly pledges are asked for; only cash contributions. These will be acknowledged in the July number.

BREHOLTZ' "THE VOICE OF EQUALITY."

Edwin Arnold Brenholtz, who presented to the co-operative publishing house the copyright of "The Recording Angel," reviewed on page 700 of last week's issue, has published through the Gorham Press of Boston a noteworthy poem in free rhythm without rhymes, entitled *The Voice of Equality*. A few short extracts will tell more of its strength and beauty than paragraphs of description. In the passages which follow, as indeed, in nearly the whole poem, Equality is personified as speaking:

O waves that link all lands, convey my love to all!
 Ye winds that whisper to the stately and soul-satisfying trees, with every
 tremble of their tuneful leaves convey my love to all.
 Convey my love, convey my love all unimpaired to bird and beast to stick
 and stone to flowers and flowing stream, *unbounded love*.
 Convey—and not a word but *love* to them.

* * * * *

Race with the speed of hurricane's impelling breath,
 O Wave I love!

Dash all your saltiness cold and harsh into my Brother's face.
 Back on earth's breast of sand and shell toss his reviving form.

O Wind beloved, quick; and whisper to this would-be suicide, so brave
 to face the all-unknown, so fearless as to dare the death, so tired
 of life's unequal lot and strife—quick my be-loved! salute returning
 sense and sanity with message ne'er to be forgot:

*Your mistress-lover waits the touch and close embrace of man as brave,
 as fearless and as wearied of life's wrongs as now are you.*

*Come, come! there's joyful work for you: you must not die this day, or
 year.*

Sweet are the children she will bear to you in future years;

*Sweet are the hours when you shall see them crush the cruel wrong you
 could not slay.*

O Winds and Waves, be swift, be swift:

This word of mine within my lover's ear can never fail.

The book is daintily printed and cloth bound, with gilt top and gold lettering. The publishers' price is \$1.25, but by special arrangement with Comrade Brenholtz, we are enabled to offer it at one dollar postpaid; to stockholders sixty cents by mail or fifty cents if sent at purchaser's expense.

The first thousand copies of "The Recording Angel" are nearly sold. The price is the same as that of the book just described, and the story is one that every reader of the REVIEW will enjoy.

GERMS OF MIND IN PLANTS.

Under this title we shall publish early in August a translation by A. M. Simons on "*Das Sinnes-Leben der Pflanzen*," by R. H. Francé. It will be the second number of the Library of Science for the Workers, and is of equal importance and interest with "The Evolution of Man." An essential link in the system of capitalist ethics is the assumption that the human mind is something unique in the universe and is not the product of physical forces nor subject to physical laws. If this could be proved, the whole socialist philosophy of historical materialism would be discredited.

But recent discoveries in biology, some of which are charmingly presented in this book, prove that on this important question of fact the capitalists and their well-paid advocates are wrong, and the socialists are right.

In these books of popular science there is no attack on persons nor on creeds; there is nothing but a clear and simple story of the discoveries that science has made. Thus these books can be offered without offense to those who have not yet broken away from conventional ideas, while they will be sure to stimulate thought wherever they are read.

We promise this book in August because we believe that the money required to pay for the printing will be ready by the time it is needed; for we think every one who reads this announcement will want to help. Here is the way to do it.

If you are already a stockholder, send a cash order in advance for as many copies as possible at thirty cents each, postpaid. And if you have not already sent for copies of THE EVOLUTION OF MAN, include this in your order.

If not already a stockholder, subscribe for stock now. If possible, send ten dollars in one remittance and get a full-paid certificate. If not, send one dollar with your promise to pay a dollar each month for nine months. As soon as your first dollar is paid, you will be entitled to buy books at the same low rates made to other stockholders.

If not already familiar with the co-operative organization of our publishing house, ask for booklet explaining it, which will be mailed free of charge upon request.

