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No. 1

PLUTOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY?

There are many reasons for believing that the supreme political struggle of the coming century will be between plutocracy and democracy. The question which will, I believe, transcend all others is the question which is involved in those two terms: Shall we have a plutocracy? or shall we have a democracy? Between those two we must choose, so far as choice has anything to do with the matter. And upon the issue of that struggle and that choice depend, as upon nothing else, the moral interests of mankind.

It seems to me to be a good thing to keep that fact and that issue clearly before our minds. Indeed, I can hardly conceive it possible that we shall not see it more clearly and feel its compulsion more deeply and vividly with every passing year from this time forward. We have had many political issues claiming the attention of the people within my own memory—issues growing out of the Civil War, issues relating to the tariff and the currency—issues which, if sifted to the bottom, have all had direct or indirect relation to our industrial system. I do not care to get into any controversy over any of these past or present political issues, for such a controversy does not appear worth while. But I venture the opinion that many of these political issues of the past and the present were and are entirely fictitious. They have been and are evasions of the one broad question which is slowly arising before men's minds for solution. That one broad and inclusive question seems to me to be the one which I propose for our discussion to-night. Let me put it this way: Is human government likely to continue plutocratic? or is it to become democratic?

Let me explain myself a little more clearly. In the first place, I am not sure we have it in our power to say, off hand, what sort of government we are to have. It will be clear to all who hear me, I think, that some forms of government are no longer possible, however much we might desire to reproduce them. I

cannot conceive of any combination of circumstances which will bring about an absolute monarchy in this country. The time is hardly likely to come when we shall set up in America an actual and avowed empire. Possibly we shall have for a time—perhaps for a long time—an empire in everything but the name. That may be the drift of things to-day. It may be a drift which nothing can stem. It may be our destiny, as some of our alleged statesmen are saying. But let us not deceive ourselves into thinking that the accident of war is responsible in any important sense for this drift. Let us understand clearly that if imperialism lies in store for this nation, the capture of Manila was in no sense the cause of that policy. The seed of imperialism is in that which has made it seem worth while to keep those islands.

But I do not believe we are going very far along the road toward empire. I believe that none of the forms of human government which have so far existed can reappear, for the simple reason that evolution and education render such a thing impossible. The blossom does not go back into the bud. The direction of evolution is from within outward. And while the life of the material world around us seems to go on in cycles, every twelve months repeating the same phenomena of seed-time and harvest, there is no good reason for believing that the evolution of the race proceeds in cycles. It may seem to return now and then upon its path, but such is not the case. Evolution may describe a spiral through the centuries; it does not describe a circle.

In other words, I think it would be fair to say that the particular form of government under which society finds itself at any given time is not the choice of the people of that time so much as it is the logical result of the conditions which exist or have prevailed. Will you not agree with me that probably no form of government was ever deliberately chosen, out of hand, by a people? I will not say that a form of government never will be consciously chosen by a people, but I think it is historically true that no form of government ever did result from deliberate choice.

Let us see whether that statement seems to agree with the facts. There have been many changes in the form of human government, but I cannot recall a single one which really marked a very wide departure from that which preceded. We have in the Bible, as you know, two accounts of the formation of the kingdom of Israel. According to one account, a kingdom arose by divine appointment—and was supposed to be a sort of miniature on the earth of the government which Jehovah was supposed to exercise in some other region. The king was the representative of Jehovah. According to the other account, the people of Israel selfishly wanted a king because other nations around them had

kings. They wanted to be in the fashion. Now, as a matter of fact, we know perfectly well that neither of these stories is true. They are both simply attempts made long afterward to account for the origin of the institution of the kingdom. One of them—that of the divine origin—was invented by some man who wished to defend the institution when there seemed a danger that it would be abolished. He appealed to the strongest motive men can feel, namely, their superstitions. He declared that it was a divinely appointed affair, and to abolish it or change it would therefore be sacrilege. The other man, speaking from the point of view of one who found the kingdom corrupt and evil, the bulwark of all sorts of injustice, sought to weaken its hold on the minds of the people by declaring that it was a mistake to begin with, that the very establishment of such an institution was an act of direct disobedience to Jehovah, that it arose out of the sinful wish to usurp an authority which belonged alone to God.

Whatever you may think about this interpretation of those old stories, I am sure you will agree with me that the kingdom in Israel grew out of the natural circumstances of the time and age. Any one who is acquainted with the book of Judges knows that Israel had a king long before the time of Saul or Samuel. A kingdom was purely the product of the age. It was an evolution from a more primitive tribal government, made necessary by the warlike character of that time.

That same principle will apply to every government that has existed and to every government that will exist. The great empires of which we read in ancient history—the empires of the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans—were all the perfectly natural product of the age. The greatest military leader became the emperor, the ruler. In an age when ignorance was the lot of the multitude, when the vast majority were slaves, and when war for conquest was the normal state of things, an empire was the only possible form of human government. Given those circumstances, and the same thing would take place again. The career of Napoleon illustrates the point. That he should have achieved the ascendancy over the French nation which he did, was largely due to the prevalence of ignorance and superstition in that country. That his career came so quickly to an end was due simply to the fact that some things were wanting in the equation which had been present in the time of Alexander and Caesar. It is unthinkable that another Napoleon is a possibility on this earth. We have seen within the past six months how fleeting a thing military popularity is. Half the newspapers of the country were urging Admiral Dewey's name for the presidency, and it was thought that with him as a standard bearer any party could sweep the country. To-day his name is not mentioned even for the presidency of a debating club, and nothing

would be more certain than the utter defeat of any ticket having his name at the head.

Governments are the product of existing or pre-existing conditions. They are not the result of deliberate choice. You cannot think of a democracy as possible in ancient Israel, or Greece, or Rome, or Egypt, or Babylon. And yet thinkers were not wanting in Greece and Rome who could conceive of such a thing as democracy. Plato dreamed of a republic. Aristotle shows a knowledge of the fundamental principle of democracy. But no such sort of government was possible of realization in their day.

One hundred and twenty-four years ago the Declaration of Independence was given to the world, and not long afterward a government was launched on these shores. But any one who has taken the trouble to think about the matter knows that scarcely any approach was made, in fact, toward a democracy. The status of a citizen in the thirteen colonies after the signing of that declaration, or even after the adoption of the constitution, was not materially different from what it was before. In 1775 they were all subjects of the British crown. In 1776 they had declared themselves independent of that authority. A few years later they were citizens of the United States of America. Had there been any great change in government? No. Suffrage was more general, perhaps, than it had been before. But to all intents and purposes the status of citizenship was unchanged. The people of that day could not have established a really revolutionary government, if they had wanted to. And the majority of them had no desire for such a thing. They could not have inaugurated a democracy. They could not have told what a democracy is—with the exception of Jefferson and a few others. Had they all been as intelligent as the writer of the Declaration, it would have made no difference. A whole nation of Thomas Jeffersons could not have inaugurated democracy at that time. The Declaration of Independence was a noble document, the greatest ever penned under such circumstances. But its ideals were as far from the intentions of the founders of this government as were those of Plato's "Republic" or Bellamy's "Equality." This government was not even avowedly based upon that Declaration. It was framed after the pattern of the English constitution. Englishmen framed it, and they framed exactly such a government as the Englishmen of that day might be expected to frame. But it made little difference what they wrote in the constitution. That did not determine and does not now the character of this government. Is it not true that the lawyers who constitute the Supreme Court of the United States are prepared to declare anything constitutional which the policy of the president calls for? If this nation should care to assume all the forms and adopt all the policies of an empire, eminent lawyers would

be found to declare that such a course was intended by the framers of the constitution. It would be defended and justified on constitutional grounds. There is no conceivable course having the prospect of profit in it which lawyers cannot be found to advocate.

The truth of the matter is, neither constitutions nor congresses nor Supreme Courts have anything to do in determining the nature of the government. That matter is decided in a totally different way. We are living today as really under a plutocratic form of government, as if our constitution expressly so declared. Indeed, there is far more in the constitution to justify a plutocracy than there is to justify democracy. The government of the United States is plutocratic and has been so from its inception. What is plutocracy? It is government of, for, and by the interests of private property. In other words, it is a government which has its actual source in wealth, is determined in all its policies by the demands of wealth, and knows no other end than to serve the interests of private profit. A democracy would be a government having its origin in the whole people, determined in all its policies by them acting with freedom and intelligence, and having for its purpose the highest welfare of all the people. It is a confusion of language to call the existing government in this country a democracy, or even to say that a democracy is possible under the present social and industrial system. We are discovering—or we ought to be—that government is determined absolutely and wholly by economic conditions. I venture to express the opinion that no more enlightening idea can gain access to the minds of American citizens than that idea. I wish I could impress upon the mind of every intelligent citizen of this country the idea that human government is determined solely by economic conditions, and that therefore the only possibility of securing a change in the form of any government is by securing a change in the economic system. You will bear me witness, I am sure, that the drift of thought in this country is in that direction. More and more are we coming to see that the only issues which are worth considering in our political action are economic in their nature. For only as we change the economic system can we effect any change in government.

Let it be freely admitted that the ideal of democracy has some hold of the popular mind in this country. It has found some expression in the Declaration of Independence. But I venture the opinion that it was but vaguely seen by even the framers of that immortal document and is but vaguely seen by men today. We have yet to adequately conceive democracy. We have yet to get that idea clearly and firmly in our minds.

In order that I may the better convey to your minds what is in my own, let me suggest three or four questions. You will

want to know what the writer means by saying that the present government is a plutocracy. Then we shall want to know whether there are good reasons for desiring a change in the form of our government. We shall want to know what the change from plutocracy to democracy would mean. And, finally, if such a change commends itself to our judgment, we shall want to consider whether it is possible and how we may co-operate in bringing it about.

First of all, what do I mean by saying that the government of the United States is a plutocracy? I mean that the interests of private property in the products of social effort are the supreme concern of government, that for which it exists. I affirm that all the institutions of government, all its departments and policies, are determined in the last analysis by commercial considerations. You will understand, I hope, that when I say that, I am making no criticism on any man or set of men. I am simply trying to state the facts. If I am wrong, I shall hope to be set right. I mean to say that every official of the government is elected by capitalistic interests and for the purpose of serving such interests. The Supreme Court of the United States has for its highest function, practically its sole function, the defense, protection, and maintenance of the institution of private property. The Senate, as we all know, has become a millionaires' club and little else. That is only a symptom of the disease. That fact respecting the Senate is simply indicative of what is universally true. Wealth is the dominating concern, the supreme power, and therefore we should expect that the Congress of the United States would be officered by men representing wealth. We are not disappointed in this expectation. We have representative government, it is true. But it is representative of dollars rather than men. We know perfectly well that no legislation can possibly pass either house or gain the executive approval unless it is plainly intended to serve the interests of wealth. The President is chosen by the influence of money, and he is nothing more—can be nothing more—than the agent of the interests of capital. You do not need to have me tell you that the United States treasury is at the disposal of corporate wealth. I do not think any one would deny it. The whole banking system, the system of currency and the financial policy of the government in the past and in the present, no matter which party holds the offices, are the creation and expression of plutocracy.

The same principle will be found to hold true through the whole list of national and social institutions. Wealth has built all our churches and controls them. It has erected our school edifices and determines what shall be taught in them. It is the one power that holds the world in its hand. If you can think of any political policy that has been seriously broached by public

men which does not express the will of money interests, you can do better than I. Much has been said in criticism of Senator Beveridge for his frank speech in the Senate relative to the Philippines. No criticism is justifiable. Indeed, he is the bravest and frankest of the lot. No other member of the upper house stands so squarely upon the fundamental principles of our government as he does. What are the vast armies and navies of the present day? Nothing but police for the protection of the interests of wealth. What are our laws? Nothing but the provisions which plutocracy makes for its own preservation.

Let me make myself perfectly clear. I want you to understand exactly what I mean, because it is of the first importance that we grasp this fundamental truth. Government, let us understand, is not determined by deliberate choice. Its form is not decided in legislative halls—never has been. It is decided rather by the market. It is decided by commercial and industrial interests. Plutocracy is not a national affair. It is international. It is rapidly becoming the government of the world. It is that now, so far as the dominant power is concerned. The interests of wealth decide the final policies of all civilized nations. Of course, there are nations, like Russia and China and Turkey, which have not yet fully emerged from barbarism, and these nations are not so completely plutocratic as Great Britain and the United States. But today it is clear and tomorrow it will be clearer that the real government in the British Empire and in the so-called American Republic is one and the same thing, necessarily so. No bond can unite two nations so powerfully and closely as the interests of wealth. We may cherish the notion that sentiment is the controlling force, but we shall cherish a delusion. No interests of any sort ever successfully compete with the interests of capitalism.

Let us now consider the question whether or not a plutocracy is the most desirable form of government. The question may best be considered in a two-fold form. 1st. Has plutocracy performed a great service to the world? 2nd. Is there good reason for believing that it can no longer serve the best interests of the race? We shall not hesitate to answer the first of these questions in the affirmative. Plutocracy is a part of human evolution and as such it must have served a useful purpose. No form of government ever existed which did not serve a useful purpose. I think we shall be able to see how great a debt we owe to plutocracy. The human race has come a long way from the dawn of creation. If we could see all the path it has followed, we should see many things which would shock our sensibilities, but they were all necessary and, measured by what they achieved in human development, they were good. The physical development of man is the sole product of ages of bloody struggle. The

path of the race in its animal evolution has been a path of blood. We have been for ages a race of fratricides, and we are by no means yet out of the woods. Our old habits still cling to us. The taste for blood, the passion to mangle and mutilate and kill, is still in our veins. And we manage to keep up the reputation of the family pretty well. But it has all been necessary to the development of the physical organism. While we were animals we had to act out the animal nature. Nothing else was possible for us. We were not responsive to anything higher than the lusts and passions of the animal.

It is by no means certain that we have arrived at the human stage even yet. As a matter of fact, no other impulses or incentives have been very powerful in shaping our action, than the purely animal one of gain. We point to the fact that religion has existed for all these long centuries, but we are obliged to note the further fact that religion has been utterly impotent even to modify the direction of our social and political life.

And when you think of the marvellous material results of the plutocratic principle, which has had sway for more than a century, you cannot question its utility. I think we must admit that under the circumstances no other power could have accomplished the material transformation that has taken place. And when we reflect upon the further fact that plutocracy has so swiftly prepared the way for some sort of universal government, we must recognize its inestimable service.

But the real question is whether plutocracy has not fulfilled its function, whether it does not stand now in the way of those further steps in human progress which seem to be necessary. The time often arrives in the evolution of the race when a principle or a force which has been in operation in a previous stage becomes unnecessary. Evolution is marked by the constant leaving behind of some things which once were useful. Many physical attributes which were of value to man, say twenty-five or fifty thousands years ago, have ceased to exist. The physical appearance of the human race to-day differs widely from that which prevailed in that far distant past. With the dawn of mind and its wonderful development has resulted all that to-day distinguishes the man from his animal companions. The emergence of reason ushered the animal man into a totally new era of existence and brought into play a new set of faculties. His life thenceforward became as different from what it was before as day is unlike night. From that moment the normal development of the physical nature really ceased, and the man of to-day has not a tithe of the physical might which the man of fifty thousand years ago possessed. So when the human race shall have entered into the new era of ethical consciousness, it must be evident that some of the forces potent before will cease to operate. It is my conviction that we have

entered or are entering upon a stage of the intellectual progress of the race and are just on the threshold of an era of ethical consciousness which make desirable and necessary the cessation of some of the processes which have been operative hitherto. Are we not beginning to feel that plutocracy is getting in the way of that progress which seems now to be due? It was doubtless necessary that the animal man should be physically powerful—fleet of foot, strong of arm and jaw, clear and sure of vision—in order to hold his own and survive in the animal struggle for existence. With the dawn of mind these qualities of physical strength became unnecessary. Cunning, strategy, invention took their place. Besides, the physical man had practically reached perfection. It is impossible to suggest any improvements in the physical organism of man. It was likewise necessary that the dawning mind should be stimulated to its greatest possible growth, as mind.

In like manner, it was necessary for the preparation of the earth for man's higher uses that the struggle for material gain should take place. But are we sure that this fierce struggle is any longer necessary? Does it not seem as if something were likely to take its place? Are there not interests at stake which imperatively demand the operation of a totally different set of impulses? I find myself obliged to answer these questions in the affirmative. While plutocracy has been potent in the development of the resources of the earth and in sharpening the human mind in certain directions, it is evident that many lines of human development are impossible under a plutocratic regime. I think we are all agreed that scientific progress is a good thing. We believe that the pursuit of the truth respecting the world we live in is a very important factor in civilization. We shall agree that whatever impedes or hampers the freest possible investigation of any and all subjects of thought is hostile to the best interests of the race. We shall also agree that we can discover the truth only as we are perfectly free to investigate and to publish the results of our investigation. Freedom of thinking and freedom of speaking are fundamental to the higher progress of man.

Right here is the severest indictment of plutocracy as a system of government. It is even now doing all in its power to discourage the pursuit of truth, and to stifle freedom of thought and speech. Do you doubt my word? Consider, then, the fact that men are being dismissed from colleges and universities on every side on the ground that their teachings are offensive to the men whose wealth has built and endowed these institutions. It is a well-understood principle in our universities that the economic teaching shall be in harmony with the interests of capitalism. Our faculties are in the absolute power of plutocracy. These institutions cannot exist except by the will of plutocrats. Their sup-

port comes entirely from that source. They surely cannot be expected to cut themselves off from their own base of supply. I submit that there may be important principles underlying society which it is of the gravest consequence that men shall know. But so long as the study of economic science is not perfectly free, so long as a man endangers his livelihood by undertaking such study, the system responsible for such a state of affairs is subversive of man's rights. How is it with the churches? You do not need to have me tell you that the man who dares to speak fearlessly and openly the truth as he sees it will soon find himself without support. So long as a religious teacher keeps well within the limits of a prescribed creed, he will not be disturbed, for no religious creed was ever written or adopted which antagonized the interests of plutocracy. And you may be sure that none will be by any denomination in Christendom. How is it with the legal profession? An old lawyer living in New Bedford, Mass., a graduate of Yale University and widely acquainted in this country, told me last summer that if you want to know the politics of the majority of the lawyers in any city or town, you have simply to find out the politics of the wealthiest men or corporations in that city or town. In other words, the whole duty of a lawyer is simply to interpret the law agreeably with the interests of plutocracy. A lawyer who declined to do that could not make a living.

Now, it must be clear to you that such a state of things is prejudicial to, indeed prohibitive of the moral and ethical progress of mankind. Suppose a professor of geology were to write a book and announce on its first page that he had undertaken an investigation of the story of the earth's buried life with the distinct purpose of making all the facts fit into the theory of a miraculous creation six thousand years ago. How many people would read any farther than that announcement? Of how much use would that kind of investigation be to human knowledge? Suppose that every teacher of political economy were honest and should declare to his pupils: "The things which I propose to teach in my department are such as meet the cordial approval of the men who established and are supporting this institution." How long would such a man find people foolish enough to attend his lectures? Suppose every minister were equally honest and were to announce at the beginning of every sermon: "I have written this sermon with the distinct idea of not offending or alienating the men whose money is necessary to the maintenance of this church." How long would anybody attend such a church?

The truth is, plutocracy is making us a race of cowards and hypocrites and liars. I do not say that every teacher consciously caters to wealth. I do not say that all preachers shape their teaching with a view to retaining the financial support of the

rich. But I do say that freedom of thinking and speaking is impossible for any man who repudiates orthodoxy either in social science or religion and holds himself true to the new facts, and truths which are becoming visible, except at the loss of a living. That is not a personal charge. It is simply a statement of fact. And without censuring any individual, I submit that a condition of things under which that is true is insufferable. I submit that the power to regulate or determine what men shall think or say, whether in the class room or the pulpit or the platform, is a power which cannot be entrusted to any group of men. It is an indication that the human race has arrived at a new stage of its evolution and that the dominant forces of the past must be dispensed with; for the future unfolding demands the operation of other forces and the dominance of other principles.

Whatever stands in the way of the natural evolution of the race will be swept away. There can be no doubt about that. The outgrown garment is laid aside. The human body at maturity cannot be confined within the same clothing which answered for its infancy. The same is true of the race. It is all the while growing toward its maturity, and it becomes necessary at various stages to lay aside some things which answered a useful purpose at an earlier period.

I have intimated that we seem to be just now on the threshold of an era to be marked by growing ethical consciousness on the part of humanity. I say "on the threshold" of such an era, because an impartial study of history must reveal the fact that ethics has had little to do hitherto with the life of man on the earth. Ethics finds no place and never has found place in the industrial or political life of the world. That has been and is today distinctly unethical. Probably a few cases can be cited in political life where ethics seems to be a factor, but such cases are rare and inconclusive. One would suppose that if ethics found expression anywhere, it would be in religion. What are the facts? I freely admit that ethical consciousness has frequently appeared in individuals, as was true of the Hebrew prophets, of Jesus, of Buddha, and of other religious leaders. But I can think of no formulated religion which makes room for one single ethical element. The religion of the Hebrews was distinctly unethical, so far as their conceptions of Jehovah were concerned. The religious institution does not credit the Supreme Being with one ethical attribute. He was the Omniscient and the Omnipotent—never the Self-forgetting One. Ethical ideals constitute the richest part of the teaching of Jesus, but if we have a correct report of his words, he certainly cherished conceptions of God which are unethical. He seems to imply that God is governed only by his own will, that he can do as he chooses and no one has a right to call in question the right of it. But whatever is true of the

teachings of Jesus, I defy any one to put his finger upon an ethical element in the theology of Christendom. It is a scheme based upon an unthinkable philosophy which admits of no ethical principles.

And yet, in the course of our evolution, it seems to me that the human race is already in the dawning twilight of an ethical age. Never before has the word "brotherhood" taken such a powerful hold on men's minds as now. The world-wide social movement of our time is a fraternal movement. Men speaking different languages and dwelling at antipodes are calling one another "comrade." The best religious life of the world is feeling the imperative necessity of brotherhood. And yet plutocracy stands squarely across the path to brotherhood. It sets men over against each other in battle array. It creates a line of social cleavage, with a master class on one side and a slave class on the other. No man can live under the plutocratic regime without violating brotherhood every day he lives. He cannot attempt to make the most of his life without making himself the enemy of his fellows. He cannot fulfill his natural ambition except at the cost of other men's lives. He cannot rise in the world except by standing upon a wriggling pyramid of human bodies. Plutocracy ordains that our life shall be one long prostitution. It places the weak at the mercy of the strong. It requires a deference to certain types of men which is in itself degrading and corrupting. It places power in the hands of those least fitted to wield it. It crowns Judas and crucifies Jesus. It puts a premium upon falsehood and makes hypocrisy the price of success. It legalizes robbery, justifies murder, and is the prolific mother of crime. Indeed, it is a conspiracy against all moral and intellectual progress. For these and for other reasons, it seems to me that a change in our system of government is not only desirable, but inevitable.

Now, what would the change from plutocracy to democracy mean? And how, if at all, may it be brought about? If there is any truth in what I have been saying up to this point, this ought to be the uppermost question in the minds of our people in all their political and social action. No political leader is trustworthy who does not betray a firm grasp on this question. Here is the political problem of the twentieth century, a problem which that century must bring to solution. I believe we shall realize democracy in the twentieth century. I do not say that democracy is final. Indeed, I am confident that it is not. But I feel sure that it is the next step. We have passed through several forms of government. First, there was no government—anarchy. Then came various forms of monarchy—the rule of one. Then came oligarchy—the rule of a few. And then, with the commercial and industrial age, came plutocracy, which flourishes to-day—the rule of the dollar. The next step must be democracy—the rule

of the people conscious of themselves and of their higher right and destiny. But beyond democracy lies autarchy—the self-government of each individual—the absence of formal government—the era of absolute freedom—the dream of the individualist. That time lies very far away in the future, a long way farther than many seem to think. For it is simply unthinkable until after a long period of democracy shall have fitted the race to do without formal government. It is the fatal weakness of all individualists that they seem to want to avoid democracy. They want to jump clear across the gap which that form of government is meant to fill. Indeed, there are several classes of individualists, and they are all a unit in not wanting to give democracy a chance. They say: "We shall lose our freedom if you inaugurate a government in which all the people have to be considered." Individualists have no faith in the people. Moreover, they fail to take into account the fact that the only chance people have of becoming fit for ideal self-government is by the experience of democracy. That a democratic government would make mistakes is doubtless true, but the mistakes of democracy are of more value than the successes of plutocracy. And there is no sign of fitness for the era of individualism unless and until there is manifest a determination to secure for the whole people by united collective action the rights and privileges of the weakest and lowest. The very desire for an individualistic regime at once is in itself evidence of the absence of fitness for such a regime.

Now, the change from plutocratic to democratic government will mean, in my judgment, a complete and radical revolution. I can conceive of no change more radical than that would be. Plutocracy and democracy can no more mix than oil and water. They have nothing in common. The complete triumph of plutocracy would mean the obliteration of democracy, and vice versa. The change to democracy involves the greatest moral and ethical change that is conceivable. Under a democracy the interests of wealth cannot be considered. The pursuit of profit, which is the very soul of our present system, will not exist—cannot exist in a democracy. Under the latter the interests of men will be supreme. Under the former the interests of the dollar everywhere and always outweigh those of the man. Under a democracy everything would be changed. Strikingly true would that be in the sphere of education. Plutocracy has ordained that education shall proceed from the motive of fitting the individual to gain a living, to accumulate and manage private property. Practically everything is made to bend to that purpose. By common consent, reading, writing and arithmetic are now regarded as the fundamentals of an education. To be sure, we are trying to break away from that idea, but we do not succeed, and we can never hope to succeed so long as we maintain a system of things under

which obviously those three subjects are of greatest importance. At present these are indispensable to the pursuit of private wealth. No man can hope to succeed in the commercial world—in a plutocracy—unless he can count money, compute interest, reckon profit and loss, read the market quotations, and write his name on checks and other commercial documents. Under a democracy for the first time in human history education will be free to follow the natural lines which the real needs of men would dictate. The man will be the chief concern, and therefore he will not be a money counter nor a money getter. That will no longer be an aim of life. It will be possible then for men to live a true and ennobling life. Those words of the immortal declaration will then have some meaning: "All men are created free and equal and have certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Neither life, nor liberty, nor the pursuit of happiness has any real meaning under a plutocratic government.

I fancy the objection will be raised that in a democracy you may have any sort of conditions that the people by majority vote shall prescribe. If it is the will of the people that the present system of education continue, such will be the law. If it is their will to perpetuate the present industrial system, that system will go on. There may be people who are still laboring under the delusion that we have democracy to-day. In answer to these and other objections I would simply say that democracy can be inaugurated only by a revolution in the character of our economic system. No body of people anywhere can introduce democracy by passing a resolution to that effect. A democracy is the joint product of economic and political evolution. Political action cannot produce democracy until the industrial evolution is finished. And the transition cannot finally be made except by the utter destruction of the profit system. Democracy is a matter of education. No people is capable of ushering it in until the necessary process of enlightenment has been undergone. Democracy and special privilege, or, in other words, the profit system cannot co-exist, no matter what a nation's action might be. They are mutually exclusive. So long as it is possible for one man to exploit his fellows, exploitation will go on. Environment is the one factor which men have the power to determine. With the dawn of reason, man began the process of changing his environment. The possession of that power has been one of the important and determining factors in his career. A vegetable has no power to change its environment, and so no great change in a vegetable is possible—no change at all except by the aid of man. Animals have some power to change their environment, and therefore greater changes in their structure and development have been possible. Man alone has practically unlimited power to change

his environment, especially the collective man. To-day he is beginning to see that he has the power to change his social and political environment. That was the one thing which the thirteen colonies accomplished. They did not establish democracy, but they put themselves within a somewhat different environment from what they had known before. It is impossible to estimate the value of that act. And yet we ought not to lose sight of the fact that other forces were potent in it. In England it would have been impossible. So would it have been anywhere in Europe. It would have been impossible a hundred years earlier even on this continent. But the time was ripe for it then, and its influence upon the past century has been great. Then we were caught in the sweep of the great industrial era and carried along into the plutocratic state. But the power has been developing which will enable us soon to determine our industrial and social environment. How are we to take that step? It is here that we differ among ourselves. Some men believe that we shall do so by trying to get the single tax adopted as the law of the land. Plausible arguments are advanced in support of that belief. The one supreme defect in that program, to my mind, is that it does not belong in the line of economic evolution. It does not seem to me to be adequate to the situation. I cannot devote sufficient time to stating all the difficulties which that scheme suggests to me, but I am thoroughly convinced that it is not the road that humanity will take out of the present iniquitous system. I can understand perfectly well that the land is the source of all the material out of which our industrial life is fed and sustained. I can understand how, if the land could become the possession of the nation, monopoly would cease. I can see all that. But I think I can see a lot more. I cannot agree with my single tax friends that what we most need is the abolition of all monopoly. I do not believe we are ready or shall be ready for a long time for the individual freedom for which we all hope. I believe that this proposition, when it is sifted down to the bottom, will be seen to be anti-social. That is to say, it fails to take note of the fact that humanity is the unit. The individual is not the unit. I insist that it is the task of society to fit large portions of its membership to survive. I insist that there is no social or political salvation for the individual unless the salvation of the mass is secured. I believe that the whole evolution of the race points to that as the legitimate end to be aimed at. We are brothers. We are not strangers, and we cannot be, however much we may wish to be. We cannot go apart by ourselves and erect our little personal paradise. Whatever paradise is possible for any soul lies in the establishment of a paradise for the whole family.

There are other people who think we are to accomplish the transition to democracy by transforming the democratic party. I

am free to say that if that party could be transformed and saturated with the social spirit, could become conscious of the end to be achieved, that surely would prove the wisest step to take. The important thing to be kept in view, it seems to me, is that nothing can make this transition save that which shall completely change the economic system. We cannot have democracy so long as we retain any vestige of plutocracy. For myself, I believe there must be united political action. Plutocracy, though the very opposite of democracy, has served a useful purpose in preparing the way. It has wiped out national lines. It has become international. Democracy must also be international. We cannot have democracy in spots. It must be the dominant system of the world. And it can become so only as it rests upon an economic basis which knows no national lines. When you deal with economics you touch the universal life, you come face to face with universal interests. The industrial evolution has been as wide as civilization. In the path of that evolution lies democracy, and nowhere else. And therein lies the wisdom and strength of the Socialist movement. It is the only political movement to-day that is international, the only one that binds together into one the people of every race and clime for industrial and political emancipation. Is it not a fact that the only political party in Europe that aims at democracy is the Social Democratic Party? the party of Socialism? Nay, is there any other party in any country on the face of the earth which either believes in or is actually working for democracy? If there is, I have never heard of it. It is the only movement I know anything about which really believes in democracy, which has any real faith in the people, which combines sense and sympathy in such proportions as to be effective to that end. I cannot therefore resist the conviction that only through a Socialist political movement in this country, co-operant with the world-wide movement, can we hope to gain the ends of our desire and solve the problem of the twentieth century. Our choice must be between plutocracy and socialism.

William T. Brown.

ENGLAND AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

Social Democrats of all countries will gladly welcome the establishment in the United States of an International Socialist Review specially designed to keep up an intellectual intercourse between the revolutionary Socialists of the new world and the old. I say "revolutionary Socialists" deliberately, because, although I understand the new periodical is to open its pages to all schools of Socialist thought, it is quite certain that they, in America as elsewhere, must eventually control the whole. The hatred and fear of the word revolution is always to me the evidence of a weak mind. Evolution in all departments of nature inevitably leads to revolution—often in a cataclysmal shape—and revolution does but confirm and realize the results of evolution. Whether this fresh period of growth, and of renewed evolution in its turn, is attained peaceably or forcibly at the last matters no doubt a good deal to the men of the time when the revolution occurs; but it concerns future generations very little indeed; and "the sanctity of human life," about which so much nonsense is talked by bourgeois sentimentalists, counts for nothing to those who recognize that the faculties and lives of millions of human beings are being relentlessly crushed out under the capitalist system of our day. For myself, then, I am a revolutionary Social-Democrat and I write as such to the International Socialist Review. Nothing short of the complete control of all the ever-increasing powers of man over nature by the whole people in co-operative accord, bound together by common consent in national and international solidarity, can finally relieve humanity from the last and in some ways the worst form of slavery. The wage-system is doomed as chattel slavery and serfdom were doomed. The capitalist class which, with its hangers-on, deems itself to be everything today, will be absorbed in the collective organization of fully-developed and highly educated democracy tomorrow. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the great Republic of the United States. Your Rockefellers and Vanderbilts, and Pierpont Morgans, who imagine themselves to be men of genius and financiers of wisdom, are nothing more than the commonplace and rather unseemly tools which the unconscious social development of mankind is using in order to prepare through their trusts and combines and monopolies the glorious co-operative commonwealth for which we as Socialists are consciously making ready. In this new stage of development America manifestly leads the world. It is high time that the

workers of the United States should understand the tremendous responsibility which thus lies upon their shoulders.

Standing as we do between two great centuries in the history of the race, the century of capitalism and the century of socialism, —the day before us and the night behind—it is essential that Social-Democrats in their respective countries should keep one another thoroughly well informed as to the progress of the cause. Sooner or later we must all act together if we are to take full advantage of the developments going on around us in order to avoid the dangers that might follow upon a general attempt at reconstruction without sufficient knowledge and full international agreement. So closely bound together are modern industrial communities that what seriously affects one cannot fail to influence the others—as international crises have shown us time after time. In the same way, therefore, that it is of the greatest importance to English Social-Democrats to know so far as it can be known, the truth about the industrial and social development of the United States, it is of no less significance to Americans to have correct information in regard to what is occurring here. Attempts to make out that either society is more advanced towards the next great stage in human evolution than it really is can only do harm and tend to arrest intelligent progress.

Now there has been a tendency of late for Americans who have come to England in order to study our social and economic conditions to exaggerate absurdly the work which has been done and to advance the point at which we have arrived. This arises from the fact that most of the visitors from the other side of the Atlantic have been “put through,” to use an Americanism, by the Fabian Society. That collection of middle-class gentlemen and ladies has learnt that self-advertisement is far more useful than first-rate ability under existing conditions and they lose no opportunity of endeavoring to prove to visitors to our shores that they are controlling the issues in this England of ours with great capacity to nice bourgeois-Socialist ends. They are great on gas and water. Tramways and model lodging-houses move their very souls. The trade union and the co-operative store awaken their intelligence to a sempiternal contemplation of economic harmonies. The etherealization of the town council and the apotheosis of the municipality constitute their highest conception of the Socialist state. If Bastiat could be resuscitated in a municipal waistcoat and Schulze-Delitzsch could revisit the glimpses of the moon girt with a lord mayor’s chain of office, you would have at once two of the ablest and most influential members of the Fabian Society. Now so long as these worthies kept their half-baked rubbish for home consumption no great harm was done, but when it is exported to America as genuine then some mischief follows. If a few eccentrics choose to make twelve o’clock at eleven the only

result is they get their midday meal half cooked; but there is no reason that I know of why they should be allowed to palm off this patent formula for procuring indigestion on credulous Americans. It is usually taken for granted that there is quite enough home-grown dyspepsia in the United States.

Now the truth is that in spite of the influence of collectivism on Municipal Councils, School Boards, County and District Councils and Poor Law Guardians, which after all is mainly due to the work of Social Democrats, the condition of the mass of the people is in many respects very bad. In fact, it is doubtful whether in the great cities of any other civilized country the bulk of the population is so wretchedly housed and the children of the poor so shamefully neglected as they are in the great cities of Great Britain. Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, Bradford, etc., are in these respects little, if at all, better than the metropolis. What is more, no great improvement can be made until the whole problem is dealt with from the national point of view by the agency of a really democratic State or rather Commonwealth. And of any attempt being seriously made in this way, there is at present no sign whatever. In like manner the question of the unemployed is persistently pushed aside to a more convenient season, so that when a period of depression comes there is no effective machinery whatever for dealing with the mass of workers who are thrown into hopeless poverty by no fault whatever of their own. Owing to these and other causes vast sections of our city inhabitants are undergoing steady physical deterioration; to such an extent, indeed, is this the case that it is not too much to say that the majority of the adult males are unfit for military service. In some of the districts of the North, where volunteering and recruiting have been going on during this shameful war in South Africa, as many as seventy-five per cent of those coming forward have been rejected as physically incapable. When to all this we add the testimony of the certifying surgeons in our manufacturing centres that the children exhibit less and less vigor and we know from middle-class statistics that a very large proportion of those who attend the Board Schools are insufficiently fed, it is scarcely necessary to cite further evidence in order to prove that mere municipalism and localism, however useful in some directions, has wholly failed to solve the pressing social problems of our modern capitalist. In Roubaix, Lille, and other French towns where the citizens have much greater power and use it with far greater effect than in any of our English cities, our French comrades of the Parti Ouvrier are under no delusions whatever as to the capacity and the limitations of mere municipalism.

Let it rather be frankly admitted that, notwithstanding the assiduous propaganda of the Social-Democratic Federation for the

past twenty years and of other Socialist organizations more recently, England lags behind the rest of Europe in acceptance of Socialist doctrines as well as in some respects even in the practical application of Socialistic palliatives. That said we may reasonably look into the causes which head back progress in this densely-peopled and capitalist-dominated island. I can do no more in this article than give a summary of the conditions which, in my opinion, tell against the spread of Socialism in Great Britain and account for the backwardness of our party here.

1. The ignorance and almost worse than the ignorance, the belated instruction of the mass of the people. They are not trained, either mentally or physically, in any systematic way. Consequently, their habitual reading is of the most snippety character and largely made up of silly little stories.

2. The low standard of life of a large proportion of the working classes. Bad air, bad food, bad clothes, bad surroundings enfeeble intelligence and destroy initiative.

3. Fairly good wages and better conditions of life for the higher grade of artisans, thus separating them from their fellows living on a lower plane and rendering class combination difficult.

4. The Trade Unions tend in the same direction, being in England almost exclusively an aristocracy of labor. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers does not allow engineers' laborers who attend upon the skilled men to join the Society on any consideration I believe.

5. The heavy emigration and colonization of the past half-century have taken off, as they did in the case of Spain, the most adventurous and determined of the workers, leaving only the less energetic behind to propagate the race.

6. The complementary side to this: the return of wealthy men who have made their fortunes over sea to settle in England, and especially in London.

7. These millionaires are all conservative in the widest sense, and they use their wealth and influence, naturally enough, against Social-Democracy.

8. The growth of the huge parasitic class of children of the people, domestic servants, purveyors of luxuries, semi-artists and the like who, being dependent on their rich employers, adopt their opinions.

9. The pauper class of our great cities already referred to, called by the Germans "lumpen-proleteriat," which is frankly reactionary. During the outburst of piratical jingoism from which we have been suffering, the poorest quarters were most beflagged.

10. Liberty. Everybody is personally free. The police are

very fairly impartial to protect all sorts and conditions of men and women indifferently. What more do you want than freedom to struggle and starve?

11. Patriotism. We have had about a thousand years of successful manslaughter and piracy continuously, conquering all but men of our own race. "Rule Britannia," "God Save the Queen," "There's a Land that Bears a Well-known Name," etc., etc. All this balderdash is absorbed and given out in large doses especially among the poor and ignorant.

12. Religion. The Church has still an excellent innings and uses the great Catholic cathedrals, which it has "conveyed," wholly in the interests of the possessing classes. What the Anglicans fail to accomplish in this direction the non-conformists fully achieve. The God of England is always the God of the rich.

13. Charity. This covers and is intended to cover a multitude of sins. It is twice cursed. It curses him who gives and him who takes. But helps to maintain class domination comfortably.

14. Absence of conscription. The freedom from this blood-tax, though beneficial from many points of view, helps to keep the people contented.

15. The national instinct for compromise due to our long parliamentary and constitutional history.

16. Our antiquated political arrangements. Our political forms are at least a hundred years behind our economic development. We have neither universal suffrage, one man one vote, second ballot, payment of election expenses and of members, nor any other complete democratic method of election.

17. Our wealthy political men deliberately debauch the poorer voters in the constituencies by indirect but continuous bribery, especially in hard times.

18. The English aristocracy are extremely dexterous and painstaking. They work together in the interests of their order. The poor English "love a lord."

19. There is in England to a larger extent than in any other country in the world a great buffer class, if so I may call it, whose members and their forbears have never from generation to generation taken part in direct capitalist exploitation at home. They have been landowners, professional men, officials, slave-owners, merchants, "squatters," etc. But they have never been actual wage-slave-drivers. Hence they have no active sympathy with the capitalists as a class and modify the direct class antagonism and class war.

20. Drink, betting, love of games. These are terrible agents of the dominant minority, which the majority use against themselves.

21. Bourgeois Socialism. The Fabian Society, and to a less

degree the Independent Labor Party, have done much to persuade such workers as they could get at that we Social-Democrats [Socialists of the Marx school], though we constitute by far the strongest single political party in Europe, don't know what we are about. Mischievous work of this sort acting upon ignorance and apathy is even more injurious than downright opposition.

Now all who read carefully through that summary and take the trouble to reflect upon its various points will form a reasonable idea of the difficulties which we English Social-Democrats have to encounter and overcome. These difficulties are none the less serious because they do not take the shape of violent antagonism. Apathy and half-hearted agreement are harder to fight against, in a sense, than vigorous antagonism. Nevertheless, thorough-going scientific Socialism is making way. Our ideas and even our own phrases have made their way into the whole of the literature of the country. In every department of political and social advance Social-Democrats keep the initiative, and the Trade Unions, reactionary as they still are in many respects, are increasingly ready to follow our lead. In fact, as I have often said, Socialism in England is like a vessel filled with fluid in a laboratory. It is fluid as we look at it; but give it a rough jog and crystallization sets in almost immediately. That necessary shock may come at any moment. The awful catastrophe in British India, where we are deliberately starving millions of people to death while drawing 80,000,000 of dollars in gold from the famine-stricken country this very year on Government account alone; the condition of permanent unrest and disaffection which we have carefully created at enormous cost in Africa; the growing antagonism to Russia in China and to France in the basin of the Mediterranean; the certainty of a great industrial crisis at home at the end of this period of "boom"—any one of these causes, or all of them together, may precipitate the realization of the coming period. At any rate, we are working vigorously on, and I have no doubt that in the twentieth century England will do her share to bring about the great Industrial Co-operative Commonwealth.

H. M. Hyndman.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE AND THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

For the last three months the political life of the Socialist party has been absorbed by the municipal campaign which has just ended with the election of mayors throughout the French municipalities. I must first inform our American comrades briefly regarding the electoral system enjoyed by the cities and villages of France. To begin with, Paris must be distinguished from the rest of the country. The capital of the French republic, on account of its revolutionary record and especially the recent events of the commune, has been presented by our rulers with a special government. In all other towns, the largest and the smallest alike, the municipal council, chosen by universal suffrage, selects its mayor, who administers under its control, and directs the police. The city of Paris on the other hand does indeed elect municipal councilmen, but these are not empowered to choose a mayor, and the police is placed under the orders of the prefect of police, an officer named by the central government. Moreover, a part of the ordinary duties of a mayor is at Paris entrusted to a government official, the prefect of the Seine. While speaking of the difference between the municipal system of Paris and of the provinces, I should add that while most of the municipal councils in the provinces are elected on a general ticket for the whole city, Paris, on the contrary, is divided into eighty very unequal districts, each of which chooses a municipal councilman. The rich districts of the center and the west with an average population of fifteen to twenty thousand thus have a representation equal to that of the vast swarms of the east, the north and the southeast, like "La Riquette," "Clignancourt," "Belleville" or "La Gare," where the population reaches seventy, eighty or a hundred thousand.

In a very interesting article which Comrade A. M. Simons wrote for the new French Socialist review, "La Movement Socialists," he explains very clearly that in America you do not have to deal with those survivals of feudal, aristocratic and clerical reactionaries against which the organized proletariat must direct its best efforts in France, Germany and Italy. It is in a bitter struggle against this reaction, which in France is called "Nationalism," that at the present hour the French militant Socialists are obliged to direct their efforts. In truth you have even in America, as well as in England, an analogous movement, namely, imperialism. But your Anglo-Saxon imperialism, while it may

imply militarism and chauvinism, seems to me more evidently economic at its root, while it does not like the French nationalism involve a medieval anti-semitism.

Nevertheless I would not leave the American comrades to suppose that French nationalism is at bottom anything but a mighty effort against socialism and the proletarian revolution. It is a movement which has succeeded in uniting all the forces of the large and the smaller bourgeois, the landed aristocracy and the army, with the braggart demagogues who deceive the unhappy, stupid and ferocious mob into the belief that the nationalist movement will bring remedies for their economic troubles.

Opposed to this nationalist party, the different factions of the bourgeois democracy cut a sorry figure. The republicans whom we call opportunists, and who represent bourgeois liberalism, have certainly passed over for the most part to the nationalist reaction, their chief, M. Meline, at their head. The radicals, who for a long time assumed the direction of the liberal element, and whose tendencies correspond exactly with those of the American Democrats and Populists, have offered a very ineffective resistance to the assault of the nationalists. It is moreover quite evident that demoralization and discouragement reign and will reign more and ever more in the radical camp. Nationalism is in great part, from the economic point of view, not only the party of the upper-class reactionary bourgeoisie, but also the party of the small bourgeoisie, of the little traders and of all that intermediate class from which radicalism formerly drew its strength. So today it finds itself deprived of the greater part of its little bourgeois following, while socialism is taking away daily what strength had remained to it among the workingmen.

Under these conditions the results of the municipal elections in Paris May 6th and 13th are not surprising. Nationalism such as we have described it is especially strong at Paris, where the reaction finds in the petty bourgeois demagoguery the element required to enable it to present itself under a new mask. In the provinces socialism has only had to struggle against the bourgeois reaction properly so-called.

The Socialist party, perhaps for the first time, offered itself united, at least as far as voting is concerned, to the suffrages of the whole people. With some rare exceptions there was in each district of Paris only one Socialist candidate, and in each of the other cities of France only one Socialist ticket.

At Paris, among all the parties which struggled against nationalism, the Socialist was the only one which sustained no losses; on the contrary it increased the total of its votes. Of twenty outgoing Socialist municipal councilmen, sixteen were re-elected and four defeated. But on the other hand four seats were gained

by Comrades Ranvier, Weber, Poiry and Paris. Of the four newly elected, three are manual laborers; on the contrary, of the four Socialists who were defeated only one was a laborer and represented a laborers' district, the other three were professional men and represented middle-class districts. As to the figures of the election, the Socialist party had 98,000 votes at Paris in 1896, while in 1900 they had 126,000.

All the bourgeois democratic parties have at Paris been crushed by nationalism. In the old municipal council there were 30 radicals, twenty Socialists, eighteen republican-opportunists and twenty-two reactionaries and nationalists. In the new one there are forty-four nationalists and reactionaries, twenty Socialists, fourteen radicals and two opportunists.

It is therefore the Socialist party which will be at Paris the only vigorous and solid defender of republican liberties, as well as the only representative of the interests of the working class.

But I hasten to inform the Socialist comrades of the United States of the results of the municipal elections in the provinces—altogether remarkable from a Socialistic point of view. Since the election of 1896 the Socialist party has controlled the municipal governments of a certain number of cities, the most important of which were Marseilles, Lille, Roubaix, Dijon, Montluçon and Ivry. Against the Socialist municipalities a terrible assault has been made by the capitalistic bourgeoisie. Let us see what has been the result.

At Marseilles our valiant friend, Dr. Plaissières, has carried off the victory in spite of the coalition of all the bourgeois parties against him. Likewise at Lille the Socialists are victorious with Gustave Delory, a weaver, as also at Roubaix, Montluçon and Ivry. Only at Dijon our friends have been defeated, but there in 1896 their victory was a surprise and came about from there being four bourgeois tickets in the field, which this year were fused against the Socialist ticket.

But brilliant victories and the capture of important cities are still to relate. Our friend, Dr. Augagneur, professor in the University of Lyons, one of the most learned physiologists of Europe, leads the victorious ticket of the Socialist party at Lyons, the second city of France, where thirty-three Socialists and radicals have been elected as against twenty-three reactionaries. The majority of the municipal council of Lyons is in the hands of our party, and Angagneur has been elected mayor of Lyons.

At St. Etienne, a manufacturing city of more than 150,000 population, the Socialist party is victorious as a result of the great strike of last winter, which the Socialist party conducted the striking workers to a victory, especial credit being due to the admirable work of Comrade Jaures. At St. Quentin, at Bourges, at Limoges and at Montceau-les-Mines the Socialist party has

magnificent majorities, and it captured the administration in numerous smaller cities where today it is in full control.

Let me add finally that in a great number of cities the Socialist party has been beaten but has polled an immense number of votes. For example, at Vroyes it came out with 3,600 votes against 3,600 for the bourgeois ticket, with heavy gains at Toulon, Grenoble, Calais, Puteaux, St. Denis, Creussot, Sevaillais-Clichy and St. Owen.

Summing up, we may say that the municipal elections of May, 1900, have brought magnificent successes to the international Socialist party in all France, and that in Paris the Socialist party is today the only one capable of defending the interests of modern civilization against the barbarities of nationalism.

Jean Longuet.

Paris, May 30, 1900.

THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN BELGIUM.

Before examining into the results of the electoral struggle which has just taken place, it is necessary to give a brief explanation of the conditions attending it. Since 1893 we have a new electoral law which establishes universal suffrage, but only in the sense that it accords at least one vote to every individual over twenty-five years of age. But this universal suffrage is vitiated by the provision that certain citizens, by reason of position or of property, have two or three votes. It is easily understood that this system is made to favor the conservative parties.

Up to this time the law established "election by majority"; this year, for the first time, a new law establishing "proportional representation" went into effect, and on this occasion the parliament had been dissolved and the elections extended over the entire country.

Since 1884, following the almost total exclusion of the liberals, the catholic (clerical ultramontane) government had a majority of 72 votes out of a total of 152 seats in parliament. The liberals had 12 seats and the socialists 28. The new chamber is composed of 85 clericals, 1 Christian democrat, 35 liberals (moderate and progressive), and 33 socialists. The votes were divided as follows: Catholics (clericals), 1,007,166; Christian democrats, 55,000; liberals (of all shades), 500,610; socialists, 463,529. This result is, therefore, a new triumph for our party, for if it gains but five seats it is because the suppression of "election by majority" made it lose Mons. Charleroi and Thuin, where it is much stronger than all the other parties combined. It is, then, rather the increase in the number of votes that should be considered; we have gained about 140,000 since 1896.

Another notable point in our success is that our influence is beginning to pass beyond the purely industrial regions and to extend into the farming regions, hitherto impenetrable. This symptom is very important, for it shows us that success depends upon ourselves and our own efforts.

The results of the election also show that the liberal party, which believed that proportional representation would prove its Fountain of Youth, is truly a party in decay. Almost everywhere since the last elections it is in retreat, and it is evident that, while the advanced elements and all the young are coming over to socialism, the moderate elements are already going into the catholic party, not even voting for the liberal candidates presented at the elections.

Another lesson from the 27th of May is the ridiculous number of votes obtained by the Christian democrats, who only succeeded in electing one single man, and, above all, the death of that abortion called the "Liberal Labor Party," which at Brussels obtained 1,000 votes out of 220,000. This party, organized at the instigation of "moderate liberal" employers, was intended to divert workingmen from socialism.

One conclusion remains to be drawn, and that concerns the future of the political movement. The opposition parties, at least the socialists and the progressive liberals, will press on with more ardor than ever to universal suffrage pure and simple at 21 years, and it is probable that with 1901 will begin an obstructionist campaign in parliament.

Will the moderate liberals join this movement? They hardly seem attached to it today, and their inclinations are drawing them closer to the catholic party, toward which their class affinities push them, as do also their economic interests and their fear of socialism.

Even today we have seen a part of their following pass over to the clericals, in order to solidify the government, for they prefer the present ministry to one in which the socialists might have their word to say. It is, therefore, a concentration of capitalist forces which is impending. While it awaits completion we are organizing ourselves not only on the field of political struggles, but our unions, our mutual benefit societies and, above all, our co-operatives, are taking an ever wider flight, and we are becoming more and more a state within a state, in a way to prepare us to take the place of the capitalist world in all the domains where its activity is exercised.

Prof. Emile Vinck.

KARL MARX ON MONEY.

Karl Marx, when he comes to discuss the subject of money, shows himself to be a victim of his own philosophy. He was a product of his environment—of the conditions and circumstances under which he lived. Living under an imperfect system of bimetallism, seeing that something was out of gear, and not being able to discover what was wrong, as did Sir Isaac Newton (see "The Silver Pound," by Horton, pp. 91 and 264), he concludes that under bimetallism it is always the predominating metal alone which forms the standard of value. A great many other good men whose names sound authoritative were deceived in the same way. It was not till bimetallism had been destroyed by stopping the free coinage of silver that men's eyes were opened. They then found themselves in a condition similar to that of the Frenchman who had been speaking prose all his life and did not know what prose was. Marx and his contemporaries lived under bimetallism all their lives, and only after this was destroyed were such of them as lived long enough enabled to see that even under imperfect bimetallism one metal alone is not the standard of value.

The weight of Marx's name has carried the whole socialist party off its feet. Engels, Kautsky, Hyndman, Bax, Morris, all swallow Marx's money theories as a material and indispensable part of his economic teachings. In America comrades Gronlund, Bersford, Vail, Ladoff, Saxon, Jackson and others keep us well supplied with pamphlets and articles showing the fallacy of a fifty-cent dollar and the necessity of intrinsic value money.

The Socialist Labor Party, in its platform of 1896, declared in favor of government money. In its platform of 1900 it omitted all so-called immediate demands. The Social Democratic Party, in its platform of 1900, speaks of gold mines and public credit, but evades taking any definite stand on the subject of money.

It may be that it is inopportune at the present time, full of so many other troubles, to stir up the money question among socialists; we ourselves have thought so, and were willing to wait a while. It will stir up a good deal of bad blood. Billingsgate will flow freely where arguments are lacking. We know what to expect. We shall be looked upon, by our comrades, if not openly so called, as a silver-plated socialist, a repudiator and an inflationist in the pay of silver mine owners. But we are used to that. We will cheerfully stand the billingsgate if the editor of the International Socialist Review will bear the responsibility of allow-

ing any discussion at all on the money question at the present time. If socialism is to remain a science and not degenerate into a dogma; if socialists are to maintain their proud and justified claim that they march in the front rank of scientific inquiry, they will some day have to re-examine their position and admit that Marx made a mistake about money—a mistake which is easily accounted for, and in no way lessens the general value of his economic and social teachings.

The true policy of socialists is not to attack the money reformers on their own ground and get beaten by them, but to acknowledge what is correct in their demands and point out to them the fact that the government control of money would not have the effect aimed at unless it also included government control of credit, which is now in the hands of banks; in other words, that money reform is worthless unless it includes government banking and a repeal of the laws which enable private lenders to collect interest; that such a fundamental change as they demand can never be brought about by the middle class; that nothing short of a proletarian upheaval can overthrow the money power; and that the only way to get what they seek is to join the socialist party.

Marx's views on money are found in Chapter III of *Capital* and in Chapter II of his *Critique of Political Economy*, published in 1859, which is frequently referred to in the foot notes of *Capital*. Our space does not permit us to quote from these works as copiously as we should wish. It is not easy to formulate clearly Marx's views. His statements frequently appear to be contradictory. If the principles we here attribute to him and criticise do not truly represent his views we are willing to stand corrected. Let us begin with *Capital*, page 61.

"The law that the quantity of the circulating medium is determined by the sum of the prices of the commodities circulating and the average velocity of currency may also be stated as follows: Given the sum of the values of commodities and the average rapidity of their metamorphoses, the quantity of precious metal current as money depends on the value of that precious metal. The erroneous opinion that it is, on the contrary, prices that are determined by the quantity of the circulating medium and that the latter depends on the quantity of the precious metals in a country; this opinion was based by those who first held it on the absurd hypothesis that commodities are without a price and money without a value when they first enter into circulation and that once in the circulation an aliquot part of the medley of commodities is exchanged for an aliquot part of the heap of precious metals."

We also quote foot note accompanying above statement: "Adam Smith takes the right view where he says that the quantity of coin

in every country is regulated by the value of the commodities which are to be circulated by it; that the value of goods annually bought and sold in any country requires a certain quantity of money to circulate and distribute them to their proper consumers and can give employment to no more. The channel of circulation necessarily draws to itself a sum sufficient to fill it and never admits any more. (*Wealth of Nations*, Bk. IV, ch. I.)”

Explanation:—The term price level, as used by us, means the general range of prices. Marx’s own word for this is *Preisgrad*.

Price sum means the total amount of sales. Marx’s word for this is *Preissumme*. It is the product of the total quantity of commodities sold multiplied by the price level.

Money means the money in actual circulation, not including hoards and reserves.

Commodities means the commodities actually on the market for sale, not including stored or warehoused commodities.

Products mean articles that have been produced, but have not yet been put upon the market for sale as merchandise or commodities. Products includes articles produced for use as well as those produced for sale.

These distinctions, if kept clearly in mind, will aid us to express ourselves with more brevity and precision.

THE QUANTITY THEORY ACCORDING TO MARX.

Marx admits that the quantity theory of money applies in the following cases:

First, to fiat money.

Second, to partially fiat money, as light weight silver coins under limited coinage.

Third, to times of great changes in the value of gold, which generally occur on the discovery of new and productive mines.

Fourth, to full weight free coinage gold money in gold producing countries, where the gold is coined direct for the miners’ account without being first bartered for commodities. (At least this is as we understand Marx.)

Fifth, to cases where the weight of the unit is changed. But it does not apply, Marx claims, to full weight, free coinage gold money in non-gold producing countries, where the gold has to be imported after having been bartered at the mines for commodities, provided, and mark well only on this proviso, viz., that the value of gold, that is, the price level, remains unchanged during all the changes in the quantity of money! *Wer lacht da?* What are you laughing about? We claim that the value of money depends on its quantity. Marx claims that the quantity of money has nothing to do with its value, provided its value always remains the same. We claim that a change in the quantity of money will cause a change in its value. Marx says no, a change in the

quantity of money will cause no change in its value, if its value remains the same; that is, if the value of money does not change, its value will remain the same.

MARX ADMITS THE QUANTITY THEORY OF MONEY TO BE TRUE IN CASE OF A CHANGE IN THE VALUE OF GOLD.

This is all that has ever been claimed for the theory under free coinage. It is admitted that under free coinage the value of gold metal and gold coin is the same; but it is claimed that an increase in the quantity of money by making money out of some other material than gold lessens the value of gold as long as any gold money remains in circulation. This Marx denies.

To decide whether a rise in the price level is due to a fall in the value of gold, as Marx claims, or to an increase in the quantity of money, as we claim, it is only necessary to observe that, if under free coinage the coins be diminished in weight by one-half and the same names retained, there would be a rise of the price level, as Marx admits. If on the other hand, the coins be diminished in weight by one-half, but the coinage limited in quantity to the same number of coins as previously existed, the price level will remain the same, though the value of the gold metal contained in the coins will be one-half the same as formerly. This proves that the quantity of money, and not the value of the metal in the coins determines the price level. This is to Marx a stumbling block. He cannot understand limited coinage, especially when concurrent with full weight coins. It did not exist on a large scale in his time, and it appeared to him abnormal and unnatural. He could not see that money is not a natural product, but a societary creation. That it has exchange value, but no utility. He says that money is by nature gold and silver. He denies that anything can have exchange value without utility. (*Capital*, p. 5.) This is the source of all his errors on the money question. He appears to have thought this claim necessary to sustain his labor theory of value. He would not make an exception of money.

He afterwards admits that there are two kinds of utility. "The use value of the money commodity becomes twofold. In addition to its special use value as a commodity, (gold for instance serving to stop teeth, to form the raw material of articles of luxury, etc.) it acquires a formal use value originating in its specific social function." (*Capital*, p. 39.)

That is, money may have a value and yet have no utility other than its social utility as a perpetual medium of exchange.

If Marx were living to-day, he might go to any large bank in London and buy a £'s worth of Indian rupees; he would get a certain weight of silver coins. He might then buy a £'s worth of Mexican dollars; he would get a very much greater weight of silver coins. He could then sit down and do some hard thinking,

and might finally come to the conclusion that the value of money, whether paper, silver, or gold depends on something else than its weight; that free coinage, upon which he bases all his discussion of money, is no more a natural system of money than capitalism is the natural and eternal system of economy; that free coinage is only a method of allowing private persons, (mine owners,) to issue money the same as bank owners are allowed to do the same thing by issuing paper money; that the nationalization of all money and credits, as demanded in the Communist Manifesto would abolish free coinage and knock the bottom out of Marx's whole theory of money.

Marx cannot understand how one ounce of metal can be of equal exchange value with two ounces of the same metal; neither can we. But we can readily understand how one ounce of metallic coin can be of equal value with two ounces of metallic coin, or two ounces of uncoined metal, and the illustration of the Indian rupee under limited coinage, and Mexican dollars under free coinage will explain it.

THAT THE PRICE LEVEL IS ALWAYS CONSTANT.

All of Marx's theories about money are based upon this assumption, and it is necessary to keep this constantly in mind when reading what he has to say. Marx tells us frankly that in his reasoning he considers the value of gold as given, as fixed, which of course implies that the price level is also fixed, for the price level is the way the value of gold is indicated. Do not confound price level with particular prices; particular prices may change, and yet the general range of prices, the price level, may be stable. A clear perception of this fact is indispensable to an understanding of money.

With a fixed price level, Marx asserts that the quantity of currency or gold in circulation depends on the price sum, that is the aggregate of all prices realized, or the aggregate of sales. These terms, price level and price sum, are Marx's own words, (*Preisgrad, Preissumme.*) The aggregate of sales, or price sum, is made up of two factors, the price level or rate of sale and the quantity of commodities sold. As the price level is fixed, to say that the quantity of currency depends on the price sum is the same as to say that the quantity of currency depends on the quantity of commodities sold. What Marx says, therefore, amounts to this: the price level being fixed, the quantity of money depends on the quantity of commodities. So far as we can see, Marx is right; his conclusion is unassailable. It is a poor rule that will not work both ways, and we find that Marx's rule will work both ways. The other way to work it would be to say that with a fixed price level the amount of commodities sold depends on the amount of gold in circulation. This conclusion is also unassailable. Tak-

5. And supposing that price level (prices) is only another name for gold coins estimated by unit of price fixed by government, instead of by unit of weight.

6. And supposing that the unit of price is stable and not changed by the government.

7. And supposing gold money were the exclusive medium of exchange and there were no check offsets or credit of any kind.

8. And supposing that gold could be produced evenly and regularly to an unlimited extent the same as any article of common manufacture.

9. And supposing that money were not more readily and universally exchangeable than an ordinary commodity; or that men did not act according to their self-interest, and did not prefer money to commodities as a form of stored labor; that is, supposing a change in human nature, then indeed Marx's observations on money might be in point.

But there is no such exclusive gold currency in existence as Marx assumes. The silver and fiat currency exceeds the gold currency, and the credit exceeds in efficiency the combined currency of gold, silver and fiat. We admit Marx's conclusion, but we object to the introduction of it into the discussion as irrelevant, immaterial and incompetent. The question for investigation is not the quantity of money with a stable price level, but the quantity of money as affecting the price level. A stable price level is desirable, as all admit. Governments allow the use of fiat money, light weight coins and credit, all of which affect the price level. The government pretends to keep the price level stable; all taxes are levied and salaries of government officers are fixed on that understanding. The government has no control over the production of commodities and no control over the production of gold. The only means it has of exercising a control over the price level is by regulating the amount of fiat money. This it can do and does do, though at present it does it very poorly and at haphazard.

Marx cannot shield himself behind the plea that it was not his province to suggest remedies, but to discuss facts, and explain actual phenomena. He does not discuss facts. In supposing an exclusive gold currency without silver and without credit he is drawing entirely on his imagination; no such currency has ever existed, unless he has in mind something like coon skin money or tobacco money. It is Utopian money. To say that bimetallism is impossible when it is actually in existence before your eyes, though in an imperfect form, and to assume an exclusive gold currency as the basis for a discussion of money is certainly a master piece in the art of ignoring a difficulty instead of solving it. To what desperate lengths a man is driven who ignores facts can be seen in Hyndman's *Bankruptcy of India*, p. 215. This

great Marxian economist, following his master, rejects bimetallism. He ends by recommending that gold be demonetized the world over, and that silver be used as exclusive currency. This is the proposition of a hard-headed, matter of fact evolutionist, who pities bimetallists as deluded dreamers.

THAT PRODUCTS ARE DIRECTLY BARTERED FOR GOLD AT THE MINES. THAT THEREBY THEIR VALUE BECOMES FIXED SO THAT WHEN THEY COME UPON THE MARKET AS COMMODITIES THEIR PRICE IN GOLD IS DETERMINED BEFOREHAND.

Against this view it may here be observed that the products bartered for gold at the mines do not afterwards come upon the market as commodities, but pass over into use, and are consumed. Again, products before they are bartered have a price; in fact they are no longer products, they are already commodities, which means that their counterpart, money, is already in existence. Marx says that barter comes before price and fixes price. Barter does come before price in one sense; it exists before the introduction of money. Money is introduced by fixing upon unit of price. Thereupon a price at once attaches to all products offered for exchange or sale. From now on the price comes before barter; in fact, primitive barter is abolished and price barter takes its place. All barter is conducted with reference to the prices of the commodities bartered. A commodity bartered for gold at the mines brings just as much gold as if sold for a price in money, no more and no less. It is price that fixes barter value, not barter value that fixes price. Gold itself has a price expressed in units of valuation.

Mr. Hyndman sees this: "So completely has the idea of valuation apart from money disappeared that insensibly those who wish to obtain other articles in place of their own, estimate the value of their possessions which they propose to transfer, not with reference to the need which they have of the other articles they desire to possess in place of these, but with regard to the price that either would realize if brought into the open market. An exchange of commodities may be directly effected between individuals in this way; but still in spite of all they can do, the vision of the price current is ever before them." (Hyndman, *Economics of Socialism*, p. 114.)

THAT A COUNTRY REQUIRES A CERTAIN QUANTITY OF MONEY TO CIRCULATE ITS COMMODITIES, NO MORE AND NO LESS.

This is true on the assumption made by Marx that the price level is stable. It is not the conclusion that we object to but the assumption on which it is based.

This claim is closely interwoven with the question of interna-

tional parity of exchange, free coinage and meltage, and the re-coinage of foreign coins into domestic coins, all matters to which Marx gave little attention, though they are of fundamental importance.

Let us see if this rule will work both ways. If a country requires only a certain amount of money to correspond with its commodities, then the converse must be true, viz., that with a stable price level a country requires only a certain amount of commodities to correspond with its money; that the money of a country will carry only so much merchandise and no more, and when the channel is full the surplus will overflow. Where will it overflow to? To foreign countries by way of exports. But considering the whole world as one commodity producing country, as in fact it is, for commodities are international, where would the overflow go to? Marx does not answer. He cannot answer because his famous stable price level would break down.

Marx complains of Ricardo that he gives the discussion of the money question an international tinge. (*Critique*, p. 184.) So did Marx give the labor question an international tinge. Science is international. When the money under consideration is made of an international metal subject to free coinage, recoinage and decoinage, no other method of consideration, except from the international standpoint, is worth anything.

To claim that gold has an intrinsic value, and that therefore only so much can circulate in a country as corresponds with the quantity of merchandise in that country is to confuse concrete labor value with social labor value, and implies that the social labor value of a product can never change. The concrete labor expended in producing a product is ascertained at the time of production of that particular product, and, of course, never changes for that particular article. But the social labor value of that particular article when it becomes a commodity and mingles with other like articles produced at different times and under different conditions, is subject to constant fluctuations. If it has an intrinsic value or value of its own, as Marx expresses it, such value is at any rate not fixed.

Now, gold differs from other articles in several particulars; first, it is not produced normally in indefinite quantities, but is discovered accidentally in uncertain and irregular, but always comparatively small quantities; second, it is indestructible, and there being a large stock on hand the annual output affects the total quantity but little, and the social labor value of the annual output, considered apart from the old stock on hand, is a matter of almost no consequence; third, it is an article endowed by law, through free coinage, with the peculiar and unique quality of universal salability, so to speak. This quality can be given only to a comparatively scarce article. To give it to an article capable of in-

definite and universal protection would defeat the object sought; fourth, being thus universally salable, and its production being in the hands of private individuals, each working for his own private interest regardless of what others are doing and regardless of the public requirements, its production is always carried on at a maximum, just as banks of issue, when free to do so, issue their notes to the utmost limits. Yet in spite of these striking features, which distinguish gold under free coinage from all other articles, Marx implies that gold miners regulate their output to correspond with the volume of commodities, so as to maintain a stable price level; that if they do keep on mining beyond the requirements of a stable price level, they are mining for use and not for profit. It is not because the production of gold can to a slight extent be controlled by individuals that makes it usable as money; it is rather in spite of that fact.

THAT ALL THE GOLD IN A COUNTRY DOES NOT ENTER INTO CIRCULATION.

This is superficially true; but essentially it is utterly false and misleading. In every country a certain amount of gold is needed for the arts, for plate, ornaments and jewelry; some is also kept as hoards and reserves; all the rest circulates as money, and this money volume can in no way be increased, except within very narrow limits out of hoards and reserves, but by no means to correspond with the increase of commodities. So that it is perfectly correct, speaking broadly, to say, that substantially all the gold in a country enters into circulation, and this would be true in principle even though a much larger proportion were used in the arts than now. Just as there is a minimum standard of living at any one time and place, but not always and everywhere the same, which determines the value of labor power, so there is in every country a minimum quantity of gold needed for non-monetary purposes, out of which no increase of the circulating medium can be derived. The relative amount of such hoards differs in different countries. It is greater in India than in France, and greater in France than in England.

Gold metal stands in the same relation to gold money that products do to commodities. To say, therefore, that all the gold in a country does not circulate as money is analogous to saying that all the products of a country do not circulate as commodities. This is superficially true. But in substance it is false. A certain minimum of the products are consumed by the producers as utilities without ever becoming commodities, but everything above that, in short, the vast bulk of the products is thrown upon the market as commodities. No one demonstrates this so clearly as Marx. All his economic writings go to show that the prevailing system of production to-day is the production of com-

modities not utilities. But when he comes to gold he falls down, whether out of reverence, or fear, or ignorance, we know not which. With him gold is an exception. It is produced for use, not for exchange. It is a utility, not a commodity. Although gold is mined for profit, and not for use, yet he implies that it is not thrown upon the market. Money is the chief form which gold takes when it is thrown upon the market. It is either a utility, or it takes the form of money instead of becoming a commodity. It is apparent, then, at a glance how absurd it is to claim, as Marx does, that only a certain modicum of gold can be put upon the market as money, and that all above that is produced for use and not for exchange.

THAT THE QUANTITY OF MONEY DEPENDS ON THE QUANTITY OF
COMMODITIES SOLD.

That is, if more commodities are sold they will call forth more money, so that the price level will remain the same.

This statement appears to us to rest upon some contradictory and impossible assumptions. Marx first assumes that the price level is and remains stable. This implies that there is a given quantity of money and a given quantity of commodities. He next assumes that more commodities are sold. But this is an impossibility. With a given amount of money and a fixed price level more commodities cannot be sold. If sold, they would have to be sold at a lower price level, which is contrary to the first supposition. The increased sale of commodities, therefore, cannot be the cause of an increase in the quantity of money. It cannot precede the increase in money, but must be simultaneous with it. One cannot be the cause of the other. Commodity producers do not regulate their activity by that of money producers. They act privately, each individual according to his own supposed interest. Money producers do not regulate their activity by that of commodity producers. They act privately, each individual according to his own supposed interest, regardless of the effect of his activity when combined with that of other individuals on the world's market as a whole.

To suppose that money and commodities increase simultaneously, so as to maintain a stable price level is to assume that there is a planful and concerted action between commodity producers and money producers according to some previous agreement. Such assumptions belong in the land of dreams. They are Utopian.

The assertion that to manufacture commodities is to manufacture additional money, or that to manufacture money is to manufacture additional commodities, only needs to be plainly put before the mind to appear in all its naked absurdity. But the assertion that to manufacture more commodities lowers the price

level, or that to manufacture more money raises the price level, is a self-evident truth to every one who is not glued to the idea that nothing, not even money, can have exchange value unless it has utility in addition to its function as a medium of exchange.

THAT PRIVATE HOARDS SERVE AS EQUALIZERS.

They do perhaps to a limited extent, but by no means to the extent of supplying the amount of currency needed in proportion to the commodities, as Marx claims. Just as gold is mined entirely to suit the interest of the individual mine owner and regardless of whether the volume of commodities is increasing or diminishing, so hoards are accumulated and paid out to suit the interest of the individual owner regardless of the volume of commodities; and so also where banks are allowed to issue notes, they are issued entirely to suit the interest of the particular bank regardless of the public requirements. If hoards accomplished what Marx claims for them, there would never be any rise or fall of the price level. If the government should maintain a large reserve and expand or contract it in the interest of the public solely for the purpose of keeping the price level stable it might do some good. We have recently had a fine example of how our officials manage such things. In November, 1899, at a time when the price level was rising, and had been rising for months, and when, therefore, money instead of being issued should rather have been hoarded, Secretary Gage, regardless of the public welfare, and solely in the interest of a small clique of stock exchange speculators issued from the reserve \$25,000,000 by buying bonds, so far as offered, thereby expanding the currency. He did for his friends exactly what a bank does for itself when it issues bank notes for its own profit regardless of the state of the currency, and exactly what a gold miner does when he works a rich mine to the utmost in his own interest, even though the public welfare requires that it be shut down. If the government owned the gold mines, the private hoards and the banks of issue, and operated them with reference to maintaining a stable price level, something might be accomplished. But to claim, as Marx does, that private mines and private hoards are now managed so as to have that effect is to claim something which can be supposed or assumed, but it is not in accordance with the actual facts.

THAT THE VALUE OF GOLD IS NOT AFFECTED BY THE USE OF FIAT MONEY.

The same principle would, of course, apply to the use of light weight coins, bank bills, credit and bimetallic money; it also implies that if gold were entirely demonetized, its value would remain the same.

Marx complains bitterly that Ricardo and James Mill set out

to prove that the use of fiat money affects the value of gold and end by assuming it without proof. (Critique, p. 193.) Marx demands proof of it. The quantity theory of value applies not only to money, but also to the money commodity.

It is true that fiat money does not increase the total quantity of gold. But the fact that gold coin and gold bullion are interconvertible does not make them the same thing at the same time; when gold is money it is not bullion, and when it is bullion or is hoarded even in the form of coin it is not money. A product cannot be money and a commodity at the same time. Herein lies one of Marx's vital errors. He regards gold coin when hoarded as the same thing as gold coin in circulation, only performing a different function. Therefore, he argues, fiat money, although it will drive gold money out of circulation, will not lessen the quantity of gold money, and will not increase the quantity of gold bullion compared with gold money, and, therefore, will not lessen the value of gold. This is what Marx claims in one place.

Let us pit Marx against Marx. Take the three factors, gold in circulation, price level and commodities. With a fixed value of gold, which means a fixed price level, Marx says the quantity of gold in circulation will vary with the quantity of commodities. If this be true, then with a fixed quantity of commodities the quantity of gold in circulation will vary with the changes in the price level, and the changes in the price level will vary with the quantity of gold in circulation; nota bene, the price level is directly connected with the quantity of circulating medium, and has no connection with the quantity of coin in hoards. Here Marx shows very plainly that so far as price level is concerned gold coin in hoards and gold coin in circulation are two entirely different things; that hoards have no effect on the price level, which is determined wholly by the quantity of the circulating medium, assuming the quantity of commodities to be fixed. But what is the price level? The price level is the value of gold. The value of gold, therefore, so long as it continues to form any part of the circulating medium, depends on the quantity of that circulating medium.

Marx distinguishes between price and value. Price depends on supply and demand, that is on quantity; value depends on amount of labor power. Price fluctuates around value, sometimes above and sometimes below it, the temporary price depending on the quantity of the commodity in the market. (Marx: Value, Price and Profit, p. 36.)

Applying this line of reasoning it might also be claimed that in barter things are exchanged according to their temporary value which might be either above or below their real labor value. It might also be claimed that the price level does not indicate the true value of gold but only its temporary value. In short that

there are two kinds of exchange value, temporary exchange value and true exchange value and that every one is free to decide for himself when a thing is exchanged for its temporary value and when for its true value. All you need to do therefore to save yourself in a debate is merely to remark that what your opponent calls value is not after all true value, (of which you are the sole judge) but only temporary value.

The labor theory of value may apply to the relative value of commodities as among themselves. It does not apply as between all commodities on one hand and the money commodity or money on the other. The relation between these two is never anything else than a temporary relation. Therefore the necessity for Marx to assume that gold has a stable value and thereby remove the discussion from this world to Utopia.

Let us again make use of Marx's favorite language, mathematics. Let P—price, or price level; Q—quantity, scarcity or supply and demand; V—value; L—labor or labor power. Now, price says Marx, varies as quantity, but value varies as labor power, that is:

Now suppose with Marx that the value of gold is stable and the unit of price or weight of coin is stable, then price and value will coincide and be equal. So will quantity and labor power coincide and be equal. There will be no fluctuations between price and value. Then we will have:

Now, says, Marx, do you not see that price varies as labor power? Yes, we see it. We also see that this is only one quarter of the whole truth. Why does Marx ignore the other three forms, especially the fourth one, which shows the remarkable fact that value varies as quantity, and not as labor power? In supposing that price and value coincide Marx has abolished the difference between his labor theory of value and the quantity theory.

THAT FIAT MONEY REPRESENTS GOLD.

There are two kinds of fiat money; first, fiat money concurrent with gold; second, fiat money with gold demonetized. In the first case, it may be said in one sense that fiat money represents gold, inasmuch as it coalesces with gold money, and its movements conform to the movements of gold money, so long as any of that is left in circulation in the sphere in which fiat money circulates; when all the gold is driven out of this sphere, fiat money can no longer be said to represent gold. Neither does fiat money represent gold when gold is demonetized. The present fiat silver money of India does not represent gold and has no connection with gold. Neither does it represent silver bullion.

It is frequently claimed that California during the civil war of 1861 to 1865 formed an exception to the power of the state to create fiat money. The money in that case was a partial legal

tender greenback with gold monetized, and the state government working at cross-purposes with the federal government. Suppose at that time both gold and silver had been demonetized and full legal tender fiat money had been issued, supported by both state and nation, how much gold would have circulated as currency?

Marx admits that the value of fiat money depends on its quantity, but claims that the value of gold money does not depend on its quantity, but on the barter value of gold; that its barter value, however, does depend on its quantity, because it is bartered for commodities on the basis of its quantity. We are unable to see any essential difference between saying that the value of gold money depends on its quantity, and saying that the value of gold metal depends on its quantity, metal and money being interconvertible. Marx's answer would probably be that although metal can be converted into coin, this coin cannot be put into circulation and become money, so as to change the price level, without breaking his assumption that the price level is always the same. Here is where he has us. In one place he says that fiat money, though it will drive gold out of circulation, will not lessen the quantity of gold money, i. e., it remains money after it has gone out of circulation. In another place he says that metal, though converted into coin, is not money unless it is put into circulation. If a man is at liberty to shuffle the facts to suit his convenience at different times he can prove almost anything.

THAT MONEY SHOULD NOT BE TREATED INTERNATIONALLY.

Commodities are international and their counterpart money, when the material of it is a commodity as gold, is necessarily also international. It is true that the coins of one nation do not circulate in another, but the gold of one nation does circulate in the coins of another. Marx says international trade is barter. But what kind of barter? Barter is of two kinds; first, primitive barter without price; second, price barter, which is an exchange made on the basis of price, but without the actual intervention of money, though it presupposes the existence of money. International trade between gold using countries is barter of the second kind and does not differ in substance, though it does in form, from domestic trade. International trade is not even barter between countries having entirely disconnected money systems, as for example, between an exclusive gold country and an exclusive silver country, or an exclusive paper country, or between two exclusive paper countries having different paper money systems. Even here it is not barter properly speaking. It takes place on the basis of price according to whatever rate of exchange happens to prevail at the time, there being no fixed par of exchange.

If this should fall under the eye of some monometallist, who

also claims to be an international socialist, it would be interesting to have him explain on what theory he advocates disparity of exchange, or defends the existing disparity of exchange as being beneficial to the proletariat; if a falling price level benefits the proletariat of gold countries, how does a rising price level benefit the proletariat of silver countries? Or conversely, if a falling price level injures the proletariat of gold countries, how can a rising price level injure the proletariat of silver countries? And if disparity of exchange between the gold group and the silver group is a good thing for the proletariat why not have disparity of exchange between the different countries of each group? Universal monometallism might be a good thing, but until that comes it is advantageous to have the money of different countries interchangeable at a fixed par of exchange; and it appears to us inconsistent in the monometallist, who claims to be the friend of the working men of the world to ride rough shod over all those who do not happen to live in gold using countries.

International parity of exchange, even without an international unit of account, but especially combined with such a unit, would be a most powerful bond of union between the working men of all countries. It would facilitate comparisons and tend to equalize economic conditions in all countries and pave the way for uniform wages, hours, etc. It is one of those steps which capitalism will take in its own interest, but which will prove to be a step towards its own overthrow.

WHERE WE DIFFER.

Marx says the quantity of money is regulated by the quantity of commodities.

We say the quantity of money, with simple gold circulation, is not regulated at all, but is accidental and irregular, depending on the output of the mines.

Marx says the total quantity of gold in existence cuts no figure, because it does not all circulate as money.

We say that after deducting a certain percentage for ornaments, for use in the arts and for hoards, all the rest circulates as money, and that other things being equal, an increase in the total quantity of gold means an increase in circulation. The total quantity of gold does cut a figure.

Marx says that price level is the cause and money is the effect.

We say that money is the cause and price level is the effect. That until money is created there is no such thing as price level.

Marx says that the relative value of gold and commodities is fixed by barter at the mines before the gold is coined.

We say that after the establishment of free coinage there is no such thing as barter for gold, except with reference to the coinage value of the gold.

Marx says that under bimetallism one metal only is the measure of value.

We say that metal is never the measure of value, not even under monometallism; but that the total quantity of money which circulates is the measure of value in all cases whether under monometallism, bimetallism, paper money, or counterfeit money.

Marx says that commodities enter circulation with a fixed price.

We say that although the price of a particular article is fixed at the moment of sale, yet that same article immediately thereafter, or another article of the same kind, may have a different price; that when goods are put upon the market for sale their asking price is continually changing.

Marx says that gold enters circulation with a given value

We say that although at the moment of a particular purchase the value of gold is fixed, yet between purchases the value of gold may be continually changing.

Marx says that although gold may be mined and coined, it cannot be put into circulation, unless commodities exist to correspond with the gold; and implies that although products may be produced, they cannot be put upon the market as commodities and sold, unless enough money is in circulation to enable them to fetch a given price.

We say that commodities are sold for what they will fetch, be it much or little, and that gold when coined will be put into circulation for what it will buy, be it much or little.

Marx admits that the quantity of money is directly connected with price sum, or respectively price level. One is the cause, the other is the effect. But which is which? Marx says price sum is the cause and quantity of money is the effect.

We say that money is prior in time, and must first exist before there can be any such thing as price, or price sum or price level; that money is the cause and price sum is the effect.

Marx says with Adam Smith that a country needs only so much money and that no more will circulate.

We say that a country will use all the money that the law permits to be made (except customary hoards). In one sense Marx's claim is partially true, but only partially—just enough so to show that it is thoroughly false. For instance, if several countries are on a gold standard each one can circulate only its proportionate share of money to keep its price level the same as in the other countries. But take all these countries together, let them increase their money simultaneously and they can increase it tenfold or a hundredfold. Again, one of these countries alone, as long as it has gold to export, can by exporting it increase the money of the other countries and thereby make it possible to increase its own circulation over what it was before, without losing its parity of exchange with the other countries.

Marx says that fiat money will drive out gold.

We say, don't you believe it. It will do no such thing. This is what is called Gresham's law, and as commonly applied is false. Bad money, that is, fiat money, will no more drive out good money than good money will. As between several countries on a gold basis fiat money will drive gold from one country to another, provided it is issued in one country alone and not in all. But it will drive no gold out of circulation; if the gold does not circulate in one country it will in others. So will good money drive out good money if it is issued in one country alone. It will drive out just as much as fiat money would, no more and no less. But it will not drive it out of circulation. It will reappear in the circulation of other countries. But if additional money whether good or bad be issued in these different countries simultaneously, each receiving its proportionate quota, they would preserve a par of exchange, no gold would be driven out of circulation and none would be exported from one country to another.

Marx says that under fiat money there is no standard. (*Capital*, p. 65.)

We say that the total quantity of money of all kinds, even including counterfeit money, forms the standard of value.

Marx says that fiat money represents gold.

We say that so far as a standard of value is concerned fiat money no more represents gold than it represents hay or potatoes. With reference to a scale or standard of price it may be admitted that among modern nations fiat money has been developed historically out of commodity money and its representatives; and that it retains the old names for the units even after it has become entirely separated from, and independent of commodity money.

* * * * *

"This Odilon Barrot was appointed president of the inquiry commission and drew up a complete indictment against the February revolution, which ran as follows: March 17, Manifestation; April 16, Conspiracy; May 15, Attack; June 23, Civil War. Why didn't he extend his learned criminal researches back to February 24th? The *Journal des Debats* gave the true answer: the 24th of February is the date of the founding of Rome. The origin of states is lost in a myth which we must accept by faith, but may not discuss." (Marx. *Class Struggles in France*, p. 44.)

Well said, comrade Marx, excellently well said! As with states so with price level. You extend your learned researches as to price level back to some point subsequent to the introduction of money or the fixing of the unit of valuation. But why not go back to the origin of money when the quantity of money or the weight of the unit was fixed? Because the origin of money you assume to be lost in a myth which we must accept by faith, but may not dis-

cuss; it would be sacrilege; because forsooth we should there discover the wonderful secret, the key of all knowledge on the money question, that the quantity of money determines the price level at the starting point, and at all times thereafter.

But this is only tautology, some one will say. Very well; if it is only tautology why not frankly admit it? Why be at such pains to refute what is only a tautology?

So it is also a tautology to say that with an exclusive commodity money of stable value under free coinage and no credit the quantity of money depends upon the value of the metal. It is not only a tautology; it is a supposition contrary to existing facts.

Comrades, what kind of a hearing do you expect to get on the weightier matters, when such Utopian dreams are put forth as the science of money and as an indispensable part of the economics of socialism? "Aussprechen das was ist!"

Marcus Hitch.

TRADES UNIONS AND SOCIALISM.

The question is often propounded: "What is the trade union movement doing for socialism?"

Before making answer off-hand, it will be well to consider a few facts. In the first place, the trade unions are composed of a heterogeneous mass of workingmen, the majority of whom have had little conception of economic development and industrial revolution. They have been taught by their fathers, by the old school of political philosophers, by the press and pulpit; that there is a chance for everyone to become president of the United States or a millionaire. Up to recent years there were still opportunities to take advantage of natural resources, to "go West, young man, and grow up with the country," and the average workingman, in or out of the union, honestly believed that the competitive system of capitalism was, on the whole, a just and scientific system—all that it needed was a little reform grease here and there to make it run smoothly.

But as machinery began slowly and surely to make inroads on the trades, the union member, undisciplined and untutored as he was, gradually became impatient and restless, and this dissatisfaction found vent, politically, in supporting Greenback, Union Labor or People's parties, or "good men" and "workingmen's friends" on the old party tickets. Throughout all this extraordinary "reform" maneuvering the stubborn fact of material interests stands out plain, and there was likewise a vague class-consciousness discernible. The labor giant was uneasy, truly, but he still had his eye on that million and the presidency. "If I can only knock down that tariff wall and bust the protection barons somehow, or get plenty of greenbacks and free silver," he argued, "I can get a start and become rich and a great statesman."

But as the tools of labor developed and grew larger, capital kept pace and centralized, until to-day the company and corporation is no longer a factor in production, and the individual producer is not even considered. The amalgamation of capital has utterly dissipated the day-dream of our trade union friend. He is now beginning to see that his "chance" has gone glimmering—that he chased a rainbow, that he cannot hope to compete with a Rockefeller industrially or a Hanna politically. All about him he observes trusts and combines raising prices of products and lowering wages at will. All about him he sees a

Hanna or Croker, a Platt or Jones, big and little political bosses, dictating nominations and platforms and manufacturing "issues" without consulting anybody but their immediate henchmen. The political machine has become as thoroughly organized and compact as the machine he operates in the shop.

Meanwhile, through all this economic and political change, the thinking, intelligent mechanic has at least stuck to his union, and struggled and fought as best he knew how to wrest some temporary benefit from the capitalistic master. He could not well do otherwise. He instinctively understood that there was strength in union, that to stand alone was suicidal. He had listened to the Republican campaign orator promise glorious conditions if the tariff wall were maintained, and he saw the protected barons resort to lockouts, wage-cutting and the smashing of unions. He listened to the free silver orator promise unbounded prosperity to labor, and he saw the mine barons declare lockouts, secure the annulment of eight-hour and mining laws, erect "bull pens" and use every effort to destroy unions—the one and only protection against absolute slavery.

To learn all this has required time, the expenditure of vast sums of money, and object lessons galore. The conscientious unionists have viewed with some amazement and disappointment how legislators juggled with "labor bills"—either by pigeon-holing them or passing them in such form that courts found it an easy matter to declare them unconstitutional. In time of strike or lockout, the executives of nation, state or municipality, heralded far and wide before election as "the friends of labor," supinely called out troops, militia and police to do the bidding of employers. While blacklisting has been winked at by the powers that be, boycotting has been tabooed and is regarded as a conspiracy and crime in many states, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Besides the waste of immense treasure, these lessons have been costly in the spilling of blood, in the jailing of men, and in the sacrifice of human life.

To declare that these cold, grim facts have made no impression on intelligent trade unionists is to place them in the category with dumb brutes or inanimate things. Time was when the trade union was a stamping-ground for corrupt politicians, a market-place where votes were bought and sold. A dozen years back it was common to hear that certain "labor leaders" carried their unions in their vest pockets. City central bodies were an easy prey for the "workingman's friend," and a little "influence" and beer secured endorsements for any office-seeker. If perchance some union man was placed on a ticket and elected, one of two things happened. Either he "sold out," that is, betrayed,

his constituents in the matter of fighting for palliatives, or, where he did attempt to secure some advantage for his class, he was quietly relegated to obscurity by the bosses.

Thus we have passed through a bitter school of experience, and, as before stated, the trade unionist has and is still learning valuable lessons. The question asked at the beginning of this article may be answered with the statement that the trade unions are at last moving in the right direction. Distinct and important progress has taken place. In the first place, the unions are no longer endorsing machines for politicians, and where some local or central body still allows itself to be used by some unconscionable member, it is the exception rather than the rule, and such organization is regarded with contempt by all active unionists. Secondly, the old falsehood that "the interests of employers and employes are identical" is now seldom heard in union circles. Once that generalization was considered gospel, and men were sharply criticized in union meetings if they dared to express the opinion that the claim of "identity of interests" was out of harmony with the truth under the profit and wage system of capitalism. Thirdly, there is a steady growth of sentiment among trade union people that they must act together politically as well as industrially, and where there is any step taken by organizations it is usually a declaration for independent political action. Still better, where union men accept nominations on old party tickets they are coming to be regarded with suspicion as decoy ducks and bellwethers for the capitalist class. Fourthly, quite a few of the national organizations have declared for the downfall of the capitalist system and the institution of socialism, and many more of the unions (in fact, nearly all of consequence) have declared that it is the duty of their memberships to take up the discussion of economic questions for the good and welfare of the organization and the labor movement as a whole.

There are other facts that might be cited to show that organized labor is making rapid strides along the right line, but those mentioned will suffice at present. It might be added that trade unions have become somewhat progressive despite obstacles of every kind. The frowns of capitalists, the flattery of politicians, the dishonesty and cupidity of members, and the open hostility of some who call themselves socialists are incidents that have been encountered during the march forward. These thorns in the pathway have, of course, had a discouraging effect at times, but the enmity and opposition has likewise had a tendency to quicken the pace of the labor army and make it more compact and disciplined.

To mention the various national, state and local unions that

have joined the progressive labor forces, and to quote from their preambles, constitutions and resolutions, would only tend to weary the reader, and, therefore, it is only necessary at this time to recall a little recent history as proof that organized labor is moving forward. At the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor, last December, resolutions were adopted recommending "that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United States take steps to use their ballots, their political power, an independent lines, as enunciated in the declaration of principles of the American Federation of Labor." This action was taken after it was shown that lobbying for labor laws in Congress and State Legislatures accomplished little if anything. Some of the most influential delegates admitted the logic of the socialist position and predicted that the time is rapidly approaching when a plain declaration for Socialism can be made without injuring the unions by frightening the ignorant members, who are nevertheless necessary in carrying on economic struggles. The Federation took even a more advanced position, declaring that the trusts and capitalistic combinations are the natural product of the capitalist system, and that they cannot be destroyed by enacting laws against them. The rank and file is warned to pay no heed to political demagogues who promise to disrupt the capitalistic combines, lest the laws will be used to break up unions, and the convention went on record as calling upon "trade unionists of the United States, and workingmen generally, to study the development of trusts and monopolies with a view to nationalizing the same."

This call practically places the A. F. of L. in the position of endorsing the collective ownership of the means of production. It opens the door to socialism.

The writer is firmly of the opinion that the Federation and many national unions would have declared in favor of socialism some years ago if certain fanatical leaders, so-called, had not kept up a running fire against trade unions, and made loud boasts and bluffs of disrupting the "pure and simple" organizations. Ten years ago one "leader" made the ridiculous assertion in the convention in the same city that "we will cram socialism down your throats!" That ill-advised and nonsensical threat has proven costly. Just as one can drive a horse to a trough but cannot force him to drink, so the average self-respecting human being will resist the attempt of any one to "cram" anything down his throat. Had there been some little diplomacy used, had an honest and persistent and tolerant effort been made to educate the workers, the American labor movement would now undoubtedly be abreast of the European movement.

However, we profit by the mistakes that are made, and I am convinced that since the overthrowal of bossism in the socialist movement, and the sincere acknowledgment that was made by the Rochester convention of the S. L. P. that errors had been committed, a better understanding will be had between the socialists and trade unionists of this country. Indeed, the political and economic organizations of the working class are drifting together, and as the development of labor-saving machinery and capitalistic combines must go on, the new socialist movement will naturally gain strength and support from the trade union forces.

M. S. Hayes.

EDITORIAL

SALUTATORY.

It was a little over fifty years ago when the economic development of that time caused the vague longings for freedom that had ever pervaded the minds of the workers, to take form in what has come to be known as modern or scientific socialism in distinction from the old or Utopian socialism. These doctrines, once formulated, spread in the wake of the capitalism that gave them birth until today they are geographically as universal as the "world market" of modern commercialism, while on the intellectual side there is no sphere of human thought exempt from their influence.

American life and society has been one of the last to be affected. Owing to the almost marvelous extent of its natural opportunities, it was many years before man's cupidity could neutralize Nature's bounty and sufficiently monopolize the sources of existence to create a dependent class. But at last the seemingly boundless prairies, exhaustless mines and limitless forests were divided up as private property among the class of owners. When this had been accomplished there was nothing left for those to do who had not shared in this first distribution of booty but to sell themselves into wage slavery to the owning class. Then when the proletariat and the bourgeoisie with the class antagonisms and wage slavery had appeared socialism began to grow and develop.

The ideological system of socialism had been here long before Carl Marx was for many years the European correspondent of the New York Tribune, and the International Workingmen's Association had its headquarters in New York for some years prior to its final dissolution. More significant yet, during all the years that capitalism was welcoming in the name of freedom the workers of every land who could be induced to come here and assist in forcing down the price of labor power, there were many of the revolutionary exiles of Europe who sought a refuge in America. and brought with them the ideas for which they had suffered at home. In all too many cases it must be admitted that those who had been sufferers for the cause of labor at home forgot their principles when they felt the lessening of the economic pressure and thousands will be found this fall shouting in the ranks of the Democratic and Republican parties who once marched beneath the red flag of socialism in their native countries.

The few who did not forget their early principles formed little socialist clubs in a few great cities and for many years were as

"voices crying in the wilderness" of American capitalism. The self-confident Yankee laughed them to scorn and sneered at their "foreign doctrines." At last there came a time when the prophecies of these early apostles of socialism were realized. The American laborer began to himself feel the suffering that has ever been the lot of the proletariat. Shut out from soil and factory he was made conscious of his enslaved condition.

Then it was that socialism began to grow. Unfortunately we were in the beginning too full of our own conceit to learn from the experience of others. Instead of accepting the time-tried doctrines which already had a literature of thousands of volumes, American socialists must perforce walk the whole way from the wildest Utopian nonsense to the developed science. So it has come about that American socialist literature has been a byword and a laughing stock among the socialists of other nations. The most ridiculous books, based upon long exploded errors, have been hailed here as the gospel of a new redemption and been circulated almost by the millions.

But economic development has already forced economic theory to develop beyond this stage and the socialists of America are now beginning to seriously and intelligently study industrial problems. The result has been that there has been a decided improvement in the character of the literature on socialist questions. There is less of the attitude of absolute certainty that whatever is American is *prima facie* better than anything imported. There is now a willingness to examine into what is going on in other countries and translations are rapidly being made of the leading socialist works of other languages.

Indeed so far has this now gone that there are some signs of what might be called a reaction, in so far that there is a feeling of the inadequacy of translated works for use among American laborers. Socialism is but the philosophy of capitalist development and since it is an undisputed fact that American capitalism is further advanced and more clearly developed than that of any other nation the American socialist may be pardoned if he believes that that capitalism should in time produce the most clear cut and developed socialism. At the very least he knows that illustrations drawn from American experience need be no less scientific and are much more effective for propaganda than those drawn from European experience.

Under these circumstances it is felt that the time is now here when the American socialist movement needs and is able to maintain a magazine of scientific socialism, and the *International Socialist Review* has been established to fill that need. It will at all times have three principal objects in view. In the first place we shall seek to counteract the sentimental Utopianism that has so long characterized the American movement and give it a dig-

nity and accuracy worthy of the position it is destined to attain in the world wide advance toward the co-operative commonwealth. In the second place we shall endeavor to keep our readers in touch with the socialist movements in other countries, and through the very able corps of foreign socialist writers and thinkers who have kindly agreed to contribute to this end, bring together each month the work and opinions of the best thought of the world on the philosophy of socialism. Finally, but perhaps most important of all, we shall aim to secure the interpretation of American social conditions in the light of socialist philosophy by the socialists of this country. To do this we invite the co-operation of all who feel that they have some contribution to offer to this end. While the editorial policy of the "Review" will be in accordance with the principles now universally accepted by the socialists of the world of independent political action by the laborers upon the basis of a struggle of classes with divergent material interests, with the ultimate object of securing the common ownership by such laborers of the means of production and distribution, nevertheless our columns will be open at all times, as far as space will permit to intelligent students of social questions whether agreeing with this position or not.

EXPANSION AND THE CHINESE QUESTION.

It is a characteristic of capitalism, which it shares with all life, that it must grow or die. Resting upon the exploitation of the producing classes, who continuously receive little more than their subsistence, the improvement of productive processes brings to the ruling possessing classes an ever larger mass of unearned products. These cannot be resold to the laborers who produced them. Hence a market is sought among a less highly developed society, where these finished products can be exchanged for raw material. Because England has been fairly successful in this policy she has become the "workshop of the world," and by a careful manipulation of her working class at home and her markets abroad has been able to maintain a semblance of local tranquility while promoting "civilization" in other lands.

Germany's capitalist class trained her workers in her marvelous system of technical schools until they were able to supply their employers with a surplus of goods for this same purpose, and Germany, with Italy, Belgium, France and Austria sought to carry the "torch of civilization" into those places where cheap raw material could be obtained for the goods her workers had created for their employers. No sooner was Russia awakened from her mediaeval slumber than her ruling class also discovered that while the condition of the laborers remained the same they were able

to create much more wealth for their masters than ever before and she too started out to hawk the wares of her ruling class among the less developed people of Northern Asia. Japan, with that rapidity of imitation that has ever distinguished her as a nation and as a people, "caught on" in remarkably short time. Almost before the observer had time to realize that feudalism was going, fully developed capitalism was enthroned and a policy of isolation in foreign affairs had been transformed into one of "imperialism and expansion."

Up until a very short time America had seemed to present the appearance of an exception to this rule. While it was as fully developed in capitalism as any nation in the world it had always preached the doctrine of non-intervention in foreign politics. But a closer examination reveals the fact that this is one of those exceptions that obey the rule in its closest detail. The capitalists of America have always had, in the Western frontier, an almost exhaustless "foreign market," where finished products could be exchanged for raw materials in the same way as in any far off savage land. But this situation came to an end. The frontier disappeared beneath a series of those waves of desperate expropriated humanity that are ever rolling across the troubled sea of modern capitalism. All the world now knows what followed. The traditions having served their purpose were now cast aside and America started upon her policy of imperialism.

This gave a new appearance to the whole international situation. To understand the "foreign policies" of the great capitalists of today take a Mercators Projection of the world and study it carefully. Note, not the "thin red line," but the great blood-stained band that marks the lands now in the grip of English capitalism. Note how the Sahara is girt round with a vari-colored girdle of the various European possessions. It will soon be seen that the "hunting grounds" of the capitalists of the future must be confined to a very limited area.

Indeed there is but one great expanse of territory on the planet not yet invaded. Surrounded by impassable mountain chains and protected by a fanatical wall of custom the great Chinese empire has managed up to the present time to repel the assault of this world empire of exploitation.

But this can continue no longer. The great capitalist nations of the world are gathering for the final feast. China offers an opportunity for further exploitation and that is the only point that will receive any consideration. The hands of the possessing class of the world are laden with plunder taken from their wage-slaves at home, which must be disposed of if wage slavery and exploitation are to continue.

Turn again to the map and notice how this buzzard flock are gathering for their feast. At the North the Russian bear is drawing ever closer. Crowding in between him and his proposed

prey is little Japan, grown bold and brave because of her recent admittance to the robber band. British India on the Southwest is watching British warships on the East for the signal that the time has come to spring. France and Italy at the South stand watching with Germany and Austria like vultures round a corpse the hyenas are devouring, hoping that in the confusion of the scramble some morsels may fall to them.

This was the situation a year ago. But now another has been added to the pack that is gathering for its unsavory feast. Just off the Southeastern coast of China there lies a group of islands known as the Philippines. Is it necessary to explain further how it "just happened" that when the Maine blew up in Havana harbor Admiral Dewey and the American fleet were in the only port on the entire globe where, when England should order them out, their "only hope" would be to take the Philippines.

The Morgans, the Vanderbilts and the Rockefellers were already engaged in connection with a European syndicate in "civilizing" China but they needed "their government" near at hand to "protect the rights of private property" when the time should come to strike.

The question was now only of the time to move. Russia had thrown an iron band across a continent to fasten her hold at the North. She had secretly brought in large bodies of troops and was eager to strike. But America and England were busy on other plundering expeditions and could not leave at once. America finished first but was not willing that the feast should begin until England was ready. Russia grew impatient and showed signs of attacking the meal before the other guests arrived. Fortunately the United States recalled some old claims against Turkey and began to press them with a great excess of bluster. Russia took the hint and sat down and waited.

Then Pretoria fell and England was free to move. The time had come to strike.

Meanwhile internal affairs in China were working to the same end. Two parties had appeared. One of these was beginning to feel the influence of capitalism and had called itself the "reform" party. It was led by the young emperor and strengthened by foreign intrigue. Missionaries, railroads, telegraphs, and opium traders assisted in fomenting discord under pretense of introducing "civilization." Finally this led to open hostilities. The "Boxers" appeared. What would have happened had not this particular organization acted it is impossible to say. It might have taken a few weeks or months longer before some other means would have been found to excuse the entrance of foreign troops.

One phase of the result cannot be in doubt for one moment. The Chinese empire will be thrown open to capitalism. Just how much of a resistance they will be able to make no one can

possibly tell. Whether they will prove to be the same homogeneous, jelly-like social organization that offered practically no resistance to the march of European troops in 1857 or whether capitalism has not yet been able to differentiate, organize and strengthen this organism until it can to some degree wield the enormous strength it possesses no man at the present time is able to foretell. But the ultimate result as to China is certain, the relations which the capitalist nations of the world will play in the matter is still a difficult one to foretell.

A glance at the makeup of the predatory band may throw a little light on the situation. They fall at once into two classes according to the stage of capitalist development attained. On the one side is a group headed by the United States and closely followed by England and Japan who have run the full gamut of capitalism. The remaining nations headed by Russia as least developed in concentrated capitalism form another group which, while united on the general principle of capitalism still have somewhat divergent interests from the group first mentioned in matters of detail. They are in much the same position as the small shops and great department stores of a great city. All agree that private property and individual ownership and competition are absolutely necessary for the continuance of "civilization," but when it comes to the application and practical working out of those principles the little shops are forced into a life and death struggle with the department stores. Following out this line of thought it is safe to say that when fight comes upon the division of the plunder after the crushing of China the contending forces will be lined up much as here suggested.

THE CHICAGO AND ST. LOUIS STRIKES.

Chicago and St. Louis have been the storm centers of the labor world during the month just past. The lockout in the Chicago building trades began Feb. 5th, and at the present writing remains unsettled. For number of days labor and dollars of money lost, industry blocked and interests involved it already ranks among the greatest of the contests of labor, being only exceeded in these regards by one or two other great struggles. This whole contest will be thoroughly treated in our next number by a socialist writer who from the very beginning has had a better opportunity to see and understand all its phases than any other single person, and at the present time we shall confine ourselves to a few salient facts and observations.

At the beginning there were various points of contention, but as time passed these all gave way to one main point of contention,

the question of the principle of federated trades. All the building trades of Chicago are federated for such common action as may be thought necessary in the Building Trades Council. The contractors insist that this body disband as a condition to any settlement whatever.

This is, of course, an absolutely impossible condition for the laborers, the concession of which would not be a settlement at all, but a crushing defeat. It would mean the setting back of labor one step in the long upward struggle of centuries; the abandonment of one vantage point gained at terrible cost. The individual union is almost if not quite as helpless in the face of the intensely concentrated capital of today as was the individual workman before the capitalist employer of a generation ago. This was especially emphasized in the Chicago struggle as the employers were all united in a Central Contractors' Council. The fact that the contractors never dreamed of dissolving their central body proved the purely class nature of their demand and showed that the dispute was one that could be settled only by a test of strength.

Unfortunately there was one fact that gave apparent strength to this demand. Owing to the "pure and simple" position of the American trade unions, all labor politics are debarred, and Nature evidently abhorring a political as well as a physical vacuum, capitalist politics invariably dominate those unions pretending to keep themselves entirely free of politics. So it must be admitted that some Democratic and Republican stool pigeons of a most despicable character had gained entrance to the Building Trades Council. Here again it must not be overlooked that it was the contractors' class who were responsible for these men and who could alone gain by their presence within the labor organizations. The entire insincerity of the contractors' position was shown when the question was raised as to whether they would consent to a reorganization and the substitution of other men for these objectionable characters. To this they refused to listen and insisted upon the unconditional dissolution of the federal body. So the struggle has gone on up to the present time. One of the most interesting phases of the strike has been the attitudes taken by the city government. Carter Harrison, the present mayor of Chicago, has always posed as the "friend of the workingmen" and it has been customary for the unions to endorse the candidates upon the Democratic ticket. Indeed so far had this gone that many of the unions were looked upon as practically Democratic organizations.

Many of the more influential and active trades-union leaders were given places in the Harrison administration. The result of all this was that politically the entire union movement of Chicago was debauched by the influence of capitalist politics. To be sure it was necessary for the Democratic politicians, if they wished to

maintain their hold to keep up a pretense of friendliness to the laborers—but this never meant that anything substantial should be granted.

During the early portion of the strike this pretense of friendliness was kept up. The mayor even went so far as allow the police force to overlook cases of assault on non-union men. But as the contest continued the lines of the class struggle became more evident. The press soon arrayed itself with the employers and began to send out the most exaggerated stories of the "outrages" being perpetrated by the strikers and to demand that the police be used to annoy the pickets. For a time the mayor and city administration was still able to preserve an appearance of unfairness. Then the stories of violence multiplied and at last open threats were made that the militia would be brought in. Mayor Harrison saw that it was time to move. When he once started he made a "clean break" with all pretensions of friendliness for the unions. Almost the first act was to organize a parade of the police force of the city, accompanied very conspicuously with the machine guns which are owned by the city to be used in "case of riot," which has long ago come to mean in case laborers strike. This parade went entirely out of the route usually taken by parades in this city in order to pass the headquarters of the trade-unions. Then there began to be a "cleaning out" of those labor leaders, who, as office holders in the municipal government had acted as the stool pigeons to keep the laborers in line politically. Finally Harrison issued his now famous order to the police justices that when any union man should be brought before them for any offense connected with the strike the justices should "give them the limit" in the way of punishment.

Various efforts have been made in the way of reconciliation and a great deal of nonsense talked about bringing in "the public" as an impartial arbiter. It is needless to say that all of these attempts failed as it was soon discovered, as the socialist had told them from the beginning, that the "public" is composed of two parties with divergent interests and in short, that the class struggle was a fact and not a theory.

Another delusion which is very prevalent among those who discuss socialism in connection with the strike is that the disorders that have accompanied the present movement and especially the errors that have been committed by the trade-union officials in some way argues against socialism; and it is a favorite bourgeois reply to socialist arguments to relate a string of real and imaginary abuses committed by the Building Trades Council with the air that if this indictment could only be made strong enough the socialist position would be overthrown. They fail to understand that what the socialist is arguing against is the conditions that render necessary such conflicts with all the abuses found on either side. That violence is an inevitable accom-

paniment of strikes is something that the socialist saw long ago, and that such violence must invariably militate to the disadvantage of the laborers is a story that he has well-nigh grown tired of telling, but this does not mean that he believes that the laborer should meekly allow himself to be reduced to a state of unbearable slavery but simply that the manner of fighting must be transformed and that the scene of conflict must be changed to the political field, with the object, not simply of gaining a single point in a continuous battle, but of ending the whole war with one decisive victory.

The St. Louis street car strike, like the one just described, started with various subjects of dispute and soon narrowed down to a question of the recognition of the right of the men to act together. From the beginning this strike was marked with acts of violence. However much this may be deplored the fact remains that so long as capital exists it is impossible for any large strike to continue for any length of time without the accompaniment of violence. This is especially true when lines of transportation are concerned. When non-union men are so conspicuously engaged in treason to their class as they must be when they run street cars or railroad trains in time of strike it would require a stage of human development far above that of capitalism to produce the sort of human beings that will stand idly by and see their means of living taken away and not resort to violence. But before commenting further on the subject of violence during strikes a few observations are necessary. In the first place it is well to remember that the press is in the control of the present ruling capitalist class and always exaggerates any violence that may take place and in a great many instances, notably during the great railroad strike of 1894, manufactures out of whole cloth long and elaborate stories of acts of violence that never occurred at all. This in itself is sufficient proof of which class it is that deserves violence, "The wish is father to the thought."

It must also be remembered that in every great city capitalism has created a class of desperate despairing human beings who, while an essential product of our present civilization are forced to prey upon it to live. These denizens of the slums, the "lumpen proletariat," the criminal classes, are the natural allies of the capitalist class and in every contest between the employing and the employed class, whether on the economic, political or military field, they are of the greatest assistance to the capitalists. These were the ones who at St. Louis committed the outrages, so far as such outrages actually existed, upon helpless women and defenseless men.

In its attempts to put down these outrages the uselessness and injustice of the capitalist state even to perform its function as a "preserver of law and order," a "Polizei Staat," was brought into

full prominence. Not only were they unable to reach and punish the actual perpetrators but when they finally did attempt to punish any one for these outrages, their vengeance fell upon three little girls, twelve and fourteen years of age, who were sentenced to imprisonment for two years. These were almost the only persons reached and punished by the regularly constituted machinery of the law during, what, if we are to believe some of the capitalist press of this country was practically a two weeks reign of terror. It might be said in this connection that the children so punished had a long "bill of wrongs" against the society that made them the inmates of a penal institution. Two of them were half-orphans and the father of one of these had been rendered a helpless cripple with but one leg by an accident such as our modern industrialism compels millions of laborers to risk every day of their lives. None of them had received any opportunities of education worthy of the name and all were working at the disgusting, degrading, murderous occupation of tobacco stripping at wages of one, two and three dollars a week respectively.

There were other peculiar and interesting features developed during the progress of the contest. The mayor belonged to one political party while the state government was controlled by the other, and it so happened that St. Louis is in the ridiculous situation that is so common in Europe but rare here, in that its police are under state control.

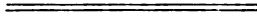
Thus it was possible to "play politics" and pretend to cater to the laborers while leaving capitalist interests intact. The state authorities declared on the side of the laborers and refused to use the police as "efficiently" as the employers wished, while the governor refused to call out the state troops.

So it became necessary for some other action to be taken, and a "posse comitatus" was formed under the direction of the sheriff. Warrants were issued for 2,500 "good citizens" to take up arms for the preservation of peace. They were given repeating shot guns and sent out to patrol the city. The result was easy to see. On the tenth of June a small boy threw a stone at a passing car. Immediately afterward a revolver shot was heard. Who fired it or at what no one now pretends to know. At any rate he hit no one. But this shot was taken as a signal for the deputies to empty their murderous weapons into a street full of people. Three strikers and one bystander were killed and seven other persons wounded. By any standard of judgment save that of capitalist expediency this was murder.

From then on the history of the strike is short. The men were gradually crushed to one side and the cars are being operated by non-union labor. In the meantime the boycott has been tried as it was in Cleveland, Brooklyn, and other cities wherever there have been street car strikes. In this respect the St. Louis strike has duplicated the experience of those cities. There has been

the same fierce denunciation and persecution of those who dared to violate the boycott, the same attempt to extend its influence secondarily by boycotting all those who had any connection with those who rode on the street cars, the same attempt at competition with other vehicles and in all probability the future will see the same gradual fizzle in the end.

It is a slow and painful way to learn but it seems that it is only through repeated experiences of this sort that the laborers can be brought to realize that on the economic ground they are fighting according to rules laid down by their opponents and on ground of their enemy's choosing.



Le Laboureur, the organ of the Belgian socialists for work among the farmers, says of the late elections, "The results of the elections of the 27th of May shows a "frightful increase" (from the clerical point of view) of our ideas among the rural population. The Walloon agricultural districts distinguish themselves especially by the great increase in the number of socialist votes obtained by the socialist candidates in comparison with the figures of the general elections of 1804."



Abbe Daens, the leader of the Christian Socialists of Belgium, has decided to issue a Flemish Socialist daily to be sold at two-fifths of a cent per number and called "Le Democrate Chretien."



Full returns have not as yet been received regarding the Italian elections but the following is the result of the first ballot as published in Le Peuple of Brussels:

Ministerials (Doctrinaires)	250
Constitutional Opposition	120
Radicals	30
Republicans	30
Socialists	30

In the former house the socialists had only thirteen seats so this means that they have more than doubled their strength. The position of the ministry is even more precarious than before.

A communication has been received from Dr. Alessandro Schivi too late for publication in this issue, but which will appear in the August number, giving full details of the Italian elections.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. I

AUGUST, 1900

No. 2

CHICAGO LOCKOUT.

A striking picture of American social and economic organization is presented in the present situation within the building trades of Chicago. The strong tendency of the social evolution in America has been a pronounced individualism. To leave to each individual or to each organization of individuals to direct its own affairs untrammelled by any regard for the interests of other organisms has been the first axiom of our philosophy. In spite, however, of this conscious avowal, the conditions of our economic and industrial growth have forced many of these warring individual interests into harmonious co-operation. The fierceness of the individual competition has necessitated co-operation. But this co-operation has been forced upon us in spite of our avowed intention to fight our battles on individual grounds.

Chicago has now for nearly six months been suffering from an acute labor controversy. Two organizations have opposed each other with bitter animosity. Thousands of employers have deplored their idle capital and tens of thousands of laborers have idly walked the streets. Families and dependents have suffered and starved. Hosts of small shopkeepers have anxiously watched their growing credit accounts, trade in general has been disturbed. Buildings in all states of construction have been left unfinished—those whose skeletons awe the wondering passer-by, those on the architects' plans, and those in the minds of the willing owner. Industries dependent upon new shop accommodations must wait better opportunities and either take their labor force away from Chicago or compel it to swell the army of unemployed. All classes have suffered. But here are two parties that are unable to adjust their differences. Because of this inability of the two principal parties, the dependent industries, the powerless public, must suffer without being allowed to send representatives to the settlement or having their voices heard, although they also are parties in the effects of the struggle. But our social philosophy

compels us to leave the original contestants alone and bear our own discomforts as patiently as we may.

There is, however, an advantage in this attitude of laissez-faire. The past shows that the progressive steps of evolution have been taken under this struggle between social or economic classes. The retardation in the social development of Continental Europe is due to the forcible interference of the government to suppress any serious difference between the industrial factors. This interference may have given industrial peace; but this peace is only equivalent to social stagnation, because the life-impulse of the working classes to rise to an equal opportunity and development to the other classes has been stifled by the intolerant attitude of the powers above. In the United States the rapidity of our industrial and social development is largely due to the wide latitude the various classes have had for the settlement of their differences. In the industrial sphere this method is very expensive, but let us have it until experience has taught us a better way to remove the causes of friction.

New Zealand has taken a step ahead of us in its insistence upon compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes, but there the working classes have gained such an influence in the government that they know their interests will receive fair treatment by the Arbitration Board.

On the other hand, the necessities created by material development baffle our philosophical preconceptions. Men are forced to co-operate. Not long ago the formation of labor unions was universally decried as destructive of individual liberty, and we still hear the echoes of the cry. Now, not only the laborers in individual trades unite, but unions engaged in the same industry affiliate into central organizations. The Building Trades Council of Chicago embraces every trade and occupation that has anything to do with the erection of a building. Delegates from the various unions meet in a central council. This council elects an Executive Board, which, with the Board of Business Agents, administers the affairs of the Council. All important questions are referred back through the delegates to the various unions for suggestion or ratification. But the tendency to co-operation does not end here. Many of the important unions of Chicago are branches of national organization, as the Carpenters and Joiners, Plumbers, etc.

The Building Trades Council of Chicago is only one of similar councils existing in almost every large city of the United States, with whom it is more or less closely affiliated. In the same manner the laborers engaged in manufacturing the materials of which a building is composed have organized their unions into a central council, the Building Material Council, and these two coun-

cils in the past years have very closely allied their interests. If we, then, remember that the Building Trades Council is also a part of the American Federation of Labor, with whom nearly all organized labor is affiliated, we may have a conception of the tremendous strength that may be concentrated into that organization, which for the time being is attacked by the employing capitalists. It is, of course, true that these affiliations of such large bodies cannot assert as formidable a strength in an actual conflict as the appearance of number would indicate, because labor has not yet been educated up to the highest sense of solidarity or conception of its power; but any one who is at all familiar with the inside operations of these bodies knows the readiness with which labor has responded to appeals for financial help. It is only the contributions of funds from unions all over the country that has sustained the locked-out men in Chicago in their struggle. The relation between the Building Material Council and the Building Trades Council (during the time past) in refusing to handle material not bearing the proper label, or striking for a manufacturer that helped an unfair contractor, has assisted both these councils to attain their present importance in the labor market.

It is very significant of how much more recent date any organization of the employers have been brought about. Lacking the incentive of an ever present struggle for mere existence, the employers have been satisfied with the power that capital itself gives. But competition among employers will bring about organization just as resistlessly as competition among the men. We have the same relentless formation of trusts among the building contractors of Chicago as is characteristic of all other industry: Consolidation of related interests, eliminative waste and unnecessary factors.

Organizations of contractors of the same line of business have existed for years, as the Chicago Masons' & Builders' Association, Master Plumbers' Association, Chicago Painters' Association, etc. Some of these organizations have strengthened effectually their memberships by making corresponding labor organizations agree not to work for contractors outside the organization. They have also made stipulations with the dealers in supply whereby a member of the organization has received a rebate in the purchase of materials, which an outsider could not secure. But still the field was too crowded. Chicago is filled with small contractors whose capital or connections will not allow them to take large contracts but who compensate themselves by the numerous smaller jobs. These smaller men have as a rule kept themselves outside of all organizations, partly because they have lacked time to take in a broad view of business policy, as they must do their

own superintendency, partly because they prefer to pick up any job they can find, untrammelled by agreements either with unions or their own association. A contractor who had closely followed the whole movement stated that in 1899 fully 70 per cent of the work done in Chicago had been done by men outside the contractors' organizations. The profits that are divided among a number of men would give handsome incomes to a few contractors if these others could be eliminated, and still not bring any detriment to the trade as a whole. Seeing how the whole tendency in our industrial development is to give the control and direction of production into a few hands, it is impossible to believe that this tendency should not reflect itself in the minds of one most daring and enterprising contractor.

But any central organization was not affected until the spring of 1899, when the Building Contractors' Council came into existence, although its real activity did not show itself until fall. Vigorous measures were employed to induce the independent contractors to fall into line, the most effective being the difficulty of the independent contractor to secure materials unless he could prove a good standing with his association. In all this struggle the material dealers have proven themselves the staunchest friends of the Contractors' Council. An abundance of testimony goes to show that they have used every kind of recrimination against independent contractors, even absolutely refusing to sell to men who persisted in employing union labor. Even in their ranks the superiority of the large manufacturer over the small shows itself. By collusion with the stronger contractors, a few of the dealers and manufacturers of materials could force the weaker men to the wall and have the whole field to themselves. The dealings of the Central Supply Association, both in regard to the fixing of prices and in the matter of free competition, presents the most interesting study to any student of Political Economy. After the fight was on, no man who employed union labor could buy building material; or, if he succeeded at all, by being in every way harassed by those who aspired to the monopoly of this trade.

A very important factor in building is, of course, the architect. The blessings of unionism were clearly perceived by the architects when they formed the Chicago Architects' Business Association, which association they strengthened by inducing the state legislature to pass a State License Law for architects. Early in the struggle they passed resolutions sympathetic to the contractors and pledging their efforts to prevent outside contractors from taking contracts already held by members of the Contractors' Council.

Before going into an analysis of the lockout itself, it is necessary to bear another circumstance in mind. After the trade de-

pression in '96-'97 the prices of materials began to rise. A rise in prices will not generally prevent industrial activity, as it may only be a sign of advancing prosperity, but the phenomenal advance during '99 of from 100 to 300 per cent. in the cost of material could scarcely find a corresponding willingness in prospective builders. In the nature of things, such an enormous increase could not be expected to continue forever, and the action of some of the noted captains of industry in closing mills and otherwise reducing production, while figures were at this profitable level, were only a sure indication that prices had already reached the top-notch and were expected to start upon the declining plane. If one also follows the price quotations in the reputable trade journals, one will find that the climax had been reached in the end of March or beginning of April. It is only reasonable to suppose that if conditions favored a suspension of building operations while the reign of excessive prices lasted and building could be resumed when the market was more favorable to profitable buying, that this suspension would be hailed with eagerness. It is impossible to reject this element in our attempt to understand the present situation.

It is only to be expected that a great deal of friction must have existed between two bodies of such strength as the labor unions and master associations possessed. Harmonious relations between employer and employes, with interests so conflicting, can only be found where one of the parties is too weak to assert itself. Usually labor has to adapt itself to the conditions stipulated by the employer, but the building trades have succeeded in representing their demands in the agreements with the contractors. This they have succeeded in doing through the solidarity attained by the central council. Many of the individual unions have always been very strong because they have enrolled in their numbers every available workingman. Others, especially the laborers and more unskilled men, would never have been able to stand alone. But behind every individual agreement stood the combined force of the Building Trades' Council, and that compelled the contractor to give terms which he would not have done if he had only single unions to deal with. The Building Trades' Council simply usurped the power of capitalism. If a Rockefeller fights a small recalcitrant dealer with the combined force of his immense capital, that is business. But if the Building Trades employ the same tactics in self-defense, it is overturning of society. It is not to be expected that the Building Trades' Council would always use this power with the utmost discretion and discernment. Errors have often been committed. The quarrel between different unions as to jurisdiction over a certain class of work ought not to interrupt the work

of other unions. The refusal to handle labor-saving machinery can easily be understood as an attempt to protect present workers. But the introduction of this machinery is a pill, however hard, that the workingman under present conditions must swallow, for the benefit that the saving gives to society as a whole. Mistakes of judgment over petty controversies between contractor and men have been the cause of stagnation of work. We are so accustomed to the overbearing treatment of men by employers that we accept that as the order of nature. When the men are able to turn the tables, even one who has not the least to do with the matter cries out in indignation. On the other side, actions of the contractors which the unions have considered a breach of existing contracts have caused added friction and disturbance of work. The great misfortune throughout this whole matter has been the lack of a mediation board before which these grievances could be adjusted. Against any infringement on their rights the men have retaliated by a strike. Inasmuch as an attack on one union means an attack on all, work has been suspended many times, not only by the union originally involved, but by all unions on that same building, and at times on other buildings as well. This, of course, has been very harassing, not only to the first contractor, but to all contractors and owners who themselves may have had nothing to do with the original grievance. The Building Trades' Council had an effective means by which to settle all grievances, and it is not to be wondered at that the laboring men, with the sense of past silently-endured sufferings, should use this weapon effectively, and even at times unreasonably. The solidarity of resistance in labor brought about solidarity of suffering among the contractors.

When, therefore, the Building Contractors' Council considered themselves strong enough to fight the consolidated strength of the unions, it did not await the expiration of existing agreements, but precipitated the struggle by a general lockout, Feb. 5, 1900.

The bones of contention are briefly stated in the following resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Building Contractors' Council, held Nov. 17, 1900: That the trades represented in the Building Contractors' Council shall not recognize,

- 1st. Any limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day.
- 2d. Any restriction in the use of machinery.
- 3d. The right of any person to interfere with the workman during hours.
- 4th. The sympathetic strike.

5th. Restriction in the use of manufactured material, except prison made.

6th. The right of the unions to prohibit the employment of apprentices.

All of these counts, except the fourth, are of minor importance and have been used mostly for oratorical effect. All of them—except the fourth—have been considered by the unions. In regard to the second, the explanation has been given that of the 33 trades affiliated with the Building Trades' Council only one—the stonemasons—have ever objected to the use of machinery. The reason, as explained by themselves, is that out of 75 cut-stone contractors in the city only about 15 have machinery. These 15 want to crush the other 60 out of existence.

The fourth count is the real bone of contention. It is stated in a circular of the contractors, dated April 30, 1900: "That the agreement shall only become operative when the union withdraws from the Building Trades' Council and agrees not to become affiliated with any organization of a like character during the life of the agreement."

The sympathetic strike is the *raison d'être* of the Building Trades Council. It has been the means of either punishing the contractor or to compel him to conform to the will of the unions. Sometimes the punishment has taken the form of a fine, with the threat of a strike if the money is not forthcoming. The agent of the Building Trades Council is the Business Agent of the union. The personality of this agent has also been made a factor in the struggle. The contractors have been vehement in their denunciations of the Business Agent, or Walking Delegate. The very relation between employer and employe makes it necessary that the representative of the latter should be a *persona non grata* to the former, especially if he is able to back up his demands. There is no doubt that the business agent has, in many instances, been lacking in those personal qualities of patience and adroitness that smooth the relations between business men. The stories of bribe-giving and bribe-taking that have been occasionally mentioned are just as disgraceful to the one party as to the other.

The demand for the abolition of the Building Trades Council has been persistent with the contractors. They have gone so far in their hostility against the opposing council that they have even refused to treat directly with it. In their eyes it has been "unreliable and unworthy." Any attempt of reconciliation or arbitration made by any third party has been constantly rejected, unless it could first guarantee the extinction of this hated body. The attempt by unprejudiced third parties to secure evidence in

regard to the merits or demerits of the controversy has been met with no response. Either an entire submission to their conditions, including the abolition of a central organization or the cessation of all work, has been the consistent position of the Building Contractors' Council.

How far the men have shown their willingness to meet the contractors is shown by the propositions of the union men in the recent attempt of arbitration by Mr. Gompers. At the national conference of the American Federation of Labor President Gompers and Vice-President Thomas I. Kidd were delegated to investigate and try to bring about a conciliation of the struggle. In their conference with the committee of contractors they were authorized to submit a proposition in which the demands of the contractors were conceded with the following modifications:*

That employers shall be at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit; that the employer shall have the right to employ whomsoever he pleases, provided the union of the trade is unable to furnish men, but all men shall receive the full wages agreed upon in their trade.

"Explanation: The unions do not think it fair or just to them that after years of effort spent in organizing, contributing liberally of their money and energy in the meantime, that some one who, if he has not been decidedly antagonistic to them, has at least been passive, should be allowed equal rights to share the fruits of what they have secured. While they recognize the God-given right of earning a living which belongs to every man, they claim that under existing conditions it is as essential to have a trade union in the industrial field as to have a code of morals or a code of laws governing a people, and while some men do not like the existence of the law, they are bound to observe it in the interests of the greatest number.

"That the rate of wages shall be subject to arbitration when agreements cannot be reached between parties.

"That agreements shall cover a period of not less than three years.

"That an arbitration clause to provide for the adjustment of possible difficulties in the future be made a part of this agreement.

"That no by-laws or rules conflicting with the agreement shall be enforced or passed by association or union except by mutual consent, during the life of the agreement.

That no central body with which either party to this agreement may be affiliated shall have the power to in any way abrogate, change or annul any agreements entered into by the parties

*Chicago Record, July 27.

to this agreement. That central bodies shall exist not for the purpose of making, but for the purpose of maintaining agreements entered into by the unions or associations forming its component parts; and if the existing central bodies contain anything in their constitution or by-laws conflicting with this they shall be amended in conformity with this agreement.

"All matters governing employment, wages, trade, the interpretation of working rules, etc., shall be considered matters to be settled by arbitration."

It would seem that no employer had any rights whatever to dictate over any organization of employes that exists only for defense and self-preservation, unless he is determined to absolutely domineer over all the actions of his employe. Still the contractors refused absolutely to have anything to do with any proposition that did not carry with it the withdrawal of the unions from the Building Trades Council.

One charge that has been made repeatedly against the Building Trades Council is that some of its members and leaders have used their influence over the men to secure offices in the city hall. As a correlate to this the city administration has been accused of undue leniency towards the unions, that the administration in order to secure the votes of the union men has overlooked violations of the law and refused to come to the assistance of the contractors in as liberal a manner as desired to protect non-union men. The same objection has always been made against elective officers, that they are amenable to influence of the most potent electors. Sometimes it is an inspector who does not dare to enforce the factory laws, or the fire escape ordinance, whereby scores of people are brought to untimely deaths because of the pull that the capitalist has. That a permanent organization of laboring people can exert an influence over the administration only indicates what power it may wield when properly directed. That delegates to the Building Trades Council hold city jobs means that they use the influence they have in their unions for self-promotion. What malign effect that may have upon other organizations than their own is difficult to see. They cannot be blamed for influencing the city government in favor of their own organization. A leader whose popularity in his own union has gained him an administrative or legislative position must be condemned if he dissipates his opportunities in alliances with parties that exist and are maintained at the expense of and detriment to the laboring class. The Building Trades Council is an excellent school where native talent and ability can be developed and utilized. It is indeed a pity that this talent shall be consumed in the service of a political machinery of whatever name that feeds upon labor, but whose only return to labor are vague

promises. When the labor unions wake up to combine their strength in voting for candidates of their own party that will do their bidding as surely as the party of the employers now do theirs, there will be no necessity for any such strikes and lock-outs as now so frequently convulse the industrial body. Until that time the contractors ought to tolerate that the larger body is satisfied with the sops that an indulgent administration deigns to give.

The attitude of the general public has been very instructive. The combined moneyed interests, like the bankers and real estate dealers, showed early and clearly their sympathies. In response to a circular letter sent out by the Contractors' Council a document indorsing the action taken by the contractors was signed by more than a score of the most prominent business men and bankers in Chicago. A man whose former service as comptroller of the currency has opened for him a high position in Chicago, throws the weight of that position in favor of the contractors in a lengthy argument about the rights of employers to fix contracts. At a dinner of the Real Estate Board a member even went so far as to suggest, after having denounced the mayor for his non-committal attitude: "What is the use of monkeying with the politicians in the question? These fellows don't care what we say. The only way out of it is simply to tell them you can't put up a building and that you won't try. That's it. Starve it out! It's the only, only, only way."

A reverend doctor who preaches in a fashionable church on the West Side put the case thus: "God has said to man, 'Thou shalt labor.' The walking delegate says, 'Thou shalt not labor.' Who will win?" Here the contractor even receives divine sanction. The newspapers of Chicago who faithfully reflect the minds of the moneyed classes with few exceptions have been unsparing in their denunciations of the Building Trades Council. Inspired by the able press committee of the Building Contractors' Council, they were in the first months of the year frantic in exposing the shortcomings of the unions. As will happen in all strikes, acts of indiscretion and violence were committed, in which the papers saw violent threats of riot and mob rule and even demanded the calling out of the militia. But as time went on and the contractors were unable to secure scab-labor, things quieted down and the tone of the press also calmed. One paper has seen in the persistent refusal of the contractors to arbitrate a reason to lay part of the blame upon their shoulders. A new paper started for campaign purposes adopted at the beginning an opposite policy, denouncing at once the Building

*Chicago Record, May 18.

Contractors' Council and the Republican party as the oppressors of the poor and enemies to labor.

This unanimous animosity of the leisure classes towards labor organizations can not always be taken as individual hostility. It is rather the outcome of defective information and a reflection of class feeling. The reasoning faculty of the public is formed by social conditions and the sympathies of the unit is directed by class-distinctions. If the appearance of the case makes the class judgment plausible the individual does not hesitate to adopt it.

Let us impartially review the philosophy of the situation. The owner supplies the funds to build a house. The architect draws the plans and makes the specifications. Materials can be bought on the market. The laborers perform the work. For protection of the laborers unions have grown up. The history of the past has sufficiently vindicated their existence as desirable and necessary. Even the contractors have been careful to state that they wage no war upon the unions, they would lose all public sympathy if they did. In unionism has been the only strength of the laborer. If it is right for one set of men to combine for mutual advantage, it is certainly right for them to unite with another set. The strength of the industrial unions has increased immensely by the organization into a central body. The aim and purpose of the Building Trades' Council is a right and laudable one: that of self protection. There is a great difference between the organization of unions and that of capital,—the first protects men, lives, human happiness, the latter only things. There is a great similarity—both give effectiveness. As yet we have seen no limits to the growing organization of the latter, although many view it with apprehension as infringing upon human welfare. Why may we not expect that organizations whose sole aim is the welfare of the laborer should not grow in effectiveness? Why should not a bricklayer combine with a carpenter? Why should a plumber be excluded? Have not all laborers common interests that they need to guard unitedly? No doubt we will see in the future all labor organizations unite in common purpose and action, and who needs to fear the day? In power there is always a temptation to abuse, and the present conflict may have been averted, if the Building Trades Council had not overestimated its strength in enforcing existing contracts and made timely concessions. Whether the ultimate results would have been better is impossible to say.

And here comes the office of the contractor. His business is to correlate the capital of the owner with the labor of the men. It is his business to see that the adjustment of capital and labor is smooth and precise. He is the lubricator in the house building machinery. He is not the capitalist, has in many instances no

capital, as that is forthcoming from the owner as the work proceeds. He does nothing of the work, especially if he has large contracts, as the superintendence and skilled work is done by men paid for that purpose. His only office is to see that the work is done in the time stipulated. If he fails in this he fails in his office. All the friction that has existed in the past is only an indication of his inability to fill his office in the industrial process. The efficient railroad manager prevents strikes on his road by judicious actions. The efficient contractor will not run counter to his working rules or violate agreements with his men. And right here is the insecurity and difficulty in the contractor's position. He performs no essential part in the labor, but his position is only a pecuniary one. As in the clothing trade, the contractor or sweater, as he is called, has been found profitable to retain by the manufacturer, because he is more efficient than the latter to produce cheap labor. The contractor has to live by both the laborer and owner, and when the laborers are able to demand high wages, as they do in Chicago, the contractor must find room in which to turn. There are too many contractors in Chicago for the profits. The weaker ones need to be weeded out by long inactivity, during which their capital is consumed. The chief safeguard of the labor unions, the central body, must be broken down, and the unions handled singly. Add to that a season of depression, which must inevitably come, and the men will be willing to work for more reasonable wages. This is the programme of the contractors who expect to survive in the struggle for existence, and our popular inertia and fondness of clinging to established modes of industry assist the programme.

Lately some owners have continued their building with architects dealing directly with representatives of the men, and the experiment would be continued by others if the conspiracy between the architects, material dealers, and contractors did not bar the way. As it is, the men suffer, the public suffers, but we vindicate our policy of non-interference, that allows a few men to clog the wheels of industry, only because they will not allow thousands of other people to exercise a liberty which they themselves enjoy.

S. V. Lindholm.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITALY.

Italy is passing through the most critical period of its history after the revolution which gave it its unity and its constitution. Through this revolution the most active party of the bourgeoisie, aided by the working people, relieved us of foreign rulers, broke the temporal power of the pope, gave itself a representative constitutional government, to the end of winning, through suffrage, free meetings and a free press, the political administration and the control of public affairs, but socially it did not finish the work of the French revolution. That is to say that even today in Southern Italy we enjoy certain delights of the feudal systems, so that one may well say that the working class is caught between two evils, those which are derived from a capitalist system as yet imperfect, and those which remain to us from the ancient systems not yet entirely disappeared.

The revolution accomplished, our patriots of the bourgeoisie threw themselves upon the now unified Italian state, to cut their piece out of the rich cake. And the communal portion, the goods in mortmain in possession of the church, were confiscated and sold for almost nothing to the new men; the huge insanity of our parvenus makes Italy enter into the concert of European powers and into the triple alliance which brings us the heavy burdens of a war budget exceeding the resources of the country, and we even have to undertake colonial adventure in Africa to fill the pockets of the dealers in supplies, of the financiers, of the greedy politicians. The defeat of Adowa delivered us forever from Crispi and his gang, but there remains to us a budget very heavy and always with a surplus of passivity and a system of taxation which hampers every new activity in manufacturing and agriculture. Every milliard of net income is weighted down with a 24 per cent tax. Even the working class is over-taxed, if one considers that salt pays 15 cents per pound, and as for our intellectual level, we have still 42 per cent of illiterates.

Meanwhile the working class, which had gained very little, still received very slender wages (the women who rebelled in the rice fields near Bologne earned 14 cents per day for twelve hours with their legs in the water and their backs in the sun) while the price of wheat was increased by the import duties to \$1.10 and even to \$1.80 a bushel. So the working class detached themselves from the "patriots" and began to follow a policy of their own, adopting the socialist doctrines and opposing themselves to the whole class of the bourgeoisie. The attempts on the part of the bourgeois government to crush the socialist party and the labor

movement are continual. As bread riots are frequent in the south, the government and the ruling class take advantage of them to accuse the socialists and overwhelm them with volleys of musketry and centuries of prison. Molinella, Caltavutuvo, Partinico, etc., are bloody examples of the Calvary of the Italian proletariat, and Volterra and Pallanga are the Spielbergs of the new martyrs of the liberty and the emancipation of the working class. But the socialist party always springs up more alive, stronger and fuller of fight than ever, and especially in the north, where the industrial and economic movement is more advanced and civilization more diffused, it wins the sympathy of even a part of the little bourgeoisie, crushed under the weight of taxes and weary of a too costly administration, which obstructs all progress, every useful effort. The conservative class increases its attempts to stifle the movement of the workmen, which has already shown itself in a good number of cities and parliamentary seats captured by the socialists and republicans, and in a series of strikes for higher wages and shorter hours. Profiting by a recent revolt of starvation provoked by the high cost of bread in the south, which excited a certain agitation in the most populous centers of Florence, Milan, Pavia, etc., in May, 1898, the conservatives demand a state of siege, volleys, war bureaus. Results, certain citizens stretched out on the pavements and certain others in cells.

Strong in these exploits the conservative bourgeoisie who stand for Italy superannuates, retrograde, denying the conquests of the Revolution which had served to put them in control, wish to suppress the liberty of the press, of meetings, of unions and strikes, and they even would like to limit the right of suffrage, because these means assist a new class, that of the workers, to become strong, and to put forth its own word in the administration of public affairs.

The government, which for a number of years has merely expressed the will of the chamber, but which is chosen by the king at his pleasure independently of the parliament, from his generals and senators, of whom the incumbent president-general Pelloux is a type,—this government, in order to stifle the socialist propaganda, proposes two political measures which are real restrictions of the liberties sanctioned by the statute, the compact sworn between the people and the king by the plebiscites.

To the measures of the reactionary mass and its government is opposed the Extreme Left, represented by the socialists, the republicans and the radicals. Many victories have been obtained with the amnesty decreed by the people and bestowed upon those condemned by military tribunals but acquitted by the popular juries and by the investigations of the press, and of the popular parties united in the defense of liberty. By parliamentary ob-

struction the discussion of reactionary measures has been prevented.

Unable to triumph legally, the government closes the Chamber and assumes to give authority to its leaders by a royal decree. But the Supreme Court of Cassation decides against it, and it then presents its measures anew in the Chamber. And the obstruction begins again. Unable to conquer, the majority then conceives the idea of gagging the Extreme Left in the parliament and proposes to adopt on short notice by showing of hands a new code of parliamentary law called the Guillotine, which gives the President such powers to nullify the will of the minority, that the rule ought justly to be disregarded.

The struggle is becoming more bitter, and this time, even the constitutional liberal Left with its leaders, Zanardelli and Giolitti, is making common cause with the Extreme Left and is opposing any violation of the statute.

Many incidents show the ignoble spirit of Colombo, the President of the Chamber, and his party, and the noble spirit of the party of the Extreme Left, which in this struggle wins the support of the strongest and noblest minds of our country, such as D'Annunzio the poet-novelist, Pantaleoni the economist and Lombroso the sociologist.

Finally the government, once more unable to get the active support of parliament in its illegal acts, dissolves the Chamber and appeals to the voters by asking the country to solve this question, Whether the minority has the right to obstruct the parliamentary work of the majority?

The Extreme Left and the liberal Left answer by putting the question in these terms, Whether the majority has the right to undo that which the Italian people have conquered, the statute and its liberties, and whether it has the right to slaughter the minority once for all by depriving it by a new rule of the legal means of opposing any reactionary reform or any economic measure profitable to the conservative ruling class. And the country replied by doubling the socialist group, which from 16 reaches the number of 32 representatives in the Chamber, by increasing the republican group from 24 to 27, the radical group from 24 to 32, and the whole Extreme Left from 64 to 94 seats. And more significant still, the country relieves Milan, the moral capital of Italy, from all its reactionaries, and among them that Colombo who was the infamous President of the Chamber in its last sessions.

And there is everywhere an awakening of new energy among the working people and the small bourgeoisie, who range themselves on the side of the popular parties, and who demand the end of this outworn monarchical regime, of this foolish, reactionary bourgeoisie, which finds its adherents and its support only in

the impoverished and backward south, patient under oppressive taxes and enforced labor, where servility and corruption are still magnificent instruments of domination and victories for the masters of the hour. But even in the south these elections have shown something of an awakening, in spite of the violence and the corruption exercised, and three socialist deputies have been elected: one at Naples and two in Sicily. The beginning of the work of purification and renewal of the political character of these proletarians accomplished with much courage by the socialists has given magnificent results. The start is made, and more will follow.

In the north whole provinces are conquered by the socialist and anti-monarchical propaganda. The socialists who ten years ago counted only 3 delegates now count 32, have polled more than 170,000 votes, are represented in 372 towns, and possess a daily newspaper, "Avanti" (Forward), a bi-monthly review edited by Turati: "Critica Sociale" (Social Critic), and 52 weekly newspapers.

But the more strength the organized proletariat acquires, so much the more obstinacy and bitterness does the conservative class put into its opposition. It is thus that the conflict is on between the new Italy, which includes labor, intelligence, and a part of the capitalists of the more civilized and modernized bourgeoisie of the north, and the old Italy, which includes the wheel horses of politics, the clans of the south, the largest cotton manufacturers, the ship builders, the landlords, the king and the army, this conflict is far from ending. The struggle will be great in proportion to the foolish obstinacy of the parties of reaction, but whether it be long or short, whether with or without bloodshed,—I can not prophesy, but following the experience of the past it should be easy to foresee,—the final result is not to be feared; it will mark the triumph of the new Italy.

And the socialist party, having acquired the right of existence which at present is every day contested, will be able to continue its way along the lines of the class struggle, to finish its word of emancipation for the workers, whence for the moment it has been forced to suspend to procure for itself anew the oxygen of liberty. Nevertheless the struggle continues most beautifully.

Alessandro Schiavi.

THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

The present movement is not a favorable one for the working-class movement in this country, or for a review of its progress and prospects. The whole nation, with a few honorable exceptions, is suffering from a bad attack of jingo madness. So far as it has any organic existence, or any articulate collective voice, the working-class is against the war. But that does not alter the fact that the great bulk of the working people, as of every other class, has gone rabidly jingo. The best known men in the working-class movement have pronounced against the war, but they have, most of them, been rather backward in doing so, and so in the main their opposition has been ineffectual, and at the present time the rank and file could not be counted upon to back their leaders in an attitude of opposition to the prevailing jingoism. Had these leaders come out boldly twelve months ago it is more than likely that the war might have been prevented. We of the Social-Democratic Federation did what we could, and we received the support of one or two members of Parliament, but the majority of the labor members stood aloof, just at the time when their services in the cause of peace would have been most valuable. The difficulty seems to be that among these men there is a tendency to separate what they call "labor questions" from general politics; and so they appeared to regard the war as a matter upon which "from a labor point of view," they were not called upon to express an opinion. That idea has been fatal to any useful purpose their opinion might have served. For it cannot, I think, be denied that the war has done incalculable mischief, even so far as domestic and "labor" questions are concerned, quite apart from the wider issues of the rights and wrongs of the conflict itself.

At the beginning of the present session of Parliament the ministry were good enough to inform us, in the "Queen's Speech," that the present time was "not propitious for social legislation." The moral was obvious, if only the workers had taken the trouble to notice it. You cannot have your cake and eat it too; and the money which has been spent on lyddite shells, dum-dum bullets, and other warlike trifles for the delectation of the Boers is not available for providing old age pensions, better dwellings, or an improved system of education for the British people. It is always to the interest of the master class to divert the attention of the workers from their own affairs by stirring up foreign strife, and in this case they seem to have done it with unqualified success. The miserable slum-dweller does not know that he is miserable, does not know that his dwelling is a slum and not a palace so long

as he feels assured that "Bobs" is smashing "old Kroojer," and he can sing "Gawd Save the Queen" and "Rule Britannia." It is of much more importance to him that the British should be successful in defeating the Boers in South Africa than that he should be successful in getting better conditions of life for himself at home, and it does not matter in the least that he and his wife and children starve so long as "Gawd" in his goodness will save the Queen. And yet it is said that working people are selfish! The one thing these facts demonstrate is that it is impossible to detach labor questions from general politics, and that our masters are quite aware of this fact even if labor leaders are not.

Thus, then, thanks to the ignorance of the workers, their lack of organization and their readiness to be misled by the specious pretexts of patriotism, added to the inaptitude and apathy of their leaders, jingoism is rampant and any progressive movement among them has been almost brought to a standstill. We are within a few months of a general election. There is a very widespread impression that it will take place almost immediately, and in any case it cannot be delayed for more than a few months. The Tories, now in office, are all powerful, and, whenever the election takes place, they will, there is little doubt, be returned with an increased majority. The Liberal party has resolved itself into its elements, a mere collection of incoherent and incongruous atoms. There was precious little life in it before, but this war has smashed it completely, as many of the best known Liberals are quite as jingo as any of the Tories. So far as the official opposition, the Liberal party, is concerned, therefore, the government will have it all its own way at the election, let it come when it may, and apart from the Liberal party there is no opposition at all, that is no opposition strong enough to make a show in the House of Commons. We of the S. D. F. have several candidates in the field, and there are some prospects of success at least in certain of the constituencies. The Independent Labor Party, too, is putting forward candidates in a number of places, but at most the two combined, even if successful beyond all hopes, will do no more than constitute the nucleus of a party or group in the House of Commons.

Early in the present month a conference was held representative of the Socialist organizations and the trade unions, and to which the co-operative societies were invited, to form a combination to secure the better representation of labor in Parliament. A committee has been appointed by the conference consisting of members of the trade unions, the S. D. F. and I. L. P. and the Fabian Society. The aim of the committee is to secure the co-operation of these various sections for the support of any candidate any one of them may put forward. Some of our friends are very sanguine about this committee, and anticipate great results from its efforts. I fear, however, that not very much will come of

it. The organizations represented on the committee number some two hundred thousand members, and if all these members were like some—active, class conscious Socialists—the committee would be a power to be reckoned with. But the bulk of the members of the trades unions are nothing of the kind. Although many of their officials and most active men are Socialists, and although the Trade Union Congress passes Socialist resolutions every year, the majority of the rank and file of the trade unions are Liberals or Tories or nothing at all. We hear a great deal about the trade union movement, but really there is no such “movement.” There are strong, well organized, well equipped, wealthy trade unions, but they do not constitute a movement. As a political force they practically have no existence. Even in those few cases where a trade union sends a member to the House of Commons, he goes as the representative of that section, that trade, not as a representative of the working-class as a whole, to voice its aspirations and ideas, but simply to safeguard the trade interests of a section, and perfectly free to be as reactionary as he likes on any other matter. Under the circumstances, it is encouraging that the labor members are as good as they are, but the circumstance does not give such ground for hoping great things from a committee depending so largely upon a trade union backing. Such a backing will only be useful and reliable when it becomes Socialist, and it is encouraging to know that in spite of all the reactionary influences at work, Socialism is steadily making progress in the ranks of the trade unions. But until they really are Socialist, to attempt to combine them into one party with the Socialist organizations, pure and simple, is at best a doubtful experiment. It is one thing to endeavor to escape from the reproach of being a mere sect, and to try to form a representative working-class party, it is another thing to attempt to combine in such a party bodies whose ideas are dissimilar, whose aspirations are not the same, and who are not agreed on general principles. The most that can be hoped from such a combination, it seems to me, is that it will provide against the various sections fighting each other, which has in the past been a cause of considerable ill-feeling and some scandal.

It may be gathered from the foregoing that the immediate political outlook for the working-class movement here is not particularly bright. It must not, therefore, be thought, however, that the movement is out of heart, or that we see any reason to be gloomy or cast down. All the time, in spite of drawbacks and discouragements we keep pegging away and we also have the satisfaction of seeing the movement make steady progress. Every day sees us take a step forward, and if the steps are not the strides we should like to take, “slow and sure” is a good motto. It is better to make haste slowly than too fast or to make no progress at all.

H. Quelch.

SOCIALISM AND THE INTELLECTUALS.

Note by the Translator.—This address, although delivered in France and called out by recent developments there, is most timely and important for us in America. Here also the socialist movement has grown to the point where the brain workers are joining it, and it rests with themselves to say whether they shall be a mighty help or a petty hindrance. If they spend their strength in trying to change the character of the movement by making it "broad" enough to take in all amiable exploiters, if they build up factional organizations to preach socialism with the class struggle left out,—then they will waste their labor, they will make themselves ridiculous, they will delay the progress of socialism a little, not very much. But if they realize that the laborers of the international socialist movement have a firm grasp on the most important scientific truths ever discovered, and if they will frankly join the movement as comrades, not as self-appointed leaders, their training and ability will be of the utmost service in dealing with the serious problems that attend the break-up of capitalism and the building of the social order of the future.

C. H. K.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT PARIS MARCH 23, 1900, AT A MEETING CALLED BY THE GROUP OF COLLECTIVIST STUDENTS ATTACHED TO THE PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS, BY PAUL LAFARGUE. TRANSLATED BY CHARLES H. KERR.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am happy to deliver this address under the presidency of Vaillant, because it is a pledge of the close and lasting union between our two organizations, and because Vaillant is one of the intellectuals of the socialist party; he is acknowledged to be the most learned of French socialists and perhaps of European socialists, now that Marx, Engels and Lavroff are no longer with us.

The group of collectivist students which has organized this conference, has been led to choose this subject, because French socialism has just passed through a crisis which is not exactly one of growth, though such it has been called, but which has been caused by the arrival of a certain number of bourgeois intellectuals within the ranks of the party. It is therefore interesting to examine the situation of the intellectuals in capitalized society, their historic role since the revolution of 1789, and the manner in which the bourgeoisie has kept the promise it made them when it was struggling against the aristocracy.

The eighteenth century was the century of reason—everything, religion, philosophy, science, politics, privileges of classes, of the state, of municipalities, was submitted to its pitiless criticism. Never in history had there been such a fermentation of ideas and such a revolutionary preparation of men's minds. Mirabeau, who himself played a great role in the ideological agitation, might well say in the national assembly: "We have no time to think, but happily, we have a supply of ideas." All that was needed was to realize them. Capitalism, to reward the intellectuals who had labored with so much enthusiasm for the coming of the revolution, promised them honors and favors; in-

telligence and wisdom, as well as virtue should be the sole privileges of the society it was founding upon the ruins of the old order. Promises cost it little; it announced to all men that it brought them joy and happiness, with liberty, equality and fraternity, which, although eternal principles, were now born for the first time. Its social world was to be so new that even before the Republic was proclaimed, Camille Desmoulin demanded that they begin a new era which should date from the taking of the Bastille.

I need not teach you what application capitalism has made of these eternal principles which by way of cynical raillery, she carves on the lintels of her prisons, her penitentiaries, her barracks and her halls of state.* I will only remind you that savage and barbarous tribes, uncorrupted by civilization, living under the regime of common property, without inscribing anywhere these eternal principles, without ever formulating them, practice them in a manner more perfect than ever was dreamed of by the capitalists who discovered them in 1789.

It did not take long to determine the value of the promises of capitalism; the very day it opened its political shop, it commenced proceedings in bankruptcy. The constituent assembly, which formulated the rights of man and of the citizen and proclaimed equality before the law, discussed and voted, in 1790, an electoral act which established inequality before the law; no one was to be a voter but the "active citizen" paying in money a direct tax equal to three days' labor, and no one was to be eligible to office but the citizen paying a direct tax of a "silver mark," about 55 francs. "But under the law of the silver mark," clamored Loustalot, Desmoulin and the intellectualists without real estate, "Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose 'Social Contract' is the bible of the revolution, would be capable neither of voting nor of holding office." The electoral law deprived so many citizens of political rights, that in the municipal elections of 1795, at Paris, a city which counted about half a million inhabitants, there were but 12,000 voters, Bailly was chosen mayor by 10,000 votes.

If the eternal principles were not new, it is also true that the flattering promises made by the intellectuals had already begun to be realized before the advent of capitalism to power. The church, which is a theoretic democracy, opens her bosom to all. That they may enter, all lay aside their titles and privileges, and all can aspire to the highest positions; popes have risen from the lower ranks of society. Sixtus Fifth had in his youth tended swine. The church of the middle ages jealously attracted to herself the thinkers and men of learning, although she respected the wishes of those who wished to remain laymen, but extended

*Ever since the French Revolution the law has required the words "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite" to be placed over the door of every public building in France.—Translator.

over them her protection and her favors; she allowed them all boldness of thought, on the single condition of keeping up the appearance of faith, and never leaving her enclosure to lavish themselves upon the vulgar. Thus Copernicus might write and dedicate to the pope his "treatise on the revolution of the celestial bodies," in which, contrary to the teaching of the Bible, he proves that the earth turns around the sun. But Copernicus was a canon at Frannbourg and he wrote in Latin. When a century later Galileo, who was not identified with the clergy and who on the contrary sought the protection of the secular authorities, professed publicly, at Venice and Florence, the theories of Copernicus, the Vatican stretched out its terrible hand over him and forced the illustrious old man to deny his scientific belief. Even after the crisis of Protestantism, the church preserved its liberality toward the scientists who belonged to it. Mersenne, a monk of the order of the Minimes, one of the great geometers of the seventeenth century, a precursor and friend of Descartes, corresponded freely with Hobbes, the father of modern materialism; the notes of the French edition of "De Cive" contain fragments of this correspondence.

The church, in keeping up this liberal conduct, may have been animated by a disinterested love of pure science, but what chiefly concerned her was the interest of her dominancy; she wished to monopolize the intellectuals and science, just as in the old theocratic Egypt the priests had done to whom the Greek thinkers resorted in search of the first elements of science and philosophy.

It would be insulting capitalism to attribute to it a disinterested love of science, which from its point of view has no reason for existence except on the sole condition of utilizing natural forces to the enhancement of its wealth. It cares nothing for pure speculation and it is by way of self-defence that it allows its scientists to devote their mental energy to theoretic researches instead of exhausting it on practical applications. This contempt for pure speculation is shown under a philosophic form in the positivism of Auguste Comte, who embodies so well the narrowness of the groveling spirit of capitalism.

But if science apart from its industrial applications does not interest the bourgeoisie their solicitude for the intellectuals takes on none of the forms which we saw in that of the church, and nowhere is their indifference to them better shown than in the relative position of material property and of intellectual property before the law.

Material property, whatever its origin, is by capitalist law a thing eternal; it is forever assured to its possessor; it is handed down from father to son to the end of the centuries, and no civil or political power may lay upon it a sacrilegious hand. We have lately seen a characteristic example of this inviolability of material property.

The keeper of the signal station at Durban transmitted to the Boers heliographic dispatches informing them regarding the ships which entered the harbor, the men, the horses and the munitions of war which they transported. His treason brought him 125,000 francs, which, like an intelligent capitalist, he deposited in the bank. The English military authorities seized the traitor, condemned him and shot him, but they respected his property so honorably acquired, and his widow and son are now its legitimate possessors. The law, apart from certain variations, being the same in all capitalist countries, things go on in France as in England. No authority could lay hand on the property of Bazaine, nor make De Lesseps, Cottu and their families disgorge the millions artfully extracted from the "lambs" on Panama canal stock.

This legal sanctity of property is a new thing, in France it dates from the revolution of 1789. The old regime, which had small respect for this sort of property, authorized the confiscation of the property of those legally condemned, and the abolition of confiscation is one of the first reforms demanded in the petitions of Paris and several provincial cities to the states general. Capitalism, by forbidding the confiscation of property obtained by fraudulent and infamous means, proclaims that the source of its fortune is quite as fraudulent and infamous as that of criminals and traitors.

Capitalist law has none of these amenities for intellectual property. Literary and artistic property such as the law protects at all has but a precarious life, limited to the life of the author and a certain time after his death—fifty years according to the latest legislation; that time passed, it lapses into common property; for example, beginning with March of this year, any publisher has the right to bring out for his own profit the works of Balzac, the genius of romantic literature.

Literary property, though a matter of interest to publishers, who are certainly few in number, brings no benefit to the mass of the capitalist class, but not so with property in inventions which is of prime importance to all the manufacturing and mercantile capitalists. Consequently over it the law extends no protection. The inventor, if he wishes to defend his intellectual property against capitalist pirates, must begin by buying that right, taking out a patent, which he must renew every year; on the day he misses a payment, his intellectual property becomes the lawful prey of the robbers of capitalism. Even if he pays, he can secure that right only for a time; in France, fourteen years. And during these few years, not long enough generally to get his invention fully introduced into practical industry, it is he, the inventor, who at his own expense has to set in motion the machinery of the law against the capitalist pirates who rob him.

The trade-mark, which is a capitalistic property that never required any intellectual effort, is on the contrary indefinitely protected by law like material property.

It is with reluctance that the capitalist class has granted the inventor the right of defending his intellectual property, for by virtue of its position as the ruling class it regards itself as entitled to the fruits of intellectual labor as well as of manual labor; just as the feudal lord asserted his right of possession over the property of his serfs. The history of the inventions of our century is the monstrous story of their spoliation by the capitalists; it is a long and melancholy roll of martyrs. The inventor, by the very fact of his genius, is condemned with his family to ruin and suffering.

It is not only inventions requiring long and laborious study, heavy outlay for their completion and long time for their introduction, that plunge the inventor into the inferno of poverty; this is equally true of inventions that are most simple, most immediately applicable and most fertile in rich results. I will mention but one example: there lately died at Paris in extreme poverty a man whose invention saves millions of francs a year to the railroads and mining companies; he had discovered a way to utilize the mountains of coal dust that encumbered the neighborhood of wharfs and mines by converting it into "briquettes," such as are today in common use for fuel.

The capitalist bourgeoisie, the most revolutionary class that ever oppressed human societies, cannot increase its wealth without continuously revolutionizing the means of production, continuously incorporating into its industrial equipment new applications of mechanics, chemistry and physics. Its thirst for inventions is so insatiable that it creates factories for inventions. Certain American capitalists united in constructing for Edison at Menlo Park the most wonderful laboratory in the world, and in putting at his disposal trained scientists, chosen workmen, and the ordinary materials necessary to make and keep on making inventions which the capitalists patent, exploit or sell. Edison, who is himself a shrewd business man, has taken care to secure for himself a part of the benefits brought by the Menlo Park inventions.

But not all inventors are able like Edison to dictate terms to the capitalists who equip invention factories. The Thompson-Houston Company at Paris and Siemens at London and Berlin,* in connection with their plants for turning out electrical machinery, have laboratories where ingenious men are kept busy

*It is a well-known fact that in the American establishments of these and similar companies each workman before receiving employment must sign papers transferring to the corporation the title to all inventions made by him while in its service.—Translator.

searching out new applications of electricity. At Frankfort the manufactory of aniline dyes, the largest in the world, where anti-pyrine, that mineral quinine, was discovered, keeps on its pay roll more than a hundred chemists to discover new products in the prolific waters of coal-tar. Each discovery is at once patented by the house, which, by way of encouragement, gives a reward to the inventor.

We may up to a certain point regard all factories and workshops as laboratories for inventions, since a considerable number of improvements in machinery have been devised by workmen in the course of their work. The inventor having no money to patent and apply his discovery, the employer takes out the patent in his own name, and in accordance with the spirit of capitalist justice, it is he who reaps all the benefit. When the government takes it into its head to reward talent, it is the employer who receives the decoration; the inventive workman, who is not an intellectual, continues to revolve like the other machines under the black and greasy number which distinguishes him, and as in this capitalist world he must be content with little, he consoles himself for his poverty by the reflection that his invention is bringing wealth and honor to his employer.

The capitalist class, which to increase its wealth is in pressing need of inventions, is in even more imperative need of intellectuals to supervise their application and to direct its industrial machinery. The capitalists, before they equipped invention factories, had organized factories to turn out intellectuals. Dollfus, Scherer-Kestner and other employees of Alsace, the most intelligent, most philanthropic and consequently the heaviest exploiters in France before the war, had founded with their spare pennies at Mulhouse, schools of design, of chemistry and of physics, where the brightest children of their workmen were instructed gratis, in order that they might always have at hand and at a reasonable figure the intellectual capacities required for carrying on their industries. Twenty years ago the directors of the Mulhouse school persuaded the municipal council of Paris to establish the city school of chemistry and physics. At the beginning, whether it is still the case I do not know, the pupils were recruited in the common schools, they received a higher education, gratis, a dinner at noon at the school, and 50 francs a month to indemnify the parents for the loss from the fact that their sons were not in the workshop.

On the platform of the constituent assembly of 1790 the Marquis of Foucault could declare that to be a laborer it was not necessary to know how to read and write. The necessities of industrial production compel the capitalist of today to speak in language altogether different; his economic interests and not his

love of humanity and of science force him to encourage and to develop both elementary and higher education.

But the slave merchants of ancient Rome were, by the same title, patrons of education. To the more intelligent of their human merchandise they gave instruction in medicine, philosophy, Greek literature, music, etc. The education of the slave enhanced his market value. The slave who was an expert cook brought a better figure than the slave doctor, philosopher or literator. In our days it is still so; the big capitalists pay their chief cooks better than the state pays the professors of liberal arts, even though they be members of the institute. But contrary to the practice of the Roman slave merchants, our capitalist class lavishes instruction only in order to depress the selling price of intellectual capacity.

Jaures in his preface to the Socialist History of France says that "the intellectual Bourgeoisie, offended by a brutal and commercial society and disenchanted with the bourgeois power, is rallying to the support of socialism." Unfortunately nothing could be less exact. This transformation of the intellectual faculties into merchandise, which ought to have filled the intellectuals with wrath and indignation, leaves them indifferent. Never would the free citizen of the ancient republics of Athens and Rome have submitted to such degradation. The free man who sells his work, says Cicero, lowers himself to the rank of the slaves. Socrates and Plato were indignant against the Sophists who required pay for their philosophic teaching, for to Socrates and Plato thought was too noble a thing to be bought and sold like carrots and shoes. Even the French clergy of 1789 resented as a mortal insult the proposition to pay a salary for worship. But our intellectuals are accustoming themselves to such degradation.

Spurred on by the mercantile passion, they are never better satisfied with themselves or with society than when they succeed in selling their intellectual merchandise at a good price; they have even come to the point of making its selling price the measure of its value. Zola, who is one of the most distinguished representatives of literary intellectualism, estimates the artistic value of a novel by the number of editions sold. To sell their intellectual merchandise has become in them such an all-absorbing principle that if one speaks to them of socialism, before they inquire into its theories, they ask whether in the socialistic society intellectual labor will be paid for and whether it will be rewarded equally with manual labor.

Imbeciles! they have eyes but they see not that it is the capitalist bourgeoisie which establishes that degrading equality; and to increase its wealth degrades intellectual labor to the point of paying it at a lower rate than manual labor.

We should have to put off the triumph of socialism not to the year 2000 but to the end of the world if we had to wait upon the delicate, shrinking and impressionable hesitancy of the intellectuals. The history of the century is at hand to teach us just how much we have a right to expect from these gentlemen.

Since 1789 governments of the most diverse and opposed character have succeeded each other in France; and always, without hesitation the intellectuals have hastened to offer their devoted services. I am not merely speaking of those two-for-a-cent intellectuals who litter up the newspapers, the parliaments and the economic associations; but I mean the scientists, the university professors, the members of the Institute; the higher they raise their heads, the lower they bow the knee.

Princes of science, who ought to have conversed on equal terms with kings and emperors, have marketed their glory to buy offices and favors from ephemeral ministers. Cuvier, one of the mightiest geniuses of the modern era, whom the revolution took from the household of a nobleman to make of him at 25 years one of the museum professors, Cuvier took the oath of allegiance and served with fidelity the Republic, Napoleon, Louis XVIII, Charles X and Louis Philippe, the last of whom created him a peer of France to reward him for his career of servility.

To devote one's self to all governments without distinction is not enough. Pasteur placed his glorious name at the service of the financiers, who placed him in the administrative council of the Credit Foncier, side by side with Jules Simon, with dukes and counts, with senators, deputies and ex-ministers, in order to entrap the "lamb." When De Lesseps was equipping his colossal swindle of the Panama canal, he enrolled the intellectuals of the Institute, of the French Academy, of literature, of the clergy, of all the circles of higher life.

It is not in the circle of the intellectuals, degraded by centuries of capitalist oppression, that we must seek examples of civic courage and moral dignity. They have not even the sense of professional class-consciousness. At the time of the Dreyfus affair, a certain minister bounced, as if he had been a mere prison guard, one of the professors of chemistry in the Polytechnic school who had had the rare courage to give public expression to his opinion. When in a factory the employer dismisses a workman in too arbitrary a fashion, his comrades grumble, and sometimes quit work, even though misery and hunger await them in the street.

All his colleagues in the Polytechnic school bowed their heads in silence; each one crouched in self-regarding fear, and what is still more characteristic, not a single partisan of Dreyfus in the Society of the Rights of Man or in the ranks of the press raised a voice to remind them of the idea of professional solidarity. The intellectuals who on all occasions display their transcendental

ethics, have still a long road to travel before they reach the moral plane of the working class and of the socialist party.

The scientists have not only sold themselves to the governments and the financier; they have also sold science itself to the capitalist-bourgeoisie. When in the eighteenth century there was need to prepare the minds of men for revolution, by sapping the ideologic foundations of aristocratic society, then science fulfilled its sublime mission of freedom; it was revolutionary; it furiously attacked Christianity and the intuitional philosophy. But when the victorious bourgeoisie decided to base its new power on religion, it commanded its socialists, its philosophers and its men of letters to raise up what they had overthrown; they responded to the need with enthusiasm. They reconstructed what they had demolished; they proved by scientific, sentimental and romantic argument the existence of God the father, of Jesus the son and of Mary the virgin mother. I do not believe history offers a spectacle equal to that presented in the first years of the nineteenth century by the philosophers, the scientists and the literary men, who from revolutionaries and materialists suddenly transformed themselves into reactionaries, intuitionalists and Catholics.

This backward movement still continues; when Darwin published his *Origin of Species*, which took away from God his robe of creator in the organic world, as Franklin had despoiled him of his thunderbolt, we saw the scientists, big and little, university professors and members of the Institute, enrolling themselves under the orders of Flourens, who for his own part had at least his eighty years for an excuse, that they might demolish the Darwinian theory, which was displeasing to the government and hurtful to religious beliefs. The intellectuals exhibited that painful spectacle in the fatherland of Lanark and of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the creators of the evolution theory, which Darwin completed and defended against criticism.

Today, now that the clerical anxiety is somewhat appeased, the scientists venture to profess the evolution theory, which they never opposed without a protest from their scientific conscience, but they turn it against socialism so as to keep in the good graces of the capitalists. Herbert Spencer, Haeckel and the greatest men in the school of Darwinism demonstrate that the classification of individuals into rich and poor, idlers and laborers, capitalists and wage-earners, is the necessary result of the inevitable laws of nature, instead of being the fulfillment of the law and the justice of God. Natural selection, they say, which has differentiated the organs of the human body, has forever fixed the ranks and the functions of the social body. They have, through servility, even lost the logical spirit. They are indignant against Aristotle because he, being unable to conceive of the abolition of

slavery, declared that the slave was marked off by nature; but they fail to see that they are saying something equally monstrous when they affirm that natural selection assigns to each one his place in society.

Thus it is no longer God or religion which lead the workers to wretchedness,—it is science. Never was there an intellectual bankruptcy more fraudulent.

M. Brunetieres, one of those intellectuals who do not feel their degradation and who joyfully fulfill their servile task, was right when he proclaimed the failure of science. He does not suspect how colossal this bankruptcy is.

Science, the great emancipator, which has tamed the powers of nature, and might in so doing have freed man from toil so that he could develop freely his faculties of mind and body; science, become the slave of capital, has done nothing but supply means for capitalists to increase their wealth, and to intensify their exploitation of the working class. Its most wonderful applications to industrial technique have brought to the children, the women and the men of the working class nothing but overwork and misery!

The middle-class revolutionary party of 1789 cried out in horror and indignation against the lords, who through the long summer nights compelled their servants to beat the ponds near their castles in order to keep the frogs from croaking. What would they say if they saw what we see? Improvements in lighting date from the capitalist period. At the end of the last century Argant and Carcel invented the lamp with a double current of air, at the beginning of this Chevreul invented the stearic candle, then gas was discovered, then petroleum, then the electric light, turning night into day. What benefits have these scientific improvements in lighting brought to the workers? They have enabled employers to impose night work upon millions of proletarians, no longer in the midsummer nights and in the balmy air of the fields, but through nights of summer and winter in the poisonous air of the workshops and factories. The industrial applications of mechanics and chemistry have transformed the happy and stimulating work of the artisan into a torture which exhausts and kills the proletarian.

When Science subdued the forces of nature to the service of man, ought she not to have given leisure to the workers that they might develop themselves physically and intellectually; ought she not to have changed the "vale of tears" into a dwelling place of peace and joy? I ask you, has not Science failed in her mission of emancipation?

The obtuse capitalist himself is conscious of this failure; so he directs his economists and his other intellectual domestics to prove to the working class that it has never been so happy and that its lot goes on improving.

The economists, considering that to deserve the good graces of the capitalists it was not enough to falsify economic facts, are suppressing economic science, which is becoming dangerous for the domination of capital. Since Adam Smith and Ricardo they limit themselves to sifting over the same errors regarding value, regarding the productivity of the predatory and idle capitalist, to compiling facts and arranging statistics which guide the capitalists in their speculations; but they dare not draw conclusions and build systems with the materials that they have accumulated. When Ricardo wrote, the phenomena of modern production were beginning their evolution, their communist tendencies could not be perceived, one could then study them without taking sides and could build up a science without fear of wounding the interests of capital. But now that they have arrived at their full development and show clearly their communal tendencies, the economists put out their own eyes that they may not see, and they wage war against the principles established by Ricardo, which after having served as a basis for the old bourgeois economy, have become the points of departure of the Marxian economy. To take a whack at the socialist theories and put themselves at the service of the financiers, like barkers and fakirs of their bogus goods, are the intellectual functions of the economists. Latterly the owners of silver mines have enlisted them to sing the praises of bimetalism, while Cecil Rhodes, Barnato, Beil, Robbers & Company called them in to boom the Transvaal gold mines.

The intellectuals of art and literature, like the jesters of the old feudal courts, are the entertainers of the class which pays them. To satisfy the tastes of the capitalists and beguile their leisure,—this is their whole artistic aim. The men of letters are so well broken to this servile duty that they do not understand the spirit of Moliere, their great ancestor, all the while that they adore the letter of his works. Moliere is the writer most written about in France; learned men have devoted themselves to gathering up the scattered fragments of his erratic and careless youth, to fixing the date and the hour of the representations of his comedies; if they had unearthed an authentic piece of excrement from him they would have set it in gold and would kiss it devotedly, but the spirit of Moliere escapes them. You have read, as I have, many critical analyses of his dramas. Did you ever find one of them which brought out in clear light the role of this militant playwright, who more than a century before Beaumarchais and before the revolution, at Versailles, in the very court of the great monarch, thrust at the nobility of the court and of the provinces, attacked the church before which Descartes and the rest trembled, hurled his jests at Aristotle, the unquestioned authority of La Sorbonne, that secular church; who ridiculed the Pyrrhonism which the neo-Kantians of our own days oppose to the materialist

philosophy of Marxian socialism, but which then was the weapon of the Catholics, of Pascal, of Huet, the bishop of Avranches, to strike and to overthrow human reason, with its impudent desire of reaching knowledge by its own strength. Pitiful, wretched reason, clamored these Kantians before Kant, you can know nothing without the aid of faith! Moliere is unique in European literature, you must go back to the epoch of imperial Athens to find his counterpart in Aristophanes.

If the bourgeois critics timidly and unintelligently mention this side of Moliere, there is another of which their ignorance is complete. Moliere was the man of his class, the champion of the bourgeois class. Like the socialists who say to the workers, "Break with the liberal bourgeoisie, which deceives you when it does not slaughter you;" he cried to the Georges Dandins and to the "bourgeois noblemen," "Avoid the nobles like pests; they deceive you, mock you and rob you."

The great capitalist bourgeoisie does not choose to work, either with its hands or its brain; it chooses merely to drink, to eat, to practice lewdness and to look dignified in its beastly and cumbersome luxury; it does not even deign to occupy itself with politics; men like Rothschild, De Lesseps, Vanderbilt, Carnegie, Rockefeller, do not run for office; they find it more economical to buy the officers than the voters, and more convenient to put their clerks into the ministries than to take part in parliamentary struggles. The big capitalists interest themselves only in the operations of the stock exchange, which afford the delights of gambling; they dignify these by the pompous name of "speculations,"—a word formerly reserved for the highest processes of philosophical or mathematical thought. The capitalists are replacing themselves in the supervision and management of the great industrial and commercial enterprises by intellectuals, who carry them on, and usually are well paid for doing so. These intellectuals of industry and politics, the privileged portion of the wage class, imagine that they are an integral part of the capitalist class, while they are only its servants; on every occasion they take up its defense against the working class, which finds in them its worst enemies.

Intellectuals of this description can never be led into socialism; their interests are too closely bound to the capitalist class for them to detach themselves and turn against it. But below these favored few there is a swarming and famishing throng of intellectuals whose lot grows worse in proportion to the increase of their numbers. These intellectuals belong to socialism. They ought to be already in our ranks. It ought to be true that their education would have given them intelligence to deal with social problems, but it is this very education which obstructs their hearing and keeps them away from socialism. They think their

education confers on them a social privilege, that it will permit them to get through the world by themselves, each making his own way in life by crowding his neighbor or standing on the shoulders of everyone else. They imagine that their poverty is transitory and that they only need a stroke of good luck to transform them into capitalists. Education, they think, is the lucky number in the social lottery, and it will bring them the grand prize. They do not perceive that this ticket given them by the capitalist class is fixed, that labor, whether manual or intellectual, has no chance to do more than earn its daily pittance, that it has nothing to hope for but to be exploited, and that the more capitalism goes on developing, the more do the chances of an individual raising himself out of his class go on diminishing.

And while they build castles in Spain, capital crushes them, as it has crushed the little merchants and the little manufacturers, who thought they, too, with free credit and a little luck, might become first-class capitalists, whose names should be written in the Great Book of the Public Debt.

The intellectuals, in all that has to do with the understanding of the social movement, do not rise above the intellectual level of those little bourgeois who scoffed so fiercely at the bunglers of 1830, who, after being ruined and merged in the proletariat, none the less continue to detest socialism; to such a degree were their heads perverted by the religion of property. The intellectuals, whose brains are stuffed with all the prejudices of the bourgeois class, are inferior to those little bourgeois of 1830 and 1848 who at least knew the smell of gunpowder; they have not their spirit of combativeness, they are true imbeciles,—if we restore to this word its original Latin meaning of unsuited for war. Without resistance they endure rebuffs and wrongs and they do not think of uniting, of organizing themselves to defend their interests and give battle to capital on the economic field.

The intellectual proletariat as we know it is a recent growth, it has especially developed in the last forty years. When after the amnesty of the condemned of the Commune, we began again the socialist propaganda, believing that it would be easy to draw the intellectuals into the movement we took up our dwelling in their cultured Latin quarter, Guesde taking his residence in the Rue de la Pitie, Vaillant in the Rue Monge, and I in the Boulevard de Port Royal. We became acquainted with hundreds of young men, students of law, of medicines, of the sciences, but you can count on your fingers those whom we brought into the socialist camp. Our ideas attracted them one day, but the next day the wind blew from another quarter and turned their heads.

An honorable merchant of Bordeaux, a prominent member of the municipal council, said in the time of the empire to my father, who was disturbed over my socialism:

"Friend Lafargue, you must let youth take its course; I was a socialist when I studied at Paris, I was connected with the secret societies and I took part in the movement for demanding of Louis Philippe the pardon of Barbes." The young men of our age turn quickly, let them get back to their homes and they develop prominent abdomens and become reactionaries.

We welcomed joyfully the entrance of Jaures into socialism; we thought that the new form which he brought to our propaganda would make it penetrate into circles that we had not been able to touch. He has in fact made a decided impression on the university circle, and we owe it in part to him that the meetings of the normal school have ideas regarding the social movement which are a little less absurd and formless than those with which their learning and intelligence have hitherto been contented. Lately, joining forces with the radical politicians who had lost their working-class following, they have invaded the socialist party. Their souls overflow with the purest intentions; if their peaceful habits prevents them from throwing themselves into the conflict, and if their lofty culture forbids them to take their place in the ranks of the comrades, they nevertheless condescend to instruct us in ethics, to polish off our ignorance, to teach us, to impart to us such bits of science as we may be able to digest, and to direct us; they modestly offer themselves to us as leaders and schoolmasters.

These intellectuals who for years have had it for their duty to wear out trousers on the benches of the university that they might become experts on exercises, polishers of phrases, philosophers or doctors, imagine one can improvise himself into a master of the socialist theory by attending one lecture or by the careless reading of one pamphlet. Naturalists who had felt the need of painful research to learn the habits of mollusks or of the polyps who live in a community on the coral banks, think that they know enough to regulate human societies, and that by keeping their stand on the first steps of the ascending ladder of animal life they can the better discern the human ideal. The philosophers, the moralists, the historians and the politicians have aims equally lofty; they bring an abundant supply of ideas and a new method of action to replace the imperfect theory and tactics which in all capitalist countries have served to build up socialist parties strong in numbers, unity and discipline.

The class struggle is out of fashion, declare these professors of socialism. Can a line of demarcation be drawn between classes? Do not the working people have savings bank accounts of \$20, \$40 and \$100, bringing them 50 cents, \$1.50 and \$3.00 of interest yearly? Is it not true that the directors and managers of mines, railroads and financial houses are wage-workers, having their functions and duties in the enterprises which they manage for the

account of capitalists? The argument is unanswerable, but by the same token there is no vegetable kingdom nor animal kingdom because we can not separate them "with an ax," as it were, for the reason that at their points of contact, vegetables and animals merge into each other. There is no longer any day or any night because the sun does not appear on the horizon at the same moment all over the earth, and because it is day at the antipodes while it is night here.

The concentration of capital? A worn-out tune of 1850. The corporations by their stocks and bonds parcel out property and distribute it among all the citizens. How blinded we were by our sectarianism when we thought that this new form of property, essentially capitalistic, was enabling the financiers to plunge their thieving hands into the smallest purses, to extract the least pieces of silver.

The poverty of the working class! But it is diminishing and soon will disappear through the constant increase of wages, while interest on money is constantly diminishing; some fine day it will descend to zero and the bourgeois will be overjoyed to offer their beloved capital on the altar of socialism. Tomorrow or next day the capitalist will be forced to work, is the prediction of Mr. Waldeck-Rousseau. And there are intellectuals whose condition grows worse in proportion as capitalism develops, who are stultified by the utterances of the employers to a point where they affirm that the position of wage-workers is improving, and there are intellectuals who assume to possess some knowledge of political economy, who affirm that interest on money is rapidly diminishing. Could these reformers of socialism perchance be ignorant that Adam Smith calculated at the end of the eighteenth century that 3 per cent was the normal interest of capital running no risk, and that the financiers of our own epoch consider that it is still around 3 per cent that the interest rate must fluctuate. If a few years ago this rate seemed to fall below $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, it has risen today above 3 per cent. Capital is merchandise, like intellectual capacities and carrots; as such it is subject to the fluctuations of supply and demand. It was then more offered than demanded, whereas since the development of the industrial plant of Russia, since the opening of China to European exploitation, etc., the over supply of capital has been absorbed and its price rises with its scarcity. But the intellectuals have too many trifles to think of and too many harmonious phrases to balance for giving any thought to economic phenomena. They take at face value the artful fabrications of the capitalists, and repeat with pious conviction the old litanies of the orthodox economic church: "There are no classes, wealth is coming to be distributed more and more equitably, the workers are growing richer and those living on incomes are growing

poorer, and the capitalist society is the best of all possible societies; these truths shine forth like suns and none but partisans and mystics can deny them."

These intellectuals propose to modify the tactics as well as the theories of the socialist party; they wish to impose upon it a new method of action. It must no longer strive to conquer the public powers by a great struggle, legal or revolutionary as need may be, but let itself be conquered by every ministry of a republican coalition; it is no longer to oppose the socialist party to all the bourgeois parties; what is needed is to put it at the service of the liberal party; we must no longer organize it for the class struggle, but keep it ready for all the compromises of politicians. And to further the triumph of the new method of action, they propose to disorganize the socialist party, to break up its old systems and to demolish the organizations which for twenty years have labored to give the workers a sense of their class interests and to group them in a party of economic and political struggle.

But the intellectuals will have their trouble for nothing; thus far they have only succeeded in drawing closer the ties uniting the socialists of the different organizations, and in covering themselves with ridicule.

The intellectuals ought to have been the first of all the various groups to revolt against capitalist society, in which they occupy a subordinate position so little in keeping with their hopes and their talents, but they do not even understand it; they have such a confused idea of it that Auguste Comte, Renan, and others more or less distinguished have cherished the dream of reviving for their benefit an aristocracy copied after the model of the Chinese mandarin system. Such an idea is a reflection of past ages in their heads, for nothing is in more absolute opposition with the modern social movement than such pretensions. The intellectuals in previous states of society formed a world outside and above that of production, having charge only of education, of the direction of religious worship, and of the political administration.

The mechanic industry of these societies combine in the same producer, manual labor and intellectual labor; it was for example the same cabinetmaker who designed and worked out the piece of furniture, who bought its first material and who even undertook its sale. Capitalist production has divorced two functions which once were indissolubly united; on the one side it puts the manual workers, who become more and more servants of the machine, and on the other the intellectual workers, engineers, chemists, managers, etc. But these two categories of workers, however different and contrary they may be in their education and habits, are welded together, to the point that a capitalist industry can not be carried on without manual laborers any more than without intellectual wage-workers.

United in production, united under the yoke of capitalist exploitation, united they should be also in revolt against the common enemy. The intellectuals, if they understood their own real interests, would come in crowds to socialism, not through philanthropy, not through pity for the miseries of the workers, not through affectation and snobbery, but to save themselves, to assure the future welfare of their wives and children, to fulfill their duty to their class. They ought to be ashamed at being left behind in the social battle by their comrades in the manual category. They have many things to teach them, but they have still much to learn from them; the working men have a practical sense superior to theirs, and have given proof of an instinctive intuition of the communist tendencies of modern capitalism which is lacking to the intellectuals, who have only been able by a conscious mental effort to arrive at this conception. If only they had understood their own interests, they would long since have turned against the the capitalist class the education which it has generously distributed in order better to exploit them; they would have utilized their intellectual capacities, which are enriching their masters, as so many improved weapons to fight capitalism and to conquer the freedom of their class, the wage-working class.

Capitalist production, which has overthrown the old conditions of life and of work, has elaborated new forms, which already can be discerned without supernatural vision, but which to the intellectuals remain sealed under seven seals. One of the leading lights of intellectualism, M. Durkheim, in his book, "The Division of Labor," which made some noise in university circles, can not conceive of society except on the social pattern of ancient Egypt, each laborer remaining, his life through, penned up in one single trade. However, unless one is so unfortunate as to be affected by the hopeless near-sightedness of the normal school, one can not help seeing that the machine is suppressing trades, one after the other, in a way to let only one survive, that of the machinist, and that when it has finished its revolutionary work which the socialists will complete by revolutionizing capitalist society, the producer of the communist society will plow and sow with the machine today, will spin, will turn wood or polish steel tomorrow, and will exercise in turn all the trades to the greater profit of his health and his intelligence.

The industrial applications of mechanics, chemistry and physics, which, monopolized by capital, oppress the worker, will, when they shall be common property, emancipate man and give him leisure and liberty.

Mechanical production, which under capitalist direction can only buffet the worker back and forth from periods of over-work to periods of enforced idleness, will when developed and regulated by a communist administration, require from the producer to

provide for the normal needs of society, only a maximum day of two or three hours in the workshop, and when this time of necessary social labor is fulfilled he will be able to enjoy freely the physical and intellectual pleasures of life.

The artist then will paint, will sing, will dance, the writer will write, the musician will compose operas, the philosopher will build systems, the chemist will analyze substances not to gain money, to receive a salary, but to deserve applause, to win laurel wreaths, like the conquerors at the Olympic games, but to satisfy their artistic and scientific passion; one does not drink a glass of champagne or kiss the woman he loves for the benefit of the gallery. The artist and the scientist may then repeat the enthusiastic words of Kepler, that hero of science: "The elector of Saxony with all his wealth can not equal the pleasure I have felt in composing the *Mysterium Cosmographicum*."

Will not the intellectuals end by hearing the voice of the socialist calling them to the rescue, to emancipate science and art from the capitalist yoke, to liberate thought from the slavery of commercialism?

DANGEROUS QUESTIONS.

The capitalist parties and press of the United States, like those of all other countries, find their principal function in diverting the exploited workers from all questions which might attract their attention to the irreconcilable conflict existing between them and their exploiters, and which might lead to their emancipation. But economic development is more powerful than political caucuses and platform makers, and that development has this year forced to the front a series of questions that touch the very foundation of the capitalistic social organization. The attempts made either to entirely avoid these subjects or to discuss and disagree about them without touching these basic positions is almost ludicrous.

TRUSTS.

Trusts are the logical result of the competitive system operating under a regime of private property, and to discuss them without touching those institutions is to play Hamlet with Hamlet left out. Both parties attempted this impossible feat. They sought to advocate "regulation" within existing social organization. But this was so simple, easy and harmless that both parties claimed it as their method of settling the problem. The Republican party, which is controlled, owned, dominated, officered and financed by the great trust magnates, was nevertheless willing to go further in the application of this "remedy" than its opponent, and proposed a constitutional amendment to give Congress greater power to deal with these obnoxious creations. The Democratic party, however, still continued to pose as the particular friend of those who had been hit by the trusts. Its speakers and writers claimed to be filled with a deep and undying hatred of all things in any way connected with these terrible objects. Judge of their discomfiture when it was discovered that the leaders and officers of Tammany Hall, without whose support no Democratic party could hope to win, were the owners of the great New York Ice Trust, and that the whole strength of that organization and the Democratic administration of New York city was being used to secure special favors from the municipality for the trust.

Then when the Kansas City convention met it interrupted its denunciation of the trusts long enough to decide a contested seat in favor of Senator Clark of Montana, one of the principal owners and managers of the Copper Trust, and who had just been expelled from the United States Senate for having been awkward enough to get caught in bribing his way into that notorious millionaires' club. Rumor has it that his way into the aforesaid Dem-

ocratic convention was smoothed by a two million dollar donation to the campaign fund; but, however, that may be, enough had happened to show that the "trust issue" was a decidedly dangerous thing to handle, and so it was relegated to a back seat by both parties.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Another question to be avoided by all capitalist parties is the treatment of the negroes in the Southern states. Space does not here permit to show how, by the entrance of northern factories into the "black belt" upon the one hand and the importation of negroes by Northern employers to crush labor unions upon the other, the "negro question" has become simply a part of the "labor problem," so that his old friends (?) the Republican party are no longer interested in his welfare, but, on the contrary, have a very active interest in keeping him, in common with the whole laboring class, from seeking his own interests at the ballot box. Thus it is that the Democratic party is left unmolested in its violation of that bulwark of capitalism, the United States Constitution, and permitted to work its will upon the helpless blacks. This permits the Democratic party to pose before the country as the particular exponent of the idea that "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and to flood the country with literature demanding that the Filipinos, Cubans, and Porto Ricans be given the full and unrestricted ballot, while at the same time they are enacting and rigorously enforcing laws completely disenfranchising a majority of the voters throughout the Southern states of the union. Worse yet, while this same Democratic party is convulsed with "thrills of horror" over the wrongs that are committed upon the inhabitants of some far-off Pacific islands they are lending encouragement and protection to the burning and torturing of uncondemned and untried negroes by furious mobs of white Democratic voters.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Notwithstanding the fact that the legislative bodies are completely in the control of the capitalist class it is not always possible for these bodies to foresee all emergencies that might arise and anticipate all desires of their masters. So it has been found much more effective in time of strike to have a judge declare that whatever the employers desired was law and to enjoin the laborers from violating this "made to order" legislation. With this plan also it was possible to punish the objecting employees for contempt without the troublesome formality of a jury trial. So flagrant have these acts become that even the most stupid of the workers have been aroused and there has been a general protest

against "government by injunction." The Democratic party, not recognizing that this procedure was an essential part of our present class governed social organization, attempted to use this discontent as an issue. But within the last few months two of the most famous injunctions that have ever been issued were sent out by Democratic judges,—Judge Hook, of Kansas City, coming to the rescue of the street car owners at the time of a recent strike with a blanket injunction forbidding the workers from doing almost everything but eating, and even assisting their employers in curtailing that privilege, while another Democratic judge in Augusta, Georgia, made it a crime for the laborers of that city to boycott a "rat" paper. It is needless to say that neither of these judges have been disavowed or even criticised by the party to which they owe allegiance.

THE BULL PEN.

Here is the hottest and most dangerous subject of all for any supporter of capitalism to touch. Here is a subject that neither Republican nor Democrat dare mention. Notwithstanding that outrages were perpetrated such as even despotic Russia would hesitate to attempt; notwithstanding that men were shut up in a living hell for months, without trial or even accusation and were tortured into madness and shot for insane ravings; notwithstanding that up to the present time the infamous "permit system" still remains in force, which forbids a man from even asking for work unless he has signed an agreement not to belong to a union, still not a word of protest can be raised by either party. The reason is easy to see. One is as deep in the mud as the other in the mire. While it was McKinley who sent the negro troops to commit the outrages, yet they were sent at the request of the Democratic-Populist governor, Steunenburg, who was the most active agent in carrying out the whole transaction and who has within the last few weeks declared that he was proud of the part he acted. So it was that the Democratic party of Ohio very promptly turned down Congressman Lentz, who attempted to attract public attention to the matter, and the Democratic representatives in Congress voted solidly with the Republicans against printing for public circulation the results of the investigation into the affair by the Congressional committee.

ANTI-EXPANSION.

All of these subjects having been discovered to be "too hot" for use as issues by parties standing on the capitalist position, the Democrats solved the problem by declaring "anti-militarism and anti-expansion" to be the great "issues." The Republicans

promptly accepted this position and "pointed with pride" to the fact that through expansion they had been able to get rid of all that the workers produced and trusted to being able to make them believe that the greatest blessing laborers could enjoy was to be kept steadily at work creating wealth for export, from which they would be allowed to retain enough to enable them to keep on working. But just as everything seemed thus happily settled the Chinese trouble arose and all the forces of capitalism were demanded to arouse the proper pitch of "patriotism." The stake was too great to admit of any division in the ranks of the ruling class. It would never do to let a little thing like a presidential "issue" endanger the chance of getting a slice of China. So the ridiculous spectacle is presented of this same Democratic party standing on an anti-expansion platform and howling for war with China. It really looks as if the pace of economic development were getting too swift for modern capitalist politicians and as if something would have to be done.

THE KINGDOM OF COMPETITION.

The Kingdom of Competition is like unto a man that was a Newsdealer. He findeth ten street arabs, and sayeth unto them:

“Go to, Why caper ye up and down the gutter all the day long? Harken now and hear what I shall say unto thee. Stand ye here in a row by this curbstone, and I will straightway place one thousand papers on the curbstone which lieth over against you, and it shall come to pass that when all things are in readiness I will pucker up my lips and will make a shrill whistle unto you, and when ye shall hear the sound thereof ye shall all with one accord speedily cross over and take unto yourselves as many papers as ye can lay hold of, and behold, for every two papers ye sell ye shall receive one-half of one penny. If ye be diligent and crafty ye shall presently become millionaires and all men shall reverence you and call you blessed.”

Then when he had made an end of speaking, he did place the papers on the curbstone according to all that he had said. After the which he looked steadfastly upon them and puckering up the lips of his mouth he made a shrill whistle therewith. And it came to pass that when the street arabs heard the sound thereof that with one accord they began to pass hastily over to the other side. Now, because some were lesser than their fellows and not so mighty, they were beaten down and trampled into the mire and filth of the highway so that they came not near the papers at all. When the swift and the strong came to the curbstone they strove mightily one with another. Each laid hold of the same papers and because of their confusion the papers were rent so that they were no more of use to any man. Then he who was mightiest of all took with him five-score papers that were not rent and went his way and sold them.

And it came to pass that when he was returning unto the Newsdealer to pay unto him that which he had won for him that he might receive his recompense, behold, one who had been trampled into the mire and the filth of the highway laid wait for him and by strategy took from him one half of all that he possessed. Then he who had sold the papers came unto the Newsdealer saying:

“Behold, I was diligent and crafty, selling five-score papers I took with me. But even now as I was returning hither, was I taken in ambush and robbed of all I possessed. I pray thee, therefore, pay me the pennies that thou hast promised me and give me more papers to sell that I hunger not, thirst not, nor go naked.”

But the Newsdealer mocked him, saying:

"Ha, Ha, Go up, thou street urchin. Thou art a thief. I bade thee be crafty, but willed not that thou shouldst rob me."

Then he cast him into a dungeon and kept him there until he looked no more like one who might be trusted.

Again, the Kingdom of Competition is like unto a Sea in which dwelt one great shark and many little fishes.

Among the little fishes were some wiser than their brethren.

These lifted up their voices and gave counsel to the many, saying unto them:

"We are many, but we daily grow more lean. We strive day and night, one with another, and by our strife prove that no one loveth his brother. Behold, how fat the shark groweth. He spreadeth his fins and his tail over the sea so that there is no longer any room for fishes except before his face. All the hours of the day his gluttonous eyes are upon us, and those who go nigh unto him are swallowed by him. Our beauty fadeth, for the sea is slimy with the venom he hath spued into it. Look well to this matter. There lieth beyond us a day's journey, a sea, wherein no shark may dwell. Let us go hither that we may live in unity each striving for the other's glory and for his good. Then shall our beauty fill the sea with its radiance and the waters shall be sweet and pure."

Many who heard were glad and would have done according to all that was said to them; but the shark, who had grown very fearful lest they should do even as their brethren had counseled, lifted up his voice and spake:

"Harken not unto those busy-bodies, for they are defamers, speaking evil of dignitaries. They assail the powers ordained by the maker of all things to rule over you. They are defilers of the sea and the destroyers of your tranquility. Be wise, strive diligently to come near to my person, for he that comes nighest unto me shall be like unto me. It shall be well with him. He shall cease from troubling, for he shall be down with me and we shall be one."

Then one thought moved the great company of little fishes, and they pushed each other with head and shoulders, striving to come near to the person of the great shark. And it came to pass that when many were come very near to him, he opened wide his mouth with a great laugh and swallowed them. And great strife and confusion prevailed in the sea, for those that were nearest to the shark might not go from him because they that were behind did thrust them nearer to him.

So he waxed exceeding gross for many days, and then it came to pass that a mighty Sword-fish smote him so that he died.

Again the Kingdom of Competition is like unto a game of play which is surnamed Rugby. They that be strong do make a heap

of them that are weak. Then with much joy they do leap upon their backs. They pull the hairs of their heads, they bite their ears with their teeth and they smite them with their fists and with their feet, shouting with a loud voice:

“O, Competition, live forever, for thou art the incentive to noble deeds.”

O, ye Sons of Men, get ye knowledge, get ye wisdom. Drive before you every vision of the dreamers and sing, sing, sing:

“Glory, Glory, Glory be to Competition.”

Walter A. Ratcliffe.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Monopolies and Trusts, Dr. R. T. Ely, Macmillan & Co.

Although it is nowhere stated as a thesis the whole aim and object of this book seems to be an attempt to disprove the socialist position that competition tends to concentration and monopoly. Aside from one chapter which is given up to a discussion of "The Law of Monopoly Price," and which announces as a "new law of monopoly charge" that "The greater the intensity of customary use, the higher the general average of economic well-being; and the more readily wealth is generally expended, the higher the monopoly charge which will yield the largest net returns," which after all is only a cumbersome and academic way of saying that the higher the standard of life the greater the room for exploitation, nearly the entire book is an argument for the thesis stated above. No one who reads this book can but feel how far removed Dr. Ely is from the time when he was a representative of the most advanced economic thought in this country. Then he was on the offensive against the fossilized Manchesterism of Laughlin and Sumner; today he is on the defensive against the advancing socialist thought. The reason for this is that notwithstanding Dr. Ely's exhaustive studies of socialism he has always insisted upon ignoring its fundamental position, that of the class struggle. He has always insisted upon considering it as a scheme of administration.

His whole position rests upon differences which he alleges exist between industries, enabling them to be divided into two classes, in only one of which the law of concentration of industry exists. He holds that aside from a few special industries, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, gas, water works, etc., which he designates as "natural monopolies," competition is destined to continue. It is rather strange that one who is usually so careful of his terms should continue to employ a word at once misleading and meaningless. The word "nature" is one that has long been a refuge for quibblers and every social student knows what valiant service it has done the cause of confusion under the phrase of "natural rights." Nor does Dr. Ely in any way remove this confusion by his attempted explanation. He says (p. 43): "The term natural is here used in its well-understood and customary sense, to indicate something external to man's mind. A natural monopoly is one which, so far from giving expression to the will of society, grows up apart from man's will as expressed socially, and frequently in direct opposition to his will and de-

sire thus expressed." But there is nothing more sure than that the foundation of his so-called "natural monopolies" is in exact accord with the "will and desire" of the dominant class in our present society and are an outgrowth of the social organization which they support.

A rather ridiculous example of the existence of this very confusion in the mind of the author himself is seen on page 62, where he is trying to account for the fact that the ownership of street railways in different cities is being concentrated into the hands of a few individuals. Instead of taking the very obvious and reasonable explanation, which, however, is not in accord with his theory, that this is owing to the greater economy of unified management, he says: "It does not seem that there is any natural tendency that would lead to the ownership of all the street railways in the country by one combination of men. But . . . they must invest their money in some way and they naturally turn to street railways elsewhere."

When on pages 77-80 he attempts a classification of monopolies his whole distinction breaks down, and whenever he comes to a point where his actual question at issue must be discussed he simply dodges one side and takes refuge in *ex cathedra* statements. He finally makes a classification including "local monopolies," "social monopolies," and in general so broad as to make it easily possible in the future to get any industry that may be monopolized in under it and thus maintain the classification. This is followed by page after page of general indefinite arguments against the idea of monopoly existing outside this imaginary fence. It almost seems as if it were sought by this example of the cumulative method of arguing gone mad to so bewilder the reader that he will have at least a general impression that the fence is still intact. When this same method is applied to his arguments they fall flat. Take the series of statements that appear on p. 162 et seq. He attempts to explain away the fact of greater economy through large purchases by saying that "bargains may be picked up in a small way as well as in a large way." But he should know that for the large buyer it is not a case of chance "picking up," but of an absolute knowledge and choice of a great number of bargains entirely unknown to the smaller dealer. The statement that the purchaser on a large scale may by such purchasing raise the market price of the article bought is simply foolish, and is something of which so careful a writer as Dr. Ely should be ashamed. He knows full well that his illustration of purchases of land has no connection with the subject under discussion and can only serve to confuse, while in commercial purchases, which are supposed to be under discussion, the large buyer does not increase the total demand, but simply takes what

a large number of small buyers would have otherwise have purchased. Moreover the large buyer has a choice as to whether he shall buy in large or small quantities at a time, and has a much better opportunity to know when and where to buy the entire output advantageously than the small buyer. The whole argument abounds in mere "ipse dixit" statements that really involve the whole point at issue, as for example where he says concerning purchasing on a large scale (p. 162), "one sooner or later reaches the point of maximum effectiveness," or (p. 165), where he says concerning the growth of industry, "a point of maximum efficiency is sooner or later reached." At other times he betrays an ignorance of economic phenomena that in one with his great knowledge of detail is almost inexcusable. For example, concerning the relative stability of large and small companies, he says (p. 166), "many a small producer went through the crisis of 1893 with perfect safety; many a large company became bankrupt." But the fact is that of the failures in the five years, 1893-7, 87 per cent were of firms with less than \$5,000 capital, while only .24 of one per cent were for over \$50,000, which fact proves the exact reverse of what Dr. Ely would have us believe.

Another example of this same inexcusable ignorance, only this time it is of economic analysis rather than statistical facts, is seen where he gravely gives as an example of the new fixed charges that are supposed to appear with increased size that "a superintendent that can be had for fifteen hundred dollars a year has to give way to one who can command \$10,000, \$15,000 or even more. The bookkeeping has to be reorganized and made more expensive; new buildings must be constructed . . . spotters and private detectives employed." Does it never occur to the writer that the firm that makes these "expensive" changes has it in its power to choose between so doing and starting another small, and according to Dr. Ely, a more economical business? If they adopted another system of bookkeeping it was because so doing enabled them to keep better control of their business than the little firm. If they employed spotters it was to stop thefts that the smaller business could not afford to protect themselves against.

What Dr. Ely has really done is to mistake a historical stage for a social condition. The socialist has always recognized that the process of concentration proceeds faster in some industries than in others. The crystallization has various centers around which the industrial molecules gather. These centers are what Dr. Ely calls "natural monopolies." Already he is forced to admit that the process has spread to allied industries which he designates as "dependent monopolies," but he seems to think (to change the figure) that the disease can be isolated and the capital-

ist system preserved intact. The impression is left (p. 142) that if his position regarding the existence of natural monopolies could be maintained it would constitute a refutation of the socialist philosophy. Nothing could be further from the truth. The concentration of industry is simply a corollary to the main socialist argument, and is offered to show the administrative advantages of a socialist organization of industry. It is also pointed out as one of the things that will force a transformation of industry. But it will do this, not simply by the formation of unbearable monopolies, but by the accentuation of the class lines causing a revolt of the producing classes long before the monopoly point is reached in even a majority of industries. Here, as elsewhere, the fact that Dr. Ely ignorantly or intentionally ignores the philosophy of the class struggle, leads him into false positions. The thesis of the book is, so far as socialism is concerned, unimportant if true, and is certainly not proven if admitted to be important.

A Country Without Strikes, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Doubleday, Page & Co.

This is a study of compulsory arbitration at work in New Zealand, but like all of Mr. Lloyd's books is written by one who is first of all an advocate, then a reporter and lastly a student. If the book is read by one who is already well grounded in economic philosophy he will find much valuable information and suggestive facts. But for one who is not able to separate the wheat from the chaff the book is distinctly misleading and injurious. Fortunately he makes a warning blunder in his first chapter which should put the cautious reader on his guard for the rest of the journey. He here talks about "social experiments" and "social inventors," which is enough to testify to the incapacity of the writer to correctly interpret social phenomena. Then if one reads closely he will see that in spite of himself the author has succeeded in picturing much that is wholly undesirable. He admits that the aim of the Court of Arbitration has been "to preserve as nearly as possible the conditions in which it found the trade." But this of all things is what labor does not want. Its whole struggle, even within existing social organization, is to keep pace with the advancing industrial development. It wants no judges who "shall hold their destiny in his hands" (p. 86) nor any state that is powerful enough to force "the workingmen to go to work on terms unsatisfactory to them." The whole system as outlined by Mr. Lloyd, even taking his most favorable interpretation is an economic slavery, that while it offers a present livelihood of a trifle higher character than in older countries (although there is

no proof that it is higher than in other countries with similar undeveloped society) it is a complete deadener on all ideas of social revolt by the workers and a guarantee of future slavery. The intelligent socialist will find in Mr. Lloyd's book some strong reasons for opposing the New Zealand system.

"Socialists in French Municipalities," Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Pamphlet, 32 p., in "Pocket Library of Socialism." We have heard much of what the English municipalities were doing, but few people are aware that only across the Channel in France very much more work is being done. This is the first time that any account of this work has been put in English, and this pamphlet should receive a wide circulation.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

[This department is edited by Max S. Hayes.]

At the quarterly meeting of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council, in Denver, last month, negotiations were begun with a view of amalgamating the American Federation of Labor with the Western Federation of Labor. The latter body is composed of a number of strong national, state and local organizations, including the strong Western Federation of Miners, which union made the heroic fight in the Coeur d'Alenes, Idaho, where over 400 miners were imprisoned in a bull-pen and subjected to the most barbarous and inhuman treatment by the joint orders of the Republican national administration, the Democratic-Populistic state government and the Standard Oil trust. The Western Federation of Labor is a progressive organization. At its national convention, in May, the Federation declared, among other things, that "we believe that the wage system should be abolished and the production of labor be distributed under the co-operative plan," and "we regard public ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution as the logical solution of the industrial problem, and respectfully urge all working people to give the subject the thoughtful consideration its importance deserves." The Federation also called upon organized labor everywhere to study the economic and political questions in union rooms and to strike at the ballot box for industrial freedom. If the amalgamation is perfected it will mean a powerful union of unions in this country, and the infusion of still more progressive blood in the organized labor forces.

Strikes are on in nearly every industrial center of the country. Next in importance to great struggles in the building trades in Chicago and the street railway business of St Louis is the bitter fight between the cigarmakers of New York and their bosses. Several months ago half a dozen of the large firms combined and locked out their journeymen to prevent them from aiding the strikers of the Kerbs, Wertheim & Schiffer Co., a notorious concern which paid starvation wages to its employes who manufactured cigars for the jobbing trade. Policemen's clubs and injunctions have not deterred the men, women and children locked out, and they have stood out as a unit for months. Nearly \$70,000 has been collected and paid to the unorganized strikers,

the unionists drawing regular strike benefits.—Nearly a hundred thousand molders in Cleveland have locked horns with the bosses, who also have a national organization. The employers are attempting to reduce wages 10 cents a day throughout the district and Cleveland is the battle-ground. The strongest molders' union in the country is in that city, and much will depend on this fight.—There are other strikes on of minor importance in many places.

The work at American Federation of Labor headquarters is piling up to such an extent that the report of charters issued for May has only been issued recently. There were 119 charters granted to local unions, seven to city central bodies, and one to a state branch in that month. These charters do not include new unions formed in organized trades, the national bodies of which charter locals direct. The printers average nearly ten charters a month, the carpenters, machinists, painters and other crafts following close behind. The work of organization this year is unprecedented, as is made manifest not only in new unions organized, but in the steady increase in membership of the unions in existence, and the Louisville convention of the Federation is destined to become a national parliament, greater and more representative than any similar meeting this year, excepting only the conventions of the two dominant political parties.

Last year the Canadian Trades Council, which is a similar body to the A. F. of L., declared for independent political action. This position was taken because its legislative committee reported that it was impossible to secure the passage of labor bills in parliament or provincial legislatures or even municipal bodies. The council committee having the resolution for independent politics in charge was composed of old party men, who reported adversely, but the delegates arose almost as one man and proclaimed their political independence. As a result, the trade unionists of Canada are working with the Socialists to secure a voice in legislative bodies. In British Columbia three more labor men have been elected to Parliament, and the capitalistic newspapers and politicians have become panic-stricken. They admit that candidates who stand on the most socialistic platform are the most to be feared.

Fully 250,000 workers have been out of employment during the past month in the iron and steel, tin plate, glass, textile, boot and shoe and kindred industries. The cause is given as "dullness of trade" and wage adjustments. The iron, steel and tin plate workers will go back into the mills, when they secure sufficient orders to start, at about the same rates they received in the past

year—though many of the men are dissatisfied, claiming that trusts have increased the price of the necessities of life. The glass workers will receive slight concessions, as there is a fight on between the trust and the independents, each bidding for the skilled men, the trust having gone so far as to issue stock (watered?) to the workers. The textile workers will consider themselves lucky if they secure last year's scale, the bosses having stated that when the mills were closed that it was either that or a reduction. The boot and shoe workers will hardly suffer a reduction, as they are quite thoroughly organized and will not submit to a cut.

North Carolina is now preparing to follow in the footsteps of several of the other Southern states and disfranchise the negro voters. The Democrats of that state, under the leadership of Charles B. Aycock, the candidate for governor, have been conducting a "red shirt" campaign, which has depended for its enthusiasm upon references to the Ku Klux outrages that followed the civil war. An amendment to the constitution is proposed which will disfranchise one hundred thousand negro voters. It is significant that while such laws have been enacted by the Democrats throughout the South, there has been no attempt by the Republicans to enforce the penalty for such action which the United States constitution provides. Did the Republicans so desire they could largely cut down the Democratic strength in Congress and also deprive them of a number of electoral votes. But they would far rather see the Democrats in power than lose this chance of depriving a large portion of the laboring population of the right of suffrage.

It is worthy of record that the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor is a progressive body. At its recent convention in Sheboygan, the Federation declared, by a vote of 45 to 9, for "the collective ownership by the people of the means of production and distribution. By this is meant that when an industry becomes centralized so as to assume the form of a trust or monopoly, and hence a menace to the best interests of the people, such industry should be assumed by the government. This is true protection to the weak, those least represented in legislation." The unions are steadily moving forward despite the chicanery of enemies within and without.

The progressive labor press of America is highly pleased at the outcome of the recent elections in France, Belgium, Italy and Austria, where in every instance the Socialists won new victories, increasing their general vote as well as membership in legislative bodies. These triumphs in Europe are having the effect of at-

tracting the attention of American working people, and as a result nearly every labor and reform paper in the country is printing an increasing amount of matter regarding Socialism, which is being studied with more interest than ever before. Of course, the capitalistic press intentionally suppresses this highly important European news, but it becomes known for all that.

The Socialist Labor party and the Social Democratic party have united and placed tickets in the field in the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Washington, California, Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, Michigan and Kentucky. Union will probably be perfected and tickets nominated in several more states this month. Many active Populists and independent voters of a progressive character are joining the new movement, as are also trade unionists in the industrial centers.

A silly story has been sent broadcast by the Democratic party managers. It is to the effect that Eugene V. Debs will withdraw on October 1 as the Social Democratic candidate for president. Mr. Debs sent out a denial, but it has been generally suppressed by Republican as well as Democratic organs. The season when the campaign liar secures his spoil has arrived.

The printers of Augusta, Ga., just when they believed they had their strike won against a daily paper, were injunctioned by the courts, and now their fight is becoming hopeless.

The boycott against the New York Sun is still on. It is charged that J. Pierpont Morgan, the railway magnate, and John D. Rockefeller are standing behind the Sun, and that they are willing to supply money indefinitely to defeat the printers in this fight.

A Massachusetts court has decided that machines in the textile industry may be run at night, and thus another "labor law" that cost the workers much time and money to secure its enactment has been knocked into a cocked hat, unless some higher court steps in and protects enslaved and worn-out women and children by reversing the decision, which will hardly be the case.

A late report from St. Louis is to the effect that the employers of that city are displaying their class interests openly by threatening to discharge their workers for refusing to ride on boycotted street cars. The same trick was resorted to in Cleveland a year ago. It gradually became effective. Yet a whole lot of people continue to prate that "the interests of capital and labor are identical."

American trade unionists are disposed to say mean things about Senator Hawley, and all because, they allege, he "held up" the eight-hour bill in the Senate. Mr. Hawley, during political campaigns, boasts of "having been a workingman himself once"—a printer, by the way—and, therefore, possesses all the requirements of the politician who is "the workingman's friend" in season and out.

The striking laundry workers of Dayton, O., have been injunctioned by the courts at the request of the Manufacturers' Association of that city.—There is more talk of forming a national union of laundry workers.

New York bakers are compelled to strike to secure the enforcement of the state ten-hour law for their craft. As usual the lawless capitalists have no use for labor legislation, and "anarchy reigns," so far as they are concerned.

The crucible steel trust, with \$50,000,000 capital, has been swung into line with the 400 and odd other capitalistic combines that are now in existence in the United States. Nearly everything in the iron and steel business is now trustified, and already the chief promoters are talking of forming a trust of trusts, which is the highest point the capitalistic system can reach. Then what? Socialism?

In Colorado the State Federation of Labor nominated a state ticket of trade unionists several months ago. The politicians became frightened, pulled wires, and a few days ago the ticket was withdrawn by a close vote. The minority, however, is in rebellion, declaring that it will not be coerced by the old party politicians, and that the ticket originally nominated will stand.

The American Federation of Labor has decided to levy an assessment of 2 cents a member to aid the New York cigarmakers. The sum of \$15,000 will be realized.

After several years of fighting, the two national unions of painters have finally amalgamated. The new organization, it is stated, will start out with a membership of about 25,000.

The Labor League is the name of a new secret organization that has started in and is spreading through Georgia. Only wage-workers are eligible as members.

Iowa Socialists convene Oct. 10 to nominate a ticket.

Nothing appears to have come of the widely-heralded Ruskin

Hall movement in this country. A month ago Messrs. Bowerman and Sexton came over from London to start a "labor college," and it was stated that they carried with them \$20,000 with which to begin operations. They were to have addressed the unionists in the principal cities, but after speaking in a few places they quietly departed for home. The \$20,000 is now said to have been "only pledged" by a Mr. Vrooman, who gained some notoriety in this country a few years ago with his labor church, co-operative colonies, political fusion, capitalistic reform and other schemes.

The trade unionists and socialists of Holland have just combined. The former have heretofore largely supported the anarchistic propaganda and abstained from voting, but now 24 national bodies, in convention assembled, have declared in favor of supporting the Social Democratic party.

The trust movement continues to make headway in England. The latest octopus given birth to is a large electrical combine of 57 companies.

The highest court in New South Wales, Australia, has decided that employers must give preference to union workmen. The Employers' Federation threatens to appeal the case to the Privy Council in England, but it is thought unlikely that such a step will be taken. In Australia workingmen have cultivated the habit of taking independent political action. In America the majority of workers are satisfied to be party slaves, and for that reason they are economic slaves as well and find that employers give non-unionists preference.

The trade unionists and Socialists of England are declaring in conventions and by resolution that they are opposed to the government carrying on military operations in the Transvaal or China. The Hon. John Morley and a portion of the Liberal-Radical party seems to side with them, the former stating in a speech at Oxford that, as between militarism and socialism he would choose the latter.

The Socialists and laborites of the Argentine Republic, South America, held a national convention last month. They report a gratifying increase of membership in the organizations, a good financial condition, and steady spread of socialist doctrine.

Once more the German government has notified the railway employes that if they are caught talking socialism or handling literature bearing on the subject they will be discharged. The

government owns the railways, and this is a sample of capitalistic state socialism that the opportunists and step-at-a-time reformers, who sneer at "class-consciousness," will do well to consider.

In Thuringen and in Waldenburg, Germany, the Social Democrats were triumphant in bye-elections for members of Parliament. In Muhlhausen they lost.

Just before adjourning, the Socialists hammered a bill through the French Chamber of Deputies providing for compulsory arbitration.

In San Domingo, in the West Indies, the trade unionists and Socialists are forming a Labor party.

EDITORIAL

THE CHINESE SITUATION.

Events during the past month in relation to matters in the Orient have served to emphasize one point very distinctly, and that is the absolute ignorance that prevails regarding the facts. There is scarcely any possible combination of the factors engaged that has not been telegraphed as actually existing and contradictory and conflicting statements have followed one another in close succession. This is a fact which it will be well to bear in mind through the long series of events upon which we are just entering. Whatever else is true it is practically certain that the average press dispatches will be false and the diplomatic ones still more so.

The great capitalist nations of the world are engaged in what promises to be the most bold faced plundering expedition of the age, and they will have the greatest of incentives to conceal their actions from the laborers who must do the fighting for them. If they were able to do this so skillfully at the time of the Commune, when Paris teemed with newspaper correspondents and every mail could bring the truth to the outer world, how much easier it will be in China, cut off by almost impossible barriers of language, distance and customs from those who are to be deceived. The censorship of Manila will be nothing in comparison with the one that will cover all points of communication with the seat of trouble in the Orient.

Hence if we are to arrive at the facts it must be largely through deduction as to the interests involved and the ends sought. An example of the way in which these interests are at present distorting news is seen in the reports of the massacre of the legations and foreigners. It is of the greatest importance to the capitalist nations to arouse resentment against China. It is not simply the old story of blackening a character before striking its possessor although that motive undoubtedly plays its part. But more important than this is the need of arousing the "patriotic" spirit at home which will provide with readiness the necessary funds and volunteers. So it is that while the very fact of the massacre is very much in doubt many of the daily papers have been filled with long details of the punishments and tortures inflicted by the Chinese, not a few of which accounts have been richly illustrated with photographs and drawings, apparently

“made on the spot,” and it is a sad commentary on the intelligence of the American reader that these tactics seem not to be met with the slightest disapproval, or to throw the least doubt upon the credibility of the press as a means of gathering and disseminating news.

The more that comes to be known of the trouble within China itself the more the socialist philosophy of society is justified. It was pointed out by Li Hung Chang some time ago that one of the reasons why China did not wish Western civilization was because she did not wish the labor problem that accompanied that civilization. . . But whether she wished it or not that civilization has come and with it the “labor problem.” This was most startlingly set forth in an article published in the Chicago Tribune by Li Teschung, former superintendent of the Secret Cabinet in Peking. The article is such a remarkable statement of the situation and complete justification of the socialist philosophy that it is here given almost entire:

“The labor question—or, perhaps, more precisely expressed, the socialistic question—is at the bottom of China’s troubles. An imperial investigation into the causes of the present unlawful uprisings will show that.

“Three years ago the Tien Tsin-Peking railway line was opened; for the last twelvemonth or longer it has been in active operation, while smaller auxiliary or branch roads have sprung into existence at intervals of from thirty to forty days all along. And as the railway net spread and as new connections by rail are constantly made, the labor market becomes daily more demoralized—that is, opportunities for work grow less and less.

“Traffic between the coast and the metropolis, and especially between the commercial centers Tien Tsin and Peking, is enormous—hundreds of thousands of people lived by it from time immemorial. They found their daily bread on the land and waterways as carters, carriers, forwarders, and helpers, generally. The horse owner, drayman, or expressman, the caravan leader, driver, camel, donkey, and mule attendant; the shipowner, boatman, sailor—all made a modest but assured living along the road, as their fathers had done before them. They had the stock, the custom, the experience. They were good for this business and for no other. Then there were the inn and boarding-house keepers supported by the passing crowd and dependent upon it; the wagonmakers, sailmakers, saddlers and feed merchants. The bus, carryall, and livery stable people likewise transported passengers. The number of officials alone who go to Peking half a dozen times or oftener per year reaches into the thousands, and the masses of candidates for government positions going to the capital for their examination are ten times greater.

"And as the signal for the first train from Taku to Tien Tsin-Pekin was given all these individuals, merchants, owners of draft animals and of other means of transportation; all these drivers, eating-house keepers, these workmen and helpers, lost their means of livelihood—lost it without hope of retrieving their fortune in stock or other work

"The branch roads robbed another class of poorly paid but contented people of their only chance for keeping body and soul together. The branch roads wiped out the coal carrier—the poor devil who on his own or his donkey's back transported black diamonds to the consumer, often covering hundreds of miles, plodding patiently for a trifle. European and American journals have often made fun of this antediluvian way of carrying coal, as they called it, but it suited the people who lived by it well enough.

"The unemployed—at least the chronic unemployed—were unknown in China before the arrival of the steam engine and freight car, but for the last twelve or fifteen months the territory between the Gulf of Pechili, Changting-Pu, and Peking has been overrun with them.

"And the disfranchised men have not been in good humor—hungry people generally are not. Still, they might have continued to suffer patiently—for at bottom the Chinaman loves peace and is capable of much endurance—if it had not been for the militant class of must-be-idlers. For the railway hurt the professional private police, also known as Boxers, no less than the industrial and laboring classes already mentioned.

"In the country the Boxers would probably pass under the name of athletes—that's what they really are—strong men drilled in the use of arms, who sell their prowess to those in quest of protection. In ante-railway days if a man of any consequence went traveling he hired a couple of Boxers to save him from molestation by beggars and sneak thieves and to protect him against footpads and robbers. No caravan started 'cross country save under the conduct of Boxers; a transport of ready money or valuables without the attendance of Boxers was never dreamt of. Women and children moved from town to country under the strong arm of Boxers; even the government and the mandarins employed them continuously in one capacity or another.

"But with the advent of the railway system the occupation of private policemen or bodyguards became obsolete. Those who use the steam cars need no special protectors, and money transports are quicker and safer by rail than in the midst of any army of Boxers bristling with crossbows, spears, or even rifles.

"While the poor, half-starved and meek Chinese laborer might never have summoned up courage enough to seek redress for the

grievous wrong heaped upon him by the hated innovation, it was but natural for the athletic Boxer, drilled to earn his living by fisticuffs, to raise the hand of revolt. Born to live by his prowess, he uses violence to win back, if possible, the bread of which he is deprived. His argument is against law and order; society would be doomed if it were permitted to prevail; yet from the Boxers' standpoint its psychological and physiological soundness cannot be denied.

"Thus the original dispute between wage earners and monopoly broadened into a full-fledged social question with a political lining.

"To sum up: Fear of starvation roused the anger of the Chinese populace against a useful innovation; the bread question grew into a political grievance and culminated in the hatred of foreigners and in open revolt against the government, for the Manchu dynasty is as foreign to the country in Chinese eyes as if it were Prussian or Anglo-Saxon.

"These are the facts; they show conclusively that the present troubles were caused by unhappy social conditions over which the government had no control and which absolutely lacked political motive. That the original bread riot or economic movement developed into a political movement—that is no reason why its origin should be obscured and its motive doubted.

"The real why and wherefore of the uprising is moreover made plain by the fact that the rioters are not content with attacking foreigners. Their lust for vengeance strikes their own countrymen as well. And here another aspect of the labor situation comes into view: The foreigners, when hiring Chinese labor, prefer to employ converts."

It is becoming more evident every day that in tackling the Chinese puzzle capitalism finds itself in the presence of the greatest problem that has yet been put before it. Whether in its present almost decrepit state it will be able to solve it or not, even to its own satisfaction, is something that is worrying many of its ablest defenders. What shall be done with China after the troops have marched to Peking? How will the outlying provinces be "civilized?" How shall they be policed and exploited? If the policy of the "open door" is maintained who shall be "door tender"? If China is to be divided up how are the pieces to be apportioned? These are questions that it will puzzle the diplomats and politicians of capitalism to answer, and that unless they do answer may easily prove that last jar that will complete the downfall of our present social system.

FOREIGN HAPPENINGS

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN BELGIUM

The two most important events in the socialist world, news of which has reached America since our last issue, is the struggle for universal suffrage in Belgium and the amalgamation of the socialist parties in Holland. Regarding the first of these, "La Peuple," the Belgian socialist daily, gives an outline of the successive steps that will be taken to secure the desired end. In the first place, there is a series of public meetings and general agitation through the press and by means of pamphlets, etc. Then the various municipalities in the control of the socialists will send in memorials demanding the reform. Next the trades unions and co-operatives will proceed along the same lines. On the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies a great mass meeting was held, followed by interpellations by the socialist deputies in the Chamber. This is to be followed by an attempt to introduce and carry the bill. If defeated, the agitation will be increased, and a campaign of obstruction pursued in the Chamber. As a last resort preparations are being made to call a universal strike, such as gained them the limited suffrage they now have, and which is, with the vast resources at the disposal of the co-operatives, sure to be successful. At the present time there is a system of plural voting in operation, which in the majority of cases works greatly to the advantage of the capitalist parties. The following proclamation has been issued by the Parti Ouvrier and is published, with the accompanying comment, in a late issue of La Peuple:

"Comrades! The reign of falsehood must disappear. It is already condemned by the public conscience. It belongs to you to give it the finishing stroke. We count upon your energy and upon your steadfastness, as you may count upon ours. From this time in every town of the country let the clarions of our propaganda resound. In every industrial center let our comrades busy themselves with strengthening the unions, those battalions of the militant socialists. And the day when the Parti Ouvrier shall give the signal of assault, the day when your deputies shall engage in the final battles, we have the assurance that the formidable movement which last year succeeded in blocking the progress of reaction will reappear more resistless than ever to break the last resistance of the party of fraud, and to open wide the doors of the parliament to UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE."

A most important phase of this movement is seen in the inclusion of women in the demand for universal suffrage. This was opposed by a few of the socialists on the ground of the ignorance that still exists among the Belgian women, and which is so great as to almost pass belief on the part of American readers. Only a very small per cent. can either read or write, while almost none have any interest in or knowledge of any public questions. It was pointed out that the granting of the franchise to women, while they are still so completely under clerical domination, might easily mean a temporary setback to socialism. But none of these things deterred the Belgian comrades in their determination to stand by their principles. Deputy Vander Velde showed that all the objections offered to conferring the suffrage upon women had been urged by the Liberals against giving the same right to laborers. It was also shown that on many points woman was peculiarly a sufferer under the capitalist system and would prove a valuable ally of socialism when once her allegiance had been secured.

As always happens when the socialists attempt to take a decisive step, the Liberals, who have been making great protestations of their friendship for the workers and their desire for reform, are now found hand in hand with the clericals, prepared to block the movement for universal suffrage. The socialists have boldly announced that they propose to have their right to vote at once, and declare that they will proceed by gradual but rapid steps from agitation to parliamentary action and obstruction, and after these have failed recourse will be had to the universal strike, and as a last final resource, street riots. Those who know how all these methods were used in this same regular succession and with increasing power in gaining the present restricted suffrage will realize what it means by the present program. It means certain victory.

HOLLAND

Concerning the movement in Holland, we take the following also from *La Peuple*:

At the recent conference of the Socialist party of Holland, held at Amsterdam, resolutions were passed declaring the necessity of the action of the militant proletariat on both the economic and political ground, and declaring that the organizations for these purposes constituted the two indispensable weapons with which to carry on the class struggle.

After a long and moderate discussion, it was decided that the *Socialistenbond*, the old socialist organization, having expelled from its ranks the anarchists and followers of Domela Nieuwenhuis, and which has for its organ the weekly paper, "*Recht voor*

Alien," should dissolve itself and merge itself in the Social-Demokritische Arbeiderparty, and accept as their organ the daily paper of the latter organization as the official party organ. The common organization now has three deputies in the legislative chamber, Troelstra, Van Kol, and Schaper. The unanimous adoption of this resolution by the 43 delegates at the convention is complete confirmation of the union now existing in the socialist movement of the Netherlands, which will mean increased strength against the two equally dangerous enemies—capitalism and anarchy.

ANARCHY AND SOCIALISM

The shooting of King Humbert, of Italy, has let loose all the capitalist press in wholesale denunciation of all those who oppose the existing social order. Although there has not as yet been the slightest evidence to show that the act was anything more than that of a half-crazed fanatic acting on his own responsibility, and while anyone who wishes might easily know that the socialists have ever been the deadly opponents of the anarchists, still there have been plenty of papers ready to demand more stringent agitation against the socialists in America because the anarchists of Patterson, New Jersey, were acquainted with a crazy fool who shot an Italian king. This is the story that has repeated itself over and over again in the history of the social revolution. The "reds" have always been the "dearest foes" of capitalism. The capitalists class care nothing for the lives of a few of their puppets who may occupy positions of prominence in the governments of the world. They know, if the anarchists do not, that it is even easier to get new kings and emperors who will do their bidding than it is to find scabs to take the place of striking workers. But they also know that the steady, quiet, resistless advance of socialism is numbering the days of exploitation and that unless that advance is checked labor will soon achieve its freedom and exploiters must perforce become producers. Hence they seek for every opportunity to repress the socialist movement. But the socialist refuses to fall into their trap. He realizes the hopelessness of open resistance with all the powers of government in the hands of his opponent. So he fights within the legal bounds that capitalism has itself prescribed, and conforms in every way to the demands of the society he is opposing. But if he will not himself commit crimes he must be punished vicariously. So he is accused of the crimes of his opponents, the anarchists, and punished for that. This has long been the practice in Europe and recent events have shown that we may expect the same thing here. The assassination of King Humbert is

being used as an argument for the suppression of socialist meetings on the streets of Chicago. The most absurd stories have been circulated about the happenings at such meetings and the police have shown an unwonted activity in annoying the socialist speakers. But such tactics react upon their perpetrators and educate faster than the socialist speakers they suppress.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We regret to be compelled to announce that sickness made it impossible for Mr. E. V. Debs to prepare the article on the "Outlook for Socialism in the United States," which had been announced for this number. However, he has promised that it will be ready in time for the September number. The next number will also have an article by Mr. Job Harriman, the socialist candidate for vice-president, on "A Comparison of the Democratic and Republican Platforms in the Present Campaign." These two articles alone will make this number one that will be desired by every socialist. Besides these, there will be an article by Robert Rives LaMonte on "The Essentials of Scientific Socialism," which is one of the best statements of the fundamental principles of socialism ever put forth. Articles have also been promised by Prof. I. Hourwich and Rev. H. S. Vail, while several communications are expected from European socialists. Taken altogether the September number promises to be far ahead of any socialist publication yet issued in the English language. Arrangements have already been made for future numbers, which insure that the present high standard will be constantly improved upon as time passes.

The article in this number by Paul Lafargue will be reprinted in pamphlet form for sale separately. The opportunity will then be taken to make several changes which were sent by the author too late for correction in this issue.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. I

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No. 3

OUTLOOK FOR SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The sun of the passing century is setting upon scenes of extraordinary activity in almost every part of our capitalistic old planet. Wars and rumors of wars are of universal prevalence. In the Philippines our soldiers are civilizing and christianizing the natives in the latest and most approved styles of the art, and at prices (\$13 per month) which commend the blessing to the prayerful consideration of the lowly and oppressed everywhere.

In South Africa the British legions are overwhelming the Boers with volleys of benedictions inspired by the same beautiful philanthropy in the name of the meek and lowly Nazarene; while in China the heathen hordes, fanned into frenzy by the sordid spirit of modern commercial conquest, are presenting to the world a carnival of crime almost equalling the "refined" exhibitions of the world's "civilized" nations.

And through all the flame and furore of the fray can be heard the savage snarlings of the Christian "dogs of war" as they fiercely glare about them, and with jealous fury threaten to fly at one another's throats to settle the question of supremacy and the spoil and plunder of conquest.

The picture, lurid as a "chamber of horrors," becomes complete in its gruesome ghastliness when robed ministers of Christ solemnly declare that it is all for the glory of God and the advancement of Christian civilization.

This, then, is the closing scene of the century as the curtain slowly descends upon the blood-stained stage—the central figure, the pious Wilhelm, Germany's sceptered savage, issuing his imperial "spare none" decree in the sang froid of an Apache chief—a fitting climax to the rapacious regime of the capitalist system.

Cheerless indeed would be the contemplation of such san-

guinary scenes were the light of Socialism not breaking upon mankind. The skies of the East are even now aglow with the dawn; its coming is heralded by the dispelling of shadows, of darkness and gloom. From the first tremulous scintillation that gilds the horizon to the sublime march to meridian splendor the light increases till in mighty flood it pours upon the world.

From out of the midnight of superstition, ignorance and slavery the disenfranchising, emancipating sun is rising. I am not gifted with prophetic vision, and yet I see the shadows vanishing. I behold near and far prostrate men lifting their bowed forms from the dust. I see thrones in the grasp of decay; despots relaxing their hold upon scepters, and shackles falling, not only from the limbs but from the souls of men.

It is therefore with pleasure that I respond to the invitation of the editor of the *International Socialist Review* to present my views upon the "Outlook for Socialism in the United States." Socialists generally will agree that the past year has been marked with a propaganda of unprecedented activity and that the sentiment of the American people in respect to Socialism has undergone a most remarkable change. It would be difficult to imagine a more ignorant, bitter and unreasoning prejudice than that of the American people against Socialism during the early years of its introduction by the propagandists from the other side. I never think of these despised and persecuted "foreign invaders" without a feeling of profound obligation, akin to reverence, for their noble work in laying the foundations deep and strong, under the most trying conditions, of the American movement. The ignorant mass, wholly incapable of grasping their splendid teachings or appreciating their lofty motives, reviled against them. The press inoculated the public sentiment with intolerance and malice which not infrequently found expression through the policeman's club when a few of the pioneers gathered to engraft the class-conscious doctrine upon their inhospitable "free born" American fellow citizens. Socialism was cunningly associated with "anarchy and bloodshed," and denounced as a "foul foreign importation" to pollute the fair, free soil of America, and every outrage to which the early agitators were subjected won the plaudits of the people. But they persevered in their task; they could not be silenced or suppressed. Slowly they increased in number and gradually the movement began to take root and spread over the country. The industrial conditions consequent upon the development of capitalist production were now making themselves felt and socialism became a fixed and increasing factor in the economic and political affairs of the nation.

The same difficulties which other countries had experienced in the process of party organization have attended the develop-

ment of the movement here, but these differences, which relate mainly to tactics and methods of propaganda, are bound to disappear as the friction of the jarring factions smoothens out the rough edges and adjusts them to a concrete body—a powerful section in the great international army of militant socialism.

In the general elections of 1898 upwards of 91,000 votes were cast for the socialist candidates in the United States, an increase in this "off year" of almost two hundred per cent over the general elections of two years previous, the presidential year of 1896. Since the congressional elections of 1898, and more particularly since the municipal and state elections following, which resulted in such signal victories in Massachusetts, two members of the legislature and a mayor, the first in America, being elected by decided majorities—since then, socialism has made rapid strides in all directions and the old politicians no longer reckon it as a negative quantity in making their forecasts and calculating their pluralities and majorities.

The subject has passed entirely beyond the domain of sneer and ridicule and now commands serious treatment. Of course it is violently denounced by the capitalist press and by all the brood of subsidized contributors to magazine literature, but this only confirms the view that the advance of socialism is very properly recognized by the capitalist class as the one cloud upon the horizon which portends an end to the system in which they have waxed fat, insolent and despotic through the exploitation of their countless wage-working slaves.

In school and college and church, in clubs and public halls everywhere, socialism is the central theme of discussion, and its advocates, inspired by its noble principles, are to be found here, there and in all places ready to give or accept challenge to battle. In the cities the corner meetings are popular and effective. But rarely is such a gathering now molested by the "authorities" and then only where they have just been inaugurated. They are too numerous attended by serious, intelligent and self-reliant men and women to invite interference.

Agitation is followed by organization, and the increase of branches, sections and clubs goes forward with extraordinary activity in every part of the land.

In New England the agitation has resulted in quite a general organization among the states, with Massachusetts in the lead; and the indications are that, with the vigorous prosecution of the campaign already inaugurated, a tremendous increase in the vote will be polled in the approaching National elections. New York and Pennsylvania will show surprising socialist returns, while Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky will all round up with a large vote. Wisconsin has already a great vote to her credit and will increase it largely this year.

In the west and northwest, Kansas, Iowa and Minnesota will forge to the front, and so also will Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Colorado. California is expected to show an immense increase and the returns from there will not disappoint the most sanguine. In the southwest, Texas is making a stirring campaign and several papers, heretofore Populist, will support our candidates and swell the socialist vote, which will be an eye-opener when announced.

On the whole, the situation could scarcely be more favorable and the final returns will more than justify our sanguine expectations.

It must not be overlooked, however, when calculations are made, that this is a presidential year and that the general results will not be so favorable as if the elections were in an "off year." Both the Republican and Democratic parties will, as usual, strain every nerve to whip the "voting kings" into line and every conceivable influence will be exerted to that end. These vast machines operate with marvelous precision and the wheels are already in motion. Corruption funds, National, state and municipal, will flow out like lava tides; promises will be as plentiful as autumn leaves; from ten thousand platforms the columbian orator will agitate the atmosphere, while brass bands, torch-light processions, glittering uniforms and free whiskey, dispensed by the "ward-heeler," will lend their combined influence to steer the "patriots" to the capitalist chute that empties into the ballot-box.

The campaign this year will be unusually spectacular. The Republican party "points with pride" to the "prosperity" of the country, the beneficent results of the "gold standard" and the "war record" of the administration. The Democratic party declares that "imperialism" is the "paramount" issue and that the country is certain to go to the "demnition bow-wows" if Democratic office holders are not elected instead of the Republicans. The Democratic slogan is "The Republic vs. the Empire," accompanied in a very minor key by 16 to 1 and "direct legislation where practical."

Both these capitalist parties are fiercely opposed to trusts, though what they propose to do with them is not of sufficient importance to require even a hint in their platforms.

Needless is it for me to say to the thinking working man that he has no choice between these two capitalist parties, that they are both pledged to the same system and that whether the one or the other succeeds, he will still remain the wage-working slave he is to-day.

What but meaningless phrases are "imperialism," "expansion," "free silver," "gold standard," etc., to the wage-worker? The large capitalists represented by Mr. McKinley and the small

capitalists represented by Mr. Bryan are interested in these "issues," but they do not concern the working class.

What the workmen of the country are profoundly interested in is the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, the enslaving and degrading wage-system in which they toil for a pittance at the pleasure of their masters and are bludgeoned, jailed or shot when they protest—this is the central, controlling, vital issue of the hour, and neither of the old party platforms has a word or even a hint about it.

As a rule, large capitalists are Republicans and small capitalists are Democrats, but workmen must remember that they are all capitalists and that the many small ones, like the fewer large ones, are all politically supporting their class interests, and this is always and everywhere the capitalist class.

Whether the means of production, that is to say, the land, mines, factories, machinery, etc., are owned by a few large Republican capitalists, who organize a trust, or whether they be owned by a lot of small Democratic capitalists, who are opposed to the trust, is all the same to the working class. Let the capitalists, large and small, fight this out among themselves.

The working class must get rid of the whole brood of masters and exploiters, and put themselves in possession and control of the means of production, that they may have steady employment without consulting a capitalist employer, large or small, and that they may get the wealth their labor produces, every bit of it, and enjoy with their families the fruits of their industry in comfortable and happy homes, abundant and wholesome food, proper clothing and all other things necessary to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It is therefore a question, not of "reform," the mask of fraud, but of revolution. The capitalist system must be overthrown, class-rule abolished and wage-slavery supplanted by co-operative industry.

We hear it frequently urged that the Democratic party is the "poor man's party," "the friend of labor." There is but one way to relieve poverty and to free labor, and that is by making common property of the tools of labor.

Is the Democratic party, which we are assured has "strong socialistic tendencies," in favor of collective ownership of the means of production? Is it opposed to the wage-system, from which flows in a ceaseless stream the poverty, misery and wretchedness of the children of toil? If the Democratic party is the "friend of labor" any more than the Republican party, why is its platform dumb in the presence of Coeur d'Alene? It knows the truth about these shocking outrages—crimes upon workingmen, their wives and children, which would blacken the pages of Siberia—why does it not speak out?

What has the Democratic party to say about the "property

and educational qualification" in North Carolina and Louisiana, and the proposed general disfranchisement of the negro race in the southern states?

The differences between the Republican and Democratic parties involve no issue, no principle in which the working class have any interest, and whether the spoils be distributed by Hanna and Platt, or by Croker and Tammany Hall is all the same to them.

Between these parties socialists have no choice, no preference. They are one in their opposition to socialism, that is to say, the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery, and every workingman who has intelligence enough to understand the interest of his class and the nature of the struggle in which it is involved, will once and for all time sever his relations with them both; and recognizing the class-struggle which is being waged between producing workers and non-producing capitalists, cast his lot with the class-conscious, revolutionary, socialist party, which is pledged to abolish the capitalist system, class-rule and wage-slavery—a party which does not compromise or fuse, but, preserving inviolate the principles which quickened it into life and now give it vitality and force, moves forward with dauntless determination to the goal of economic freedom.

The political trend is steadily toward Socialism. The old parties are held together only by the cohesive power of spoils, and in spite of this they are steadily disintegrating. Again and again they have been tried with the same results, and thousands upon thousands, awake to their duplicity, are deserting them and turning toward socialism as the only refuge and security. Republicans, Democrats, Populists, Prohibitionists, Single Taxers are having their eyes opened to the true nature of the struggle and they are beginning to

"Come as the winds come, when
Forests are rended;
Come as the waves come, when
Navies are stranded."

For a time the Populist party had a mission, but it is practically ended. The Democratic party has "fused" it out of existence. The "middle of the road" element will be sorely disappointed when the votes are counted, and they will probably never figure in another National campaign. Not many of them will go back to the old parties. Many of them have already come to Socialism, and the rest are sure to follow.

There is no longer any room for a Populist party, and progressive populists realize it, and hence the "strongholds" of populism are becoming the "hot-beds" of socialism.

It is simply a question of capitalism or socialism, of despotism or democracy, and they who are not wholly with us are wholly against us.

Another source of strength to socialism, steadily increasing, is the trades-union movement. The spread of socialist doctrine among the labor organizations of the country during the past year exceeds the most extravagant estimates. No one has had better opportunities than the writer to note the transition to socialism among trades-unionists, and the approaching election will abundantly verify it.

Promising, indeed, is the outlook for socialism in the United States. The very contemplation of the prospect is a well-spring of inspiration.

Oh, that all the working class could and would use their eyes and see; their ears and hear; their brains and think. How soon this earth could be transformed and by the alchemy of social order made to blossom with beauty and joy.

No sane man can be satisfied with the present system. If a poor man is happy, said Victor Hugo, "he is the pick-pocket of happiness. Only the rich and noble are happy by right. The rich man is he who, being young, has the rights of old age; being old, the lucky chances of youth; vicious, the respect of good people; a coward, the command of the stout-hearted; doing nothing, the fruits of labor." . . .

The great Frenchman also propounded this interrogatory which every workingman will do well to contemplate: "Can you fancy a city directed by the men who built it?"

With pride and joy we watch each advancing step of our comrades in socialism in all other lands. Our hearts are with them in their varying fortunes as the battle proceeds, and we applaud each telling blow delivered and cheer each victory achieved.

The wire has just brought the tidings of Liebknecht's death. The hearts of American socialists will be touched and shocked by the calamity. The brave old warrior succumbed at last, but not until he heard the tramp of International Socialism, for which he labored with all his loving, loyal heart; not until he saw the thrones of Europe, one by one, begin to totter, not until he had achieved a glorious immortality.

Eugene V. Debs.

COMPARISON OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

The National platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties are so wordy that a reproduction of them would require more space than is herein available, and yet there is an abundance of room for the consideration of all the points worthy of notice.

When reference is made to these parties it will be understood to include only the authors of the platforms and their associates rather than the rank and file of the voters. It will be interesting to note the compliments each party pays to the other; their vociferous professions of their own sincerity; the contradictions contained in each platform; how the platforms conflict with the acts of each party; their feigned love for the workingman; their professed loyalty to the flag, to the Constitution and to the Declaration of Independence; their "noble responsibility" (?) for the Porto Rican, Cuban and Filipino; their hatred for corporate "conspiracies and combinations," and their effort to keep the producing class divided by riveting their attention to these superficial declarations while the capitalist class holds the scepter and reaps the harvest.

The Republican platform compliments the Democratic party in the following language: "Under Democratic administration business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired"; "capital was hidden away, labor distressed and unemployed"; "the menace to prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles and in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs"; "the Democratic party has never earned public confidence." Meanwhile the Democratic platform compliments the Republican party as follows: "The Porto Rico law enacted by a Republican Congress is a flagrant breach of the national good faith"; "the Republican carpetbag officials plunder the revenues (of Cuba) and exploit the colonial theory, to the disgrace of the American people"; "the declaration that the Republican party steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine is manifestly insincere and deceptive"; "the Republican party supports the trusts in return for campaign subscriptions and political support." Thus the one is said to be incapable and the other dishonest; and who is there that would dare dispute such high authority? Indeed, upon reflection one is inclined to be even more liberal and to concede that what each party says is not only true

of the other, but is also applicable to themselves. The logic of events has driven both parties from the issues of the last presidential campaign; the tariff and the money question are buried, and the respective planks in the platforms only serve as headboards to their graves.

The Democratic party has openly confessed that the issue of 16 to 1, upon which only four short years ago the institutions of this country were to eternally stand or fall, is now of minor importance, and the question of imperialism has taken its place. Thus the burial ceremonies were said; while the Republican party insists that their legislation on money and tariff has been followed by "prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known." And this claim is made in the face of the facts that a high "tariff" and a "gold standard" prevailed under Cleveland at the time when the Republicans insist that "Business was dead," "industry paralyzed," "credit impaired," "money hid away," "labor distressed," and also in the face of the facts that they made no material change in the tariff and the gold-standard laws, and the slight alteration in the currency law was not made until the last session of Congress, after the "wave of prosperity" had passed. Priding themselves upon the "wisdom of the gold-standard legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress," passed after the boom was over, they proceed to bury the tariff, with the following inscription upon the tombstone: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," "whose constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world." Thus they paid tribute to the dead issue, for of what value is a tariff if we are able to "enter the markets of the world"? But since that is a fact, could protection have caused the boom of which they boast? Surely this will need no argument. These issues buried, they take their respective position upon the new issues of imperialism, of the trust and of expansion, with a bait on the side for labor. The Republican party, in its efforts to justify imperialism, declares that the "war was for liberty and human rights," and that "ten millions of the human race were given a new birth of freedom and the American people a new and noble responsibility." If these men are free, are we responsible for them? Is it really freedom or slavery into which they have been born? The Republican party says the "largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be given them." What right have we to determine upon the measure of self-government consistent with their welfare? Was this not precisely what England said of us when we were weak? Is this not always the excuse of the powerful when they are unscrupulously forcing tribute from the weak? Thus our Constitution and Declaration of Independence are trampled under foot,

and taxation without representation becomes the policy of the Republican party.

The Democratic party, being ever watchful for political advantage, perceives this flaw and promptly declares "that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny . . . and is a substitution of the methods of imperialism for those of a republic," "and that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Indeed! and did the Democratic party disfranchise the colored people of North Carolina because "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"?

The Democrats assert that "no nation can long endure half republic and half empire." Can any state long so endure? Look again at North Carolina. Again they warn us that "imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home." Has not despotism already followed imperialism in North Carolina? Were the Democrats in power, would they be more just to the colored Porto Rican than they are to the colored Carolinian? Is not Democratic imperialism and tyranny as hateful in North Carolina as Republican tyranny and imperialism is in Porto Rico and the Philippines?

The Republicans are doing in Porto Rico and the Philippines precisely what the Democrats are doing in North Carolina, and there is no reason to suppose that either would change their conduct if they were to exchange their places. Give them power, and they will both be imperialists. The Democratic platform declares that "the burning issue of imperialism grew out of the Spanish war," and yet they declare that "Trusts are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few, at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed." Is not this imperialism? Does not imperialism reign in all our industries? Did it grow out of this Spanish war? Can a nation long exist half republic and half empire? Can imperialism continue in our industries and democracy in our politics?

The Democratic platform says that "Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the unfinished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer." While the Republican platform "Condemns all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favors such legislation as will effectually restrain and prevent all such abuses."

Since they are both agreed upon this proposition, and since they are the only parties represented in Congress, it is pertinent to ask why they did not do something toward carrying out their

professions? Each blames the others, and again they are both right, for they are both at fault. The proof is to be found in the fact that they are agreed upon two still more fundamental propositions, from which the other issues arise. They indorse the wages system, and uphold the rights of capital. The Republican platform says, first: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," by which "the wages in every department of labor has been maintained at high rates." Second: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions."

The Democratic platform says, first: "We favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employes." Second: "Corporations should be protected in all their rights and legitimate interests."

Upon these two propositions they are certainly agreed. But the wages system means that one man employs another for a part of his product and keeps the rest. It also means that the employer will keep more of the worker's product than insufficient to live upon; otherwise he would do as well to work for a wage. But since the workers produce more than enough to pay themselves and to keep their employers, where is there to be found a market for the rest? Evidently there will be no home market for such products. That which is left over will first become capital. The aggregation of this capital will grow into corporations with their alleged "legitimate interests." The aggregation of these corporations means trusts. In proportion as the number of trusts increases the number of employers decreases. As the machinery of production is improved in its efficiency, so also can fewer men perform the task and at the same time live on a smaller proportion of their increased product. Thus is the surplus for which there is no market constantly and necessarily increased.

It is for this reason that the Republican platform says that "new markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our products," and the Democratic platform says "we favor trade expansion."

It was this surplus that caused our war with Spain, under the pretext of freeing the suffering Cuban. Yet the Republican party claim that the war was "unsought and patiently resisted." It is also this surplus which is causing the war with China, under the pretext of saving the missionaries and legations. The Republican platform says that "Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient." And those markets or people which are conquered will be given that "measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties." And thus is political imperialism becoming established as a result of our industrial imperialism, and taxation without

representation is the ruling policy. But it is to be expected that this will be the political policy when every industrial establishment in our country is a little empire, with an employer as absolute monarch, "protected in his legitimate interests," and where the workers are his subjects. Nor should we be surprised at the policy of taxation without representation in the colonies, for this is our custom in our industries.

Have the workingmen any voice in the management of the industry in which they are employed? In this respect their voice is as silent as the tomb. Is it not their labor that produces the products, the profit, the capital, the surplus which is kept from them? Is this not taxation without representation?

The reason why neither the Democratic or Republican parties ever propose to abolish this wages system, this system of taxation without representation, is because those who frame the platforms are the representatives of the capitalist class who do the taxing. The power derived from taxation is to them sweeter than justice. They blindfold the working class by referring to the little business flurry just past as a wonderfully prosperous period, but they never mention the fact that the government wasted about 1,000,000,000 of dollars in prosecuting the war and the boom only lasted while we were spending it. It was only an opiate which stimulates for a moment, but leaves a wreck of its victim.

Instead of reminding us that they have thrown away 1,000,000,000 of dollars, which the working class must pay, with interest; instead of reminding us of the fact that expansion is only an extension of the American capitalists' power of taxation without representation; instead of telling us in so many words that they love the workingman for what they can get out of him; they "renew their faith in protection of the worker," while they renew their gatling guns in protection of the "legitimate (?) interests of the corporations"—that is, of themselves. The injunction sets the law in operation, and the standing army is sent to the Coeur d'Alenes, the state militia to Croton dam, the United States marshals to St. Louis and Hazelton. The capitalist class, with the machinery of government, protects their interests against the working class, who produced the capital. The Democratic platform condemns government by injunction and declares for government by arbitration. Were arbitration made binding by law, there is no reason to believe that the arbitrators would show any more interest in behalf of the working class than do the present injunction judges. In such case the arbitrators would set the law in motion, the terms would be binding, and the capitalist class, being in possession of the powers of government, would enforce these terms at the point of the bayonet, and the last vestige of the workingman's liberty would be gone.

Both protection and arbitration are but baits on the capitalist's hook to catch the worker's vote.

It is apparent that the live issues of this campaign have been forced to the front by our industrial development. Starting with the wages system, the first result is a surplus which develops the autocratic employer on the one hand and the workman as his subject on the other. As the surplus increases the employer develops into a capitalist, then into a corporation "without a soul," but with "legitimate (?) interests," while the workman remains a subject with no voice in the management of affairs. When the surplus grows still larger it represents more power with which the trust is organized and the prices to some degree controlled, with the working class still in subjection.

As the trust becomes more powerful the surplus seeks foreign markets and the workers in foreign lands who are being fleeced are considered even less capable of acting intelligently than are the American workers, and thus political imperialism abroad is added to industrial imperialism at home. Instead of compulsory education, with state support, both the Republican and Democratic parties favor educational qualification, and in some states agitation is being made for property qualification. As the surplus product increases beyond the market, men are thrown out of work. As men are discharged, competition for positions begins among the workers and wages go down; as wages go down the worker is less able to own property or to school his children, and thus a process of disfranchising the working class begins, imperialism rears its head from the industrial into political affairs, and taxation without representation becomes the political as well as the industrial policy of our country. The capitalist will diligently support the wages system and loudly declare that capital, though the product of labor, has "legitimate interests" antagonistic to labor, because it is by this process that they gain their power. They will multiply the issues and magnify their importance in their mad greed for power. A vote for either the Democratic or the Republican parties is a vote for the trust, for expansion, and for imperialism, because these issues are the logical and inevitable result of the wages system, which they both support. Not until the working class organize a political party, managed by and for the interests of their class, and through the instrumentality of that party, conquer the powers of government, and reorganize the industrial institutions, to the end that each producer shall have an equal voice in the management thereof, and that all productive capital shall be owned in common and that the wages system shall be abolished, and that each worker shall receive an equivalent for his total product, will the problems of imperialism, taxation without representation, expansion, trusts, corporate greed, and labor wars, be set-

tled, and the two now warring classes be united into one fraternal bond of fellowship, making war upon nature for her fruits instead of upon each other.

This devolves upon the working class. It is to their interest. They have the votes, the power and the intelligence, and it depends upon the concerted action of the Socialists to deliver to them the necessary information as to its exercise.

Job Harriman.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE TRUST QUESTION.

The trust question has become prominent in the last few years, owing to the rapid organization of industry. Probably no natural movement ever brought out such widespread protests as this tendency of capitalistic combination. So important has the question become that the great political parties could not ignore the issue. Naturally the position taken by the three respective parties, on the trust question, reflects the material interests of the classes they serve.

The Republican party represents the interests of the large capitalistic class—the plutocracy. It declares in its platform: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of honest co-operation of capital, . . . but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business or control prices." This declaration is somewhat ambiguous. It does not inform us what is meant by "honest co-operation of capital" or what combinations are considered conspiracies. Some one has suggested that only such combinations are conspiracies as refuse to contribute liberally to the Republican campaign fund. If this is the right inference, then all must have contributed in 1896, for the administration has not condemned any of the combinations.

Of course the declaration is a mere subterfuge. It is well known to-day that the Republican party represents the interests of the trust magnates, but there has been such a hue and cry raised against the trusts that the party did not dare to openly defend these combinations without a pretense of antagonism. Consequently it inserted a cleverly drawn "plank" that can be interpreted according to circumstances. It is evident that the administration does not consider any of the existing combinations "conspiracies," for the Republicans have been in full control of all branches of the National administration, and have failed to enact any legislation designed to curtail concentration or even to enforce the anti-trust laws already in existence. In face of the fact that more trusts have been formed during the McKinley administration than during all the preceding administrations combined, their pretense of opposition to any kind of combination is ludicrous. Should the Republicans again be successful they would undoubtedly gain courage and throw off the mask and come out openly for the trust policy. There are many

indications that such would be the course pursued—individuals and papers, here and there, even now openly champion the cause of concentrated capital. Of course, they would rely, as in the past, upon deceiving the working class as to its interests. Were it not for this wholesale deception, the present system could not long be maintained.

The Democratic party represents the interests of the middle class—the class of small capitalists, small producers and traders. Its platform declares that “Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producers and consumers. . . . We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, state, and city against private monopoly in every form.”

The Democratic party thus pledges itself to an unceasing warfare against private monopoly, but it fails to point out just where the monopoly exists. It relies upon the popular prejudice against so-called trusts to identify all such combinations with private monopoly! But as a matter of fact there are no absolute monopolies in the industrial field. The Standard Oil Company comes the nearest to being an industrial monopoly, yet there are some 25 or 30 independent companies, 15 of which have a capital of from \$100,000 to \$1,000,000. In the paper combine some 75 per cent or 80 per cent of the productive capacity of the country is represented, but there is vigorous competition outside. The same is true of other industries where organization has been effected—no line of industry has yet been completely centralized under one management. Of course there are businesses such as railroads, trolley companies, electric and gas supplies, etc., that are absolute monopolies. As the Democratic party does not declare for public ownership of these monopolies but merely for war on them, are we to understand that they desire to destroy all such monopolies and return to the old-fashioned stage coach and tallow dip? Surely they must know that competition in these fields is impossible, and yet these are the only fields where absolute private monopoly exists and so the only businesses upon which they really declare war. But this, however, is not the intention, for the party represents the interests of the middle class and so is opposed to all large concentrated capital, for it is this concentration that is eliminating the small producers in every field.

But the question naturally arises, Does the Democratic party desire to suppress all organization of industry? Evidently not, for the platform declares that “corporations should be protected in their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected.” If corporations, then, are to be protected, is there any distinction to be made between large and small corpora-

tions? If so, where is the line to be drawn? The principle of organization is the same in both instances, the only difference is in the size of their capital. Will they draw the line at a hundred millions, at fifty millions, ten millions, one million, five hundred thousand, one hundred thousand, fifty, ten, or one thousand? If a hundred millions capital aggregated into one concern is dangerous, why not fifty millions, and if fifty millions, why not one, and so on all the way down? Where is the line to be drawn? Would it not be well for those who oppose economic progress and organization of industry to point out the economic principle of discrimination?

Is it said that no distinction is to be made between large and small corporations but between the corporation and trust form of organization? But the difference between the trust and corporation is not economic but legal. There never were but few bona fide trusts and these have now—I believe without an exception—been dissolved, in order to escape adverse legislation, and converted into large corporations. The so-called trusts, being but large corporations, makes the question of drawing the line of great importance. The crusade against so-called trusts, then, is merely a crusade against large corporations, and the Democratic party ought not to expect the people to support any such movement unless they know just what is to be done. Let no one be deceived; the cry "Down with trusts" is a crusade against the concentration of capital.

The question then is this: Is the modern tendency toward greater and greater organization and centralization in industry economic, efficient, and in accord with industrial progress, and is the outcome destined to prove beneficial to society as a whole? It must be evident that the principle of combination, the concentration of capital, is economic and efficient, else it would be discarded. In fact, the principle was adopted as the result of a series of experiments which taught the capitalists the efficiency of capital in large masses. They found out that large capital could be used more advantageously than small capital—it could produce more economically and efficiently. As such experiments proved successful they were extended. Every million added to the plant increased the efficiency of both the old capital and the new, and so gradually industry was transformed. That this tendency of concentration is in accord with industrial progress is evident from the fact that the whole history of industrial progress is the history of economic evolution—the organization and centralization of industry. Without this centralization productive efficiency could not have progressed beyond the status of small individual concerns. The difference between the economic status of the individual capitalist, the corporation and the so-called trusts, is not one of principle but of size and complexity

of industrial organization. The corporation, with its greater concentration of capital, is able to organize industry on a more complex basis and on a larger scale than the individual capitalist, and for the same reason the trust is able to more completely organize industry than the corporation. While the corporation consists in the association of a number of capitalists, the trust proper is the association of corporations, the only difference being that one represents a greater aggregation and centralization of capital than the other. The organization of industry has proceeded just in proportion as capital has been concentrated, and economy in production depends upon organization—the more perfect the organization, the greater the economy. The individual capitalist is not able to organize industry on a very complex basis, but the corporation with its larger capital can more completely organize industry and specialize labor, while the trust with its still larger capital can effect a more perfect organization and better utilization of productive energy.

Here, note, that each step in the industrial evolution has been taken because conditions demanded it. The growth in mechanical inventions, the large amount of capital necessitated to utilize profitably the new methods, made it impossible for the individual capitalist to furnish the requisite means, so the corporation arose. Still further progress in mechanical improvements and the evolution in industrial methods made a greater aggregation of capital necessary, so the trusts came into existence—a step further along the line of industrial progress.

The history of economic progress, then, has been the history of the concentration of productive capital. That this concentration is necessary to the utilization of the best methods in modern industry is evident. To reverse this tendency and decentralize capital is to barbarize society. The Democratic middle class policy, then, is reactionary—it would destroy economic progress.

The character of the anti-trust movement is analogous to the anti-machinery movement of a century ago, when the hand loom weavers marched throughout England and destroyed the power looms. Hargreaves, Arkright, and Crompton were driven from their homes by howling mobs, for inventing the new methods that displaced the old. The cry of "Down with machinery" has been supplanted by "Down with trusts." The whole history of industrial progress is the history of resistance to new methods the new inventions. It is not strange, then, that the phenomenal industrial development of the last few years should meet with vigorous opposition. But the movement toward greater organization of industry is natural and consequently inevitable. The aggregation of capital is indispensable to modern progress. In those countries and in those industries where the greatest concentration has taken place, there you will find the greatest prog-

ress. The great productive economies are confined to the industries where capital is most employed.

The result of this greater organization of industry, and consequent economy of production, has been to drive the smaller and inferior competitors from the field. It is because the middle class, with its effete machinery and methods, are unable to compete with the improved appliances of the larger corporations, that they wish to destroy these large corporations or trusts and force civilization back into the competitive stage of industry out of which we are evolving. But their efforts in this direction will be futile, as were those of their predecessors who endeavored to force a return to the handicraft stage of production. Both movements are in opposition to progress and so foredoomed to failure. The so-called trust is a natural product of the industrial evolution and has come to stay.

Of course, the middle class complain that this reorganization means their displacement. This is true but it cannot be helped, for those who best serve the community are entitled to the community's support, otherwise there would be no progress. Had the opposite policy prevailed we would still be employing the stage coach, and the hand flail, etc. The improved methods have been advantageous, else they would not have supplanted the old. The general fall in prices which has taken place in the last fifty years has been greatest in those industries where concentration has been greatest. Society, then, is not interested in sustaining small capitalists as producers and distributors. If they must be sustained by society, it would be more profitable to pension them than to pay the high prices resulting from the inferior methods necessitated by their small capital. Remember, when a small industry is driven from the field by a larger one it is because the latter does its work cheaper and better.

The middle class reads its doom in this concentration of capital. Of the 14,000 failures, annually, 87 per cent are those whose capital is \$5,000 or less. Is it any wonder, then, that this class should protest against the concentration of capital? Its frantic cry "Down with trusts" is merely the cry of its class interests. Its protest is not in behalf of the laboring class,—not a protest against the exploiting system of production,—but merely against the new capitalism becoming sole exploiter. The middle class does not object to some riding on the backs of others, but it wants to do the riding.

Let no laborer be deceived by this outcry against concentrated capital. It does not mean a betterment of labor conditions but rather the reverse. The tools of production to-day are social in character and can only be operated by co-operative labor. This fact precludes the possibility of the laborers as individuals ever owning the tools necessary to their toil. To destroy these

great combinations of capital would only mean the return to inferior methods of production—such methods and tools as could be owned by smaller organizations of capitalists. But the instruments of smaller corporations and even those furnished by the individual capitalist are social in character, consequently, —unless we return to the days of hand labor,—the workers would still be absolutely dependent, as to-day, upon the owning class. The only difference would be that under the decentralized programme the number of labor exploiters would be larger, but this would be of no benefit to the laboring class. Laborers are not benefited by increasing the number of their fleecers.

The plea of the middle class for its retention is futile. The laboring class is not interested in its preservation with its absurd principle of industrial competition. That competition is injurious is evident from the fact that it has been well nigh supplanted by the principle of combination. Surely no one with economic sense wishes to return to the era of competitive supremacy. A more wasteful and absurd system could not be devised—a system which takes several dozen firms to do the work of one. To be sure we sympathize with those displaced, but the displacement is inevitable—the necessary result of economic evolution. They are sacrificed for the perfecting of society. There awaits them however, an ample compensation, if they are wise enough to accept it, which we will consider presently.

The Socialist party represents the interests of the proletariat class—the class of wage and salary workers. It represents their interests because their class interests are in accord with social progress. The class interests of both the proprietary classes depend upon maintaining present conditions, but not so with the working class. While Socialism represents the class interests of the laborers, it also represents the true interests of every member of society. It does not represent the class interests of either division of the proprietary class, for their class interests signify such policies as make for the perpetuity of their class. Socialism would abolish all classes—a step necessary to realize a true civilization. But as the class interests of the laborers are in accord with economic progress, we call upon them to unite for their own emancipation, which would also mean the salvation of society, for they cannot save themselves without abolishing the cause of all economic servitude and oppression—the private and corporate ownership of the instruments of production and distribution. While Socialism represents the personal interests of all,—for it means a higher and truer civilization,—the members of the proprietary class are so blinded by their prejudice and class interests that they are unable to see what would make for a nobler manhood and a higher order of society. We cannot hope, then, that the capitalist class, as a class, will join the forward

movement, but individual members of the class will join, and are joining by the thousands, especially, from the perishing middle class.

Socialism is in the line of progress and certain of attainment. The Socialist party points out that the tendency to concentration is natural and inevitable, and that the gradual development of competing industries into trusts is destined to realize the ideal for which they labor—the Co-operative Commonwealth. One who understands the causes which have led to the substitution of combination for competition well knows the impossibility of ever returning to the latter. Associated capital and machinery are necessary to effective and economical production. The passing of industry from the hand to the mechanical basis, meant the death of the old competitive order. A return to the days of free competition and small things would constitute a reversal of all progress. To restore this era it would be necessary to destroy all modern machinery, all new and improved methods, all large factories and stores, and punish all progressiveness with instant death. We cannot return to the past—in economic evolution there is no retrogression. The whole history of industrial development evidences the tendency in progressive society toward a greater centralization of capital and organization of industry, which the most highly developed machinery and improved methods of production make necessary. Without this concentration industries could not have utilized the most improved methods; in fact, very few such industries could now be conducted on less than a million dollars capital, and many require tens and hundreds of millions. Shall we destroy this concentration and thus make impossible the use of the most effective methods in modern industry? Such a proposition is absurd, and yet this is the policy of the Democratic, middle class, party. Centralized capital is the most effective tool in production; to decentralize it would be to destroy this effective instrument.

Of course, the concentration of capital into the hands of a few enable these few to reap the benefits of economic progress, but there must be some way by which the improved methods can be retained and the benefits reaped by all the people. Socialism solves the problem. It points out that organized capital—the results of economic progress—can be preserved, and the benefits of this organization accrue to society as a whole. If the people wish to enjoy the benefits of these great combinations, the trusts, they must own them. As long as they remain private property, the few will reap the advantage. Public ownership is the key to the solution of the problem—the only rational solution of the vexed trust question. The principle of combination is sound and ought to be extended to the whole social order. As production and distribution on a large scale are more economic

they ought to survive, but the only safety to society is in the adoption of the principle by the collectivity. When these large corporations or trusts, which embody the principle of combination, are socialized, then the evils which arise from private ownership will disappear, leaving only the benefits that result from co-operation.

The Socialist solution of this problem is in accord with economic progress. We have seen how individuals combine into corporations and corporations into trusts, and we ask that the next logical step be taken and trusts combine into a great trust—the Nation. It is only in universal combination that a complete consummation of the economic evolution can be attained.

Shall this consummation be effected?

The Republican party, representing the interests of the plutocracy—the trust owners—says no. They admit the inevitableness of the concentration of industry and its advantages of increased production and economy, but as they reap the benefits, by virtue of their ownership, they are opposed to further progress. They would forcibly check the evolutionary process and prevent its consummation for the sake of private gain. They enjoy the benefits of Socialism in production—utilizing the Socialist principles of combination, co-operation and unification—but they are opposed to Socialism in distribution. What we want is Socialism in both production and distribution that the benefits of industrial evolution, now monopolized by a few, may become the inheritance of all. The large capitalists, then, in advocating the private ownership of concentrated industry, are merely championing their class interests.

The Democratic party, representing the interests of the middle class, also says no. As the large capitalists see only good in concentration, the middle class sees only evil. It completely overlooks the great power and economy effected by unified industry, and perceives nothing but the bitterness and failures that have attended its growth. As this organization means their downfall, they naturally revolt. While their opposition to industrial progress is due to their class interests—the middle class being hopelessly doomed in competition with large industries—their opposition to the consummation of the industrial evolution is due to their ignorance. If they realized the hopelessness of their struggle and the certain bankruptcy of their whole class, they would join the party of progress and aid in bringing in the new order. Socialism is their only hope—here only can they find compensation. But, like the slaveholders of old, they are blinded by their prejudice, and so think that their interests lie on the other side. The whole policy of this class is reactionary and tends to destroy progress and civilization.

The Socialist party, representing primarily the interests of the proletariat class, but in reality the true interests of every member of society—not their class interests, as we have seen, but their interests as human beings—says yes. The Socialist party is thus the only party of progress. It points out the good and evil of concentration and shows how the good can be retained and the evil eliminated. We regret the Democratic middle class reactionary policy of “trust smashing,” also the Republican plutocratic policy of “private ownership.” We cannot return to the days of competition and small things, while to maintain private property in modern tools of production is to block the wheels of progress. The only salvation is in pushing the evolution on to its logical consummation—public or collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution. It is only thus that the outcome of economic evolution will prove beneficial to society as a whole.

The question is often discussed as to the immediate effect of these great combinations on society. Some claim that they are necessarily injurious, while others contend that they are beneficial. Undoubtedly there are instances of both results. Some combinations have shared with the community, to a limited extent, the economies which resulted from the better organization and improved methods, while others have forced prices up and “gouged” the public to pay dividends on abnormal capitalization. The latter is the usual method, and even those industries that have, as a whole, lowered prices, make use of the periods of industrial activity to arbitrarily raise prices and reap enormous profits. The Standard Oil Company, the American Sugar Refining Company, the Cotton Seed Oil Trust, the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the great railroad systems, have shared with society, although sparingly, the economies resulting from their improved methods, but, as already pointed out, some of them are unable to resist the universal impulse to make larger profits and so take advantage of improved industrial conditions to advance prices and fleece the public more than usual. Almost all industries recently organized have followed this speculative, monopolistic method. It is the piracy of these combinations, with their “corners” and “trade agreements,” etc., that has rightly aroused popular indignation. This selfish greed does not militate against the principle of combination—the economy and efficiency of the principle is beyond controversy—but it clearly shows the danger of leaving the principle in private or corporate control. Neither does the fact that certain combinations have shared any portion of the gain with society, justify private or corporate ownership. For even where this is said to have occurred, prices have been arbitrarily advanced and the public robbed of millions. But it is sometimes

argued that even with the increased price the community gains over the old competitive method—prices not arising to the former level for fear of inviting competition—but if this be true it only shows, at the most, the benefit of trust production over competition—it does not touch the question of public ownership.

It must be evident to all that as long as these combinations remain in private hands only a fraction of the benefit of improved methods will ever accrue to the community. Thus while the Standard Oil Company has greatly reduced the price of oil, it has not reduced its profits one cent, but just the reverse. In fact, the reduction in price was only for the purpose of increasing consumption and so adding to the profits. The fact that the Standard Oil Company is reported to have made \$100,000,000 last year, and the American Sugar Refining Company is now said to be making \$72,000 a day, shows that in these industries the community does not reap the full benefits of the improved methods. It is only by public ownership that the full benefits of modern machinery and methods can be reaped by all the people. In every instance where the combinations have reduced prices, the reduction has not been anywhere near in proportion to the decreased cost of production. To hope that capitalists will ever voluntarily share their gain with the public by relinquishing any part of their fleecings is truly Utopian. Whenever prices are voluntarily lowered, whether by an individual or corporation, it is not for the sake of the public, but for the sake of larger profits.

The power of capital is too great to be trusted in the hands of individuals and this power is ever increasing with the concentration of capital. There are apologists of the present order who pretend to see no danger in this condition of things. They tell us that the economic rulers would never take advantage of the people, but experience does not bear out this contention. They philosophize that the "masters" would not put up prices abnormally high for fear of inviting competition. There may have been instances in the past when this fear might have had a salutary effect, but it has evidently lost its terror, judging from the tremendous rise of prices that has taken place in the last few years. Every line of industry has vied with each other to see which could excel in fleecing the public. This fear of inviting competition by raising prices is removed as industrial organization is perfected. When a great industry is once established its laborers organized and markets developed, it can bid defiance to competitors. A new firm cannot well invade the field in opposition to the great combination, for it cannot organize its laborers, its foremen, overseers, superintendents, etc., and correlate all the vast mechanical appliances and catch up with the combination already organized which can continually improve its organization and plant and so

be able to control the market. Besides, the abnormal rise of prices is not permanent; they are forced up for a time and millions additional profits secured, and then before new capital could invade the field, prices are reduced.

While there are probably no absolute industrial monopolies as yet, still it is not necessary for a combination to own every productive plant in order to control the market. The Standard Oil Company absolutely and arbitrarily controls the oil market, although there are independent producers. The reason the Standard Oil Company can control the market is that the independent producers are unable to supply the demand. As the product of the Standard Company is necessary to meet the demand—the product of the independent refineries being comparatively insignificant—it can fix the price. The Standard Company being thus able to control the market has not seen fit to crush out all the independent producers, which no one doubts its ability to do if it so desired. The few that exist have been able to hold on only because they are favorably situated. They have been allowed to continue, probably because they are harmless and because the company does not wish to stir up new opposition—it has had its hands full warding off adverse legislation. As soon as a combination is formed controlling the larger portion of the output, although not an absolute monopoly, strictly speaking—more or less plants being outside the combine—still it is a practical monopoly for it can fix prices, raise and lower them, at will.

The outcome of this movement of concentration, however, will be absolute monopoly. As competition ends in combination, so combination ends in complete monopoly. That all competition will be finally eliminated is evident from the fact that capital is concentrating into the hands of a few. In the modern joint-stock form of ownership the great capitalists become interested in various industries and so will not invest their surplus capital in competing enterprises. John D. Rockefeller, for example, has capital invested in various and diversified industries and he is associated in these with many other capitalists, all of which have a common interest. Is it to be supposed that these men will put capital into other plants of the same kind and thus compete against themselves? Thus when capital and industry are concentrated into the hands of a few, all being mutually interested in the same productive enterprises, competition will be rendered impossible. It will then make no difference how high prices are raised or how the permanent large profits might be attractive to new capital, there will be no surplus capital outside of those who own the industries to invest in competitive enterprises. The great economic masters can then rule with a hand of iron, controlling product, prices, and people to suit their own sweet will.

There is but one escape from this condition and from the servitude already forced upon the working class. The socialization of the trusts and a democratic administration of industry for the benefit of all the people is the only solution of the problem. Socialism would secure to all the people, instead of the few, the benefits of the scientific organization of industry.

Charles H. Vail.

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT.

The first impression of Liebknecht was always a strong one, in spite of the fact that it allowed of no analysis. There was a realization of his dignity and presence though he was not a tall man; there was a perception at once of his intensity though his manner was calm and his conversation quiet. The first time I saw him he was standing at his desk in the office of the "Vorwaerts." The room itself was in some confusion of books and papers, and Liebknecht's high desk was covered with them; but after he turned to greet the two Socialists from Chicago—who came unannounced, without letter of introduction—no more thought was given to the surroundings. He appeared to be a man of sixty-five—in reality he was seventy-three. His iron-grey hair and beard did not conceal the strong lines of his face which showed a life of struggle. His features were large and somewhat roughly cut, but they were as firm as the thought behind them; his eyes were keen and clear. But, more than all else, there was a simplicity of manner which belongs only to those who have lived in the lives of other men, without compromise and without fear.

He went down to the book-room to get a catalogue and he passed through the office where twenty or thirty persons were waiting to see the advocate employed by the "Vorwaerts." They all bowed to Liebknecht with the peculiar deference which is given only to those whose work has brought them into the hearts of the oppressed. He went through the room quickly, for he avoided always the slightest possible acknowledgment of his position.

And that, perhaps, explains the love he bore to an undisturbed outdoor life. Every day when the weather permitted he and Frau Liebknecht went to Grunewald, a great pine forest just outside Berlin, and spent several hours in walking or reading in one of the gardens. It was there that he usually read the Socialist journals from other lands, and no conversation about him ever disturbed his perusal of foreign news. One morning I saw him take out of his pocket papers from France, Belgium, Italy, Denmark and England—and he read one after the other with perfect ease. In a letter written the twenty-fourth of July he said, "Until the beginning of last week, when the heat set in, we had cool and wet weather, so that it was impossible to go often to the Grunewald." And then he wrote of his extra work because of the number of vacations being taken by the staff of the "Vor-

waerts"; so that it seems as if his death might be traced to overwork and the break in his regular exercise. He was stricken with paralysis on August seventh; overcome by the burdens he had taken upon his own shoulders, after living through the persecutions and dangers of a monarchy, in the midst of which he had spent his life as an avowed Republican.

Liebkecht's life was coincident with the German conflict from 1848 to the year of his death. He was born at Giessen, in Hesse, and spent his boyhood in an atmosphere of books and culture;—his grandfather had been rector of the University of Giessen and it was there that Liebkecht first began to study in his rather unruly fashion, devoting much time to the things he liked, and refusing to drudge over the things he disliked. Later, he studied at the Universities of Marburg and Berlin, and among the books he read were the works of St. Simon. He was roused to such a pitch of enthusiasm that he decided to start for the land of democracy—for America.

But a Swiss teacher met him on his way to Hamburg and persuaded him to wait and watch the approaching crisis in European politics. Liebkecht had burnt his bridges behind him before starting out by announcing to his family his dissatisfaction with the existing conditions and his interest in the new school of French economists. And he found himself obliged to study for the law as a means of livelihood when he had crossed the border. Here in Zurich he came for the first time in contact with the workingmen and those who were antagonistic to the traditional governments. He learned that as early as 1833 there had been an uprising in Frankfort on the part of those who wished political equality, and he learned that the suppression of that uprising had sent these men across the border who had had the courage in their exile to publish a paper called the "Proscribed," and to send it back to their fellows in Frankfort.

In this same year Marx and Engels—who had met in Paris three years before—converted the League of the Just into the Communist League and published the Communist Manifesto which marks the first epoch of Socialism and expressed the principles which have since served to unite workingmen of warring nations. Liebkecht's enthusiasm had grown with his knowledge of the struggle for liberty; and he set out for Paris in 1848 ready to carry a musket with his French comrades. He was too late to fight, but he stayed in to study the methods of the Communists, and only left when he heard that the young poet Herwegh was about to strike a blow for liberty in his own country.

Then he hurried across the frontier, only to cross it again after a few weeks of futile marches and repeated calls to arms. Lieb-

knecht, as one of the most active "rebels" had naturally to seek Switzerland, but he soon returned to Baden where the ferment of discontent had been more constant. Struve was the leader, and with a disaffected army, which had found the king's rule unsupportable, he might have been successful in establishing a republic, had he not been a procrastinator. Liebknecht himself was most active and showed the executive ability which has always made his work effective. However, after a season of hopeful progress, there was strife among the revolutionists, and the government was enabled to suppress the young Republic. Liebknecht was arrested and kept in parole nine months which time he devoted to preparing a defense of himself as a Revolutionist and to courting his wife.

Much to his chagrin he was judged "not guilty" and had no opportunity of making a maiden speech in Baden and yet his popularity which had obtained his acquittal could not procure his safety if he remained longer and once again he set out for Switzerland.

In Geneva he undertook the education of workingmen's groups in the principles and concepts of Socialism, and he accomplished enough to rouse the fears of both Prussia and Austria who demanded, in 1850, that the authorities of Geneva expel him from their city. Then began the most severe time of trial for Liebknecht. He went to London, without any outlook in the way of a living. He refused the financial help of Marx and Engels, both of whom became greatly interested in him and were well able to aid him. He tramped miles to secure pupils in German, and there were times when he felt actual hunger; worst of all, his wife and child were called upon to suffer with him, and they could not know the zest of the battle in which the young German felt himself.

At last he became the London correspondent for the "Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung" and was enabled to maintain himself until 1861, when an amnesty permitted him to return to Prussia. He was made one of the editors then of the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" and as he was again given carte blanche in his work, he found himself in the most comfortable circumstances, as regarded his principles and his material welfare, that he had known since he left Giessen. His experience with English organizations led him to redouble his efforts in developing self-conscious groups of workingmen—he had lost his confidence in any effective middle-class movement years before. And he threw himself into the work with so much vigor that the rebuff which came in 1862 was almost enough to embitter him.

Bismarck had come into power and had won over the chief of the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," who, in turn, tried to

persuade his colleague to restrain his logic and clever sarcasm to the point of meditative theorizing. This attempt at persuasion failed, and agents of Bismarck approached with offers of a brilliant sort which assured Liebknecht of a high position as the wage of compromise. The only alternative was poverty, and Liebknecht chose poverty. He resigned his position.

During this second term of financial uncertainty he was constantly persecuted by the police, who were never without hope that he might be tormented to the point of open resistance—an excuse for his arrest. But he worked on with perfect calmness, objected always to Bismarck's policy and joined Lassalle's movement. In 1865 a certificate of his good behavior in London was demanded of him, but as the English have no bureau for the investigation of peaceable individuals, he could not obtain one. He was arrested and told to leave Berlin, and his appeals to highest authorities were met by a reiterated command that he should go.

This banishment meant an acquaintance and friendship with Bebel in Leipzig. They spent a year together, and the struggle was mainly for Internationalism, which became the point of difference between the Marxists and the Lassellians. It was due to Liebknecht's efforts that there were so many converts to the Marx program.

After a time, family affairs called him to Berlin, and as there was an amnesty—understood by Liebknecht to cover his case—he returned without fear. He was in Berlin but four weeks when again arrested, and imprisoned for five months; his ban was still in force. When he came out of prison he found his wife dead; she had suffered too much, and her life was sacrificed to the work for the many sufferers.

In 1867 the Federation of Educational Societies endorsed the International platform after long, hard work done by Bebel and Liebknecht, and the founding of the Social Democratic party in 1869 marked a definite growth in the great movement. From that time on, Liebknecht's life was divided between his work as editor of Socialist papers and as Socialist member in the German parliament; first in the North German Reichstag and then in the Imperial Reichstag, where his opposition to Bismarck's policy was unceasing.

During the Franco-Prussian war he spoke constantly against the bills of appropriation as well as against the principles controlling a war-making government. His opposition brought about his arrest in 1872 for treason. For two years he was in imprisonment, and came out to find himself re-elected to his seat in the Reichstag.

To follow his activities is to trace every phase of Socialist development in Germany, from the acceptance by a united party of

the platform drawn up at Gotha (1875) to the recent discussion of measures which took the attention of the last conference in October. With the founding of the "Vorwaerts" as the organ of the party he was made its editor, and everything that he wrote hit the mark, and brought terror to the Philistines. He alternately counselled his comrades and hurled powerful invectives against compromise and capitalism.

The newspapers were suppressed in 1890 and the 67 societies in Berlin were forced to sham dead, but this martyrdom only served to increase secret activities, and at the next election there were 311,961 votes from Berlin alone. Later in the year Liebknecht spoke to a meeting of the International at Halle, at which four hundred delegates from ten different countries were present. And it seems as if this leader of men were always present at the great conferences held from year to year. At the one in Breslau in 1896 he replied to the contemptible phrase of the Kaiser, who had called the Socialists "Rotte von Menschen," and, though a man of seventy years, a leader of the people and a deputy in the Reichstag, he was sentenced to a four months' imprisonment for *lèse majesté*.

He pointed the prison out, one day last year, as we were riding out of Berlin on the elevated. "It would not have been so disagreeable if the room had been large enough to walk in, and if it had not been over the kitchen, where they were always cooking cabbage!"

Yet he spoke of his persecution in the most philosophical manner; he knew why he had experienced the blows of a monarchical and capitalistic society, and that knowledge gave him the power of repose. And besides, he could see the great results of his unremitting effort; in the immense growth of the Socialist vote, which in Germany in 1898 amounted to two millions and a quarter, in the great spread of the International principles, and in the fear of existing governments.

He lived to fulfill the words he spoke in his defense in 1872: "A two-fold ideal has been before me since my youth—a free and united Germany and the emancipation of the working people, that is, the destruction of class rule, which is synonymous with the freeing of humanity. For this double ideal I have fought with my best powers, and for this double ideal I shall fight as long as there is breath in my body. *Das will die Pflicht!* (that wills Duty!)"

Charlotte Teller.

SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM.

Until the middle of this century the favorite theory with those who attempted to explain the phenomena of History was the Great-Man-Theory. This theory was that once in a while through infinite mercy a great man was sent to the earth who yanked humanity up a notch or two higher, and then we went along in a humdrum way on that level, or even sank back till another great man was vouchsafed to us. Possibly the finest flower of this school of thought is Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship. Unscientific as this theory was, it had its beneficent effects, for these heroes or great men served as ideals, and the human mind requires an unattainable ideal. No man can be or do the best he is capable of unless he is ever reaching out toward an ideal that lies beyond his grasp. Robert Browning put this truth in the mouth of Andrea del Sarto, whom he makes say:

"Ah! but a man's reach should exceed his grasp."

And Tennyson puts the same truth in the mouth of the ancient sage who tells the youthful and ambitious Gareth who is eager to enter into the service of King Arthur of the Table Round.

"the King

Will bind thee by such vows as is a shame
A man should not be bound by, yet the which
No man can keep."

This function of furnishing an ideal was performed in former times by these great men and more especially by those great men whom legend, myth and superstition converted into gods. But with the decay of the old faiths the only possible fruitful ideal left is the ideal upheld by Socialism, the ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth in which the economic conditions will give birth to the highest, purest, most altruistic ethics the world has yet seen. It is true the co-operative commonwealth is far more than a Utopian ideal, it is a scientific prediction, but at this point I wish to emphasize its function as an ideal.

But it is obvious that this Great Man theory gave no scientific clue to history. If the Great Man was a supernatural phenomenon, a gift from Olympus, then of course History had no scientific basis, but was dependent upon the arbitrary caprices of the Gods, and Homer's Iliad was a specimen of accurate descriptive sociology. If on the other hand the great man was a natural phenomenon, the theory stopped short half way toward its goal for it

gave us no explanation of the genesis of the Great Man nor of the reasons for the superhuman influence that it attributed to him.

Mallock, one of the most servile literary apologists of capitalism, has recently in a book called "Aristocracy and Evolution" attempted to revive and revise this theory and give it a scientific form. He still attributes all progress to Great Men, but with the brutal frankness of modern bourgeois Capitalism, gives us a new definition of Great Men. According to Mallock, the great man is the man who makes money. This has long been the working theory of bourgeois society, but Mallock is the first of them who has had the cynicism or the stupidity to confess it. But mark you, by this confession he admits the truth of the fundamental premise of Modern Scientific Socialism, our Socialism, viz., that the economic factor is the dominant or determining factor in the life of society. Thus you see the ablest champion of bourgeois capitalism admits, albeit unconsciously, the truth of the Marxian Materialistic Conception of History. This book, however, is chiefly remarkable for its impudent and shameless misrepresentations of Marx and Marxism, but these very lies show that intelligent apologists of capitalism know that their only dangerous foe is Marxian Socialism.

But just as according to the vulgar superstition the tail of a snake that has been killed wiggles till sundown, so this book of Mallock's is merely a false show of life made by a theory that received its deathblow long since. It is the wiggling of the tail of the snake that Herbert Spencer killed 30 years ago with his little book "The Study of Sociology." The environment philosophy in one form or another has come to occupy the entire field of human thought. We now look for the explanation of every phenomenon in the conditions that surrounded its birth and development. The best application of this environment philosophy to intellectual and literary phenomena that has ever been made is Taine's History of English Literature.

But while Spencer's Study of Sociology is the most signal and brilliant refutation of the Great Man theory, no one man really killed that theory. The general spread and acceptance of Darwinism has produced an intellectual atmosphere in which such a theory can no more live than a fish can live out of water.

By Darwinism we mean, as you know, the transmutation of species by variation and natural selection—selection accomplished mainly, if not solely, by the struggle for existence. Now this doctrine of organic development and change or metamorphic evolution, which was, with its originators, Wallace and Darwin, a purely biological doctrine, was transported to the field of Sociology by Spencer and applied with great power to all human institutions, legal, moral, economic, religious, etc. Spencer has taught the world that all social institutions are fluid and not fixed. As Karl

Marx said in the preface to the first edition of *Capital*: "The present society is no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change, and is constantly changing," and again in the preface to the second edition, "Every historically developed social form is in fluid movement." This is the theory of Evolution in its broadest sense, and it has struck a death-blow to the conception of Permanence so dear to the hearts of the bourgeoisie who love to sing to their Great God, Private Property, "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen." "Sarcula Sarculorum." "For the Ages of Ages."

Before natural science had thus revolutionized the intellectual atmosphere, great men proclaiming the doctrines of Modern Socialism might have been rained down from Heaven, but there would have been no socialist movement. In fact many of its ideas had found utterance centuries before, but the economic conditions, and consequently the intellectual conditions were not ripe, and these ideas were still-born, or died in infancy.

The general acceptance of the idea that all things change, that property, marriage, religion, etc., are in process of evolution and are destined to take on new forms prepared the way for Socialism. A man who has read Wallace and Darwin is ready to read Marx and Engels.

Now the story of the birth of Darwinism is itself a proof of the fallacy of the Great Man theory, and a signal confirmation of the view that new ideas, theories and discoveries emanate from the material conditions. The role of the great man is still an important one. We need the men who are capable of abstract thought, capable of perceiving the essential relations and significance of the facts, and of drawing correct inductions from them. Such men are rare, but there are always enough of them to perform these functions. And the Great Man, born out of due time, before the material and economic conditions are ripe for him, can effect nothing. When the conditions are ripe, the new idea always occurs to more than one man; that is, the same conditions and facts force the same idea upon different minds. It is true there is always some one man who gives this idea its best expression or best marshals the evidence of the facts in its support, and the idea usually becomes inseparably linked with his name. In this way does our race express its gratitude to its great men and perpetuate their memory.

Darwinism or the theory of Natural Selection was in this way independently discovered by Alfred Russell Wallace and Charles Darwin, and the popular judgment has not erred in giving the chief credit to Charles Darwin.

Wallace's paper "On the Law which has Regulated the Introduction of New Species," written by Wallace on one of the far away islands of the Malay Archipelago, where he was studying the

Geographical Distribution of Species appeared in the "Annals of Natural History" in 1855. Its resultant conclusion was "that every species has come into existence coincident both in space and time with a pre-existing closely allied species." Mr. Darwin tells us that Mr. Wallace wrote him that the cause to which he attributed this coincidence was no other than "generation with modification," or in other words that the "closely allied antetype" was the parent stock from which the new form had been derived by variation.

Mr. Wallace's second paper, which in my judgment is the clearest and best condensed statement of the Doctrine of the Struggle for Existence and the principle of Natural Selection ever written, was written by Mr. Wallace at Ternate in the Malay Archipelago, in February, 1858, and sent to Mr. Darwin. It was called "On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type." Mr. Wallace requested Mr. Darwin to show it to Sir Chas. Lyell, the father of Modern Geology, and accordingly Dr. Hooker, the great botanist, brought it to Sir Chas. Lyell. They were both so struck with the complete agreement of the conclusions of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace that they thought it would be unfair to publish one without the other, so this paper and a chapter from Darwin's unpublished manuscript of the "Origin of Species" were read before the Linnaean Society on the same evening and published in their Proceedings for 1858, and thus appeared in the same year, 1859, as Marx's Critique of Political Economy. This theory of Natural Selection is, you know, in brief, that more animals of every kind are born than can possibly survive, than can possibly get a living. This gives rise to a Battle for Life. In this battle those are the victors who are the best able to secure food for themselves and their offspring and are best able by fight or flight to protect themselves from their enemies. This is called the Law of the Survival of the Fittest, but remember, the Fittest are not always best or most highly developed forms, but simply those forms best suited to the then existing environment. These two extremely interesting papers of Wallace are printed as the two first chapters of his book "Natural Selection and Tropical Nature," published by MacMillan, a book so fascinating I would beg all my hearers and readers who have not read it to do so.

This law of double or multiple discovery holds good of all great discoveries and inventions, and is notably true of the first of the three great thoughts that we ordinarily associate with the name of Karl Marx. There three are:

1. The Materialistic Conception of History.
2. The Law of Surplus Value.
3. The Class Struggle—the third being a necessary consequence of the first two.

Now the Materialistic Conception of History was independently discovered by Engels just as Darwinism was by Wallace, as you will see by reading Engels' preface to the Communist Manifesto. But just as Wallace gave Darwin all the credit, so Engels did to Marx.

I.

THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

What do we mean by the Doctrine of the Materialistic Conception of History, or of "Economic Determinism," as Ferri calls it? We must make sure we understand, for there is cant in Socialism, just as there is in religion, and there is good reason to fear many of us go on using these good mouth-filling phrases, "Materialistic Conception of History," "Class-Conscious Proletariat," "Class Struggle," and "Revolutionary Socialism," with no more accurate idea of their meaning than our pious friends have of the theological phrases they keep repeating like so many poll-parrots.

At bottom, when we talk intelligently of the Materialistic Conception of History, we simply mean, what every man by his daily conduct proves to be true, that the bread and butter question is the most important question in life. All the rest of the life of the individual is affected, yes dominated by the way he earns his bread and butter. As this is true of individuals, so also it is true of societies, and this gives us the only key by which we can understand the history of the past and, within limits, predict the course of future development.

That is all there is of it. That is easy to understand, and every man of common sense is bound to admit that that much is true.

The word "materialistic" suggests philosophy and metaphysics and brings to our minds the old disputes about monism and dualism, and the dispute between religious people who believe in the existence of spirit and scientists who adopt modern materialistic monism. But no matter what position a man may hold on these philosophical and theological questions he can with perfect consistency recognize the fact that the economic factor is the dominant, determining factor in every day human life, and the man who admits this simple truth believes in the Marxian Materialistic Conception of history. The political, legal, ethical and all human institutions have their roots in the economic soil, and any reform that does not go clear to the roots and affect the economic structure of society must necessarily be abortive. Anything that does go to the roots and does modify the economic structure, the bread and butter side of life, will inevitably modify every other branch and department of human life, political, ethical, legal, religious, etc.

This makes the social question an economic question, and all our thought and effort should be concentrated on the economic question.* I am aware of the fact that in the Preface to his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," Engels apparently identifies the materialistic conception of History with Materialistic Monism in Philosophy, but this connection or identification is not a necessary logical consequence of any statement of the Materialistic Conception of History I have been able to find by Engels, Marx, Deville, Ferri, Loria, or any Marxian of authority and to thus identify it, is detrimental to the cause of Socialism, since many people who would not hesitate to admit the predominance of the economic factor, instantly revolt at the idea of Materialism.

Let us take Engel's statement of this doctrine in the preface to the Manifesto. It is as follows:

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Does not that agree exactly with the doctrine as I have stated it? Or, take this statement of it by Comrade Vail, of Jersey City:

"The laws, customs, education, public opinion and morals are controlled and shaped by economic conditions, or, in other words, by the dominant ruling class which the economic system of any given period forces to the front. The ruling ideas of each age have been the ideas of its ruling class, whether that class was the patricians of ancient Rome, the feudal barons of the middle ages, or the capitalists of modern times. The economic structure of society largely controls and shapes all social institutions, and also religious and philosophical ideas."

Or, take this, by Marx himself: "The mode of production obtaining in material life determines, generally speaking, the social, political and intellectual processes of life."

Does not that again agree exactly with the doctrine as I have stated it?

The doctrine is stated in nearly the same language by Loria

*"If this be true the question naturally arises: Why do the socialists. Instead of using economic methods to solve an economic question, organize themselves into a political party? To answer this question, we must first see what the State is and what relation it holds to the economic conditions. Gabriel Deville defines the State thus: "The State is the public power of coercion created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, a power which, being clothed with force, makes laws and levies taxes. As long as the economically dominant class retain full possession of this public power of coercion they are able to use it as a weapon to defeat every attempt to alter the economic structure of society. Hence every attempt to destroy economic privilege and establish Industrial Democracy inevitably takes the form of a political class struggle between the economically privileged class and the economically exploited class."

and Ferri, though Ferri calls it Economic Determinism, which seems to me a much better and more exact name. Ferri points out that we must not forget the intellectual factor and the various other factors, which, though they are themselves determined by the economic factor, in their turn become causes acting concurrently with the economic factor. Loria deals with this whole subject most exhaustively and interestingly in his recently translated book "The Economic Foundations of Society." 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. The method of his book is the reverse of scientific, as he first states his theory and conclusions and then starts to scour the universe for facts to support them, instead of first collecting the facts and letting them impose the theory upon his mind. And his book is by no means free from inconsistencies and contradictions. But while you can not place yourselves unreservedly and confidently in his hands as you can in those of Karl Marx, still his book has much value. He shows most interestingly how all the connective institutions, as he calls religious and legal and political institutions, have been moulded in the interest of the economically dominant class, and how useful they have been in either persuading or forcing the so-called "lower classes" to submit to the economic conditions that were absolutely against their interests. But the system of Wage Slavery is such a beautifully automatic system, itself subjugating the workers and leaving them no choice, that I cannot see that the capitalists have any further need of any of these connective institutions save the State. At all events, these institutions are fast losing their power over the minds of men. But the most valuable part of his book is the immense mass of evidence he has collected showing how political sovereignty follows economic sovereignty or rather, revenue, and how all past history has been made up of a series of contests between various kinds of revenue, particularly between rent from landed property and profits from industrial or manufacturing capital, but as this is nothing more than the Class Struggle between the lauded aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, a struggle sketched by master hands in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, we can give Loria no credit for originality, but merely praise his industry in collecting evidence.

Gabriel Deville, who has probably done more than any one else to popularize the ideas of Marx in France, has pointed out a very nice distinction here. Man, like all living beings, is the product of his environment. But while animals are affected only by the natural environment, man's brain, itself a product of the natural environment, becomes a cause, a creator, and makes for man an economic environment, so that man is acted on by two

environments, the natural environment which has made man and the economic environment which man has made. Now in the early stages of human development, it is the natural environment, the fertility of the soil, climatic conditions, abundance of game, fish, etc., which is all important, but with the progress of civilization, the natural environment loses in relative importance, and the economic environment (machinery, factories, improved appliances, etc.) grows in importance until in our day the economic environment has become well nigh all-important. Hence the inadequacy of the Henry George theory which places all its stress on one element of the natural environment, land, and wholly neglects the dominant economic environment.

But while this economic environment, the dominant factor in human life, is the child of the brain of man, man in its creation has been forced to work within strict limitations. He had to make it out of the materials furnished him in the first place by the natural environment and later on by the natural environment and the inherited economic environment, so that in the last analysis the material and economic factors are supreme.

We Marxians are often accused of neglecting the intellectual factor and, as Deville says, a whole syndicate of factors; but we do not neglect them. We recognize their existence and their importance, but we do refuse to waste our revolutionary energy on derivative phenomena when we are able to see and recognize the decisive, dominant factor, the economic factor. As Deville says, we do not neglect the cart, because we insist upon putting it behind the horse instead of in front of or alongside of him, as our critics would have us do. Now, if the economic factor is the basic factor, it behooves us to understand the present economic system—Marx's Law of Surplus-Value is the key to this system.

II.

THE LAW OF SURPLUS-VALUE.

The second great idea that we associate with the name of Karl Marx is the Law of Surplus-Value. Curiously enough this one technical theory is the only discovery that bourgeois writers and economists give Marx credit for. If you look up Marx in any ordinary encyclopedia or reference book you will find they make his fame depend on this theory alone, and to make matters worse they usually misstate and misrepresent this theory, while they invariably fail to mention his two other equally great, if not greater discoveries, the Materialistic Conception of History and the Class Struggle. I think the reason they give special prominence to this law of Surplus-Value is that, as it is a purely technical theory in economics, it is easier to obscure it with a cloud of sophistry and persuade their willing dupes that they have refuted it.

And then they raise the cry that the foundation of Marxian Socialism has been destroyed and that the whole structure is about to tumble down on the heads of its crazy defenders, the Socialists. It is much to be regretted that many so-called Socialists are found foolish enough to play into the hands of the Capitalists by joining in the silly cry that some pigmy in political economy has overthrown the Marxian theory of Value. I suppose these co-called Socialists are actuated by a mad desire to be up to date, to keep up with the intellectual band-wagon. Revolutions in the various sciences have been going on so rapidly, they fancy that a theory that was formulated forty years ago must be a back-number, and so they hasten to declare their allegiance to the last new cloud of sophistry, purporting to be a theory of value, that has been evolved by the feeble minds of the Anarchists of Italy or the Capitalist Economists of Austria. The Fabians of London are the most striking example of these socialists whose heads have been turned in this way by the rapid progress of science. But the followers of Bernstein in Europe and this country are running into the same danger and in their eagerness to grasp the very newest and latest doctrine will fall easy victims to the first windy and pretentious fakir who comes along. Ask any one of these fellows who tells you that the Marxian theory of Value has been exploded, to state the new and correct theory of Value that has taken its place and you will find that he cannot state a theory that you or I or any other man can understand. He will either admit he is floored, or else he will emit a dense fog of words. I challenge any one of them to state a theory of value that he himself can understand, let alone make anyone else understand.

Now the Marxian theory of Value can be clearly stated so that you and I can understand it. But let us begin with surplus-value. This theory of surplus-value is simply the scientific formulation of the fact that workingmen had been conscious of in a vague way long before Karl Marx's day, the fact that the workingman don't get a fair deal, that he don't get all he earns. This fact had been formulated as long ago as 1821 by the unknown author of a letter to Lord John Russell on "The Source and Remedy of the National Difficulties." In this letter the very phrases "surplus produce" and "surplus labor" are used. You will find that Marx refers to this letter in a note on page 369 of the American Edition of Capital. The Russian writer Sleggoff quotes several passages from this letter in an article in the December, 1899, number of *La Revue Socialiste*, and it is annoying to see how near to Marx's conclusions this unknown writer had come eighty years ago, but the conditions were not ripe and his letter would to-day be forgotten if Marx had not embalmed it in a footnote. I confess I was surprised to learn that this was not a purely original

discovery of Marx's, but the fact that it is not is one more signal confirmation of the theory I have given in this lecture of the double or multiple discovery of great ideas.

But let us resume the discussion of Surplus Value and see just what it really is.

No matter where you, my workingman hearer or reader, may work, the person or corporation or trust for whom or which you work gets back more out of your labor, than he or it pays you in wages. If this is not so, your employer is either running a charitable institution or he is in business for his health. You may have employers of that kind here on the East Side of New York, but I have never met any of them elsewhere. It is impossible to conceive of a man going on day after day, week after week, year after year, paying you wages, unless he receives more for the product of your labor than he pays you in wages. Now, this difference between what you get and what he gets is what we call surplus-value.

This surplus-value is the key to the whole present economic organization of society. The end and object of bourgeois society is the formation and accumulation of surplus-value, or in other words, the systematic robbery of the producing class. Now when we say robbery, we do not mean to accuse employers of conscious dishonesty. They are the creatures of a system just as the workers are, but it is a system which makes their interests diametrically opposed to the interests of their employees. The only way the capitalists can increase their relative share of the product of their employees' labor is by decreasing the relative share of the latter.

Now, if out of the total product of his labor the workingman only receives a part, then it is true to say that he works part of the day for himself and part of the day gratuitously for the capitalist. Let us say, for purposes of illustration, that he works three hours for himself and seven hours for his employer for nothing. This three hours we call his necessary labor time, or his paid labor; and the seven hours we call his surplus labor time or his unpaid labor. The product of his three hours' labor is the equivalent of his wages or as we call it, the value of his Labor-Power. The product of the other seven hours of his labor, his surplus or unpaid labor, is surplus product or surplus-value. Starting from the fact that every workingman knows to be true, that he don't get all he feels he ought to get, we have thus, I think, made the definition of surplus-value clear to every one of you, but we have been talking of surplus-value and value of labor power and we have not yet defined Value.

When we speak of the value of an object we mean the amount of human labor that is embodied or accumulated in it, that has been spent in fitting it to satisfy human needs. And we measure

the amount of this human labor by its duration, by labor-time. You, if you are a skilled, highly-paid worker, receiving say four dollars a day, may say that it absurd to say that an hour of your labor produces no more value than an hour of Tom's or Dick's or Pete's, who get only eighty cents a day apiece. You are quite right. Your hour does produce more value. The labor-time that determines value is the labor-time of the average, untrained worker. Again, you may waste your time, spending half of it looking out of the window or carrying on a flirtation. This wasted labor does not count in measuring value. The only labor that counts is the labor that is socially necessary under normal conditions for the production of the given commodity. Again, labor spent to produce a useless article does not produce value. To produce value the labor must serve to satisfy human wants. Now, I think this is quite clear so far. We know what surplus-value is. We know what value is and how it is measured. Let us now see what is meant by the Value of Labor-Power.

To begin with, what is Labor-Power? When a workingman goes upon the market to sell something for money with which to buy bread and butter and the other necessities of life, what has he to offer for sale? He cannot offer a finished commodity, such as a watch, a shoe or a book, because he owns nothing. He has neither the necessary machinery, the necessary raw material, nor even the necessary place in which to work to make these things. These all belong to another class who by owning them, in fact, own him. He cannot offer labor for sale, because his labor does not yet exist. He cannot sell a thing that has no existence. When his labor comes into real objective existence, it is incorporated with materials that are the property of the class that rules him, and no longer belongs to him. He cannot sell what he don't possess. There is only one thing he can sell, namely, his mental and physical or muscular power to do things, to make things. He can sell this for a definite time to an employer, just exactly as a livery stable keeper sells a horse's power to trot to his customers for so much per hour. Now this power of his to do things is what we call his labor-power; that is, his capacity to perform work. Now, its value is determined precisely like the value of every other commodity, i. e., by the labor time socially necessary for its production. Now the labor time socially necessary for the production of labor-power is the labor time socially necessary to produce the food, clothing and shelter or lodging that are necessary to enable the laborer to come on the labor market day after day able physically to work, and also to enable him to beget and raise children who will take his place as wage-slaves when he shall have been buried by the County or some Sick and Death Benefit Fund.

In the example we used above we assumed that the laborer

worked three hours a day to produce a value equal to the value of his labor-power. The price of this value, the value produced by his paid labor, we call "Wages." This price is often reduced by the competition of "scabs" and other victims of capitalist exploitation below the real value of labor-power, but we have not time to go into that here, so we will assume that the laborer gets in wages the full value of his labor-power.

Well, then, if he produces in three or four hours a value equal to the value of his labor-power or wages, why doesn't he stop work then, and take his coat and hat and go home and devote the rest of the day to study, reading, games, recreation and amusement? He don't because he can't. He has to agree (voluntarily, of course) to any conditions that the class who by owning his tools own him choose to impose upon him, and the lash of the competition of the unemployed, Capital's Reserve Army, as Marx called it, is ever ready to fall upon his naked back.

Why is he so helpless? Because he and his class have been robbed of the land and the tools and all the means of sustenance and production, and have nothing left them but that empty bauble, legal liberty, liberty to accept wages so small that they barely enable them to live like beasts, or liberty to starve to death and be buried in unmarked graves by the public authorities.

The wage system necessarily implies this surplus labor or unpaid labor. So long as there are wages, workingmen, you will never get the full product of your labor. Let no reformer beguile you into a struggle which simply aims to secure a modification of the wage system! Nothing short of the annihilation of the wage system will give you justice and give you the full product of your labor.

But while wages necessarily imply surplus-labor, the reverse is not true. You can have surplus-labor without wages. Surplus-labor is not an invention of modern capitalists. Since Mankind emerged from the state of Primitive Communism typified by the Garden of Eden in the Hebraic myth, there have been three great systems of economic organization: 1. Slavery; 2. Serfdom; 3. The Wage System. It is interesting to note the varying appearances of surplus or unpaid labor under these three systems.

Under the first, Slavery, all labor appears as unpaid labor. This is only a false appearance, however. During a part of the day the slave only reproduces the value of his maintenance or "keep." During that part of the day he works for himself just as truly as the modern wage-slave works for himself during a part of his day. But the Property relation conceals the paid labor.

Under the second system, Serfdom, or the Feudal System,

The paid labor and the unpaid labor are absolutely separate

and distinct, so that not even the most gifted orthodox political economist can confuse them.

Under the third system, Wage Slavery,

The unpaid labor apparently falls to Zero. There is none. You voluntarily enter into a bargain, agreeing that your day's work is worth so much, and you receive the full price agreed upon. But again this is only a false appearance. As we saw by our analysis, a part of the wage-slave's day is devoted to paid labor and a part to unpaid. Here wages or the money relation conceals the unpaid labor and disguises under the mask of a voluntary bargain the struggle of the working class to diminish or abolish unpaid labor, and the class-conscious, pitiless struggle of the capitalist class to increase the unpaid labor and reduce the paid labor to the minimum, i. e., to or below the level of bare subsistence. In other words the Wage System conceals the Class Struggle.

III.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The third of the great ideas that will always be associated with the name of Karl Marx is that of the Class Struggle. The Class Struggle is logically such a necessary consequence of both the Materialistic Conception of History and the Law of Surplus-Value, that as we have discussed them at some length, but little need be said of the Class Struggle itself. In discussing the Materialistic Conception of History we showed with sufficient fullness and clearness that, in the language of the Communist Manifesto, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of Class Struggles." Hence it is clear the doctrine of class struggles is a key to past history. But it is more than this. It is a compass to steer by in the present struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat, who cannot, fortunately, emancipate themselves without emancipating and ennobling all mankind.

The Law of Surplus-Value has shown us that there is a deep-seated, ineradicable conflict between the direct class interest of the proletariat which coincides with the true interests of the human race, and the direct, conscious guiding interest of the class who own the means of production and distribution. There is here a direct clash between two hostile interests. This fact has been skillfully hidden from the eyes of the workers in the past, but the modern socialist movement, aided by the growing brutality of the capitalist class, is making it impossible to fool them in this way much longer. In other words, the workmen are becoming Class Conscious, i. e., conscious of the fact that they, as a class, have interests which are in direct conflict with the selfish

interests of the capitalist class. With the growth of this class-consciousness this conflict of interests must inevitably become a political class struggle. The capitalists, the economically privileged class, struggle to retain possession of the State that they may continue to use it as a weapon to keep the working class subjugated, servile and dependent. The proletariat, the working-class, struggle to obtain possession of the State, that they may use it to destroy every vestige of economic privilege, to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution, and thus put an end to the division of society into classes, and usher in the society of the future, the Co-operative Commonwealth. As the State is in its very nature a class instrument, as its existence is dependent upon the existence of distinct classes, the State in the hands of the victorious proletariat will commit suicide, by tearing down its own foundation.

Until a man perceives and is keenly conscious of this class conflict, a conflict which admits of no truce or compromise, and ranges himself on the side of the workers to remain there until the battle is fought and the victory won, until the proletariat shall have conquered the public powers, taken possession of that class instrument, the State (for so long as the State exists it will be a class instrument) and made it in the hands of the working class a tool to abolish private ownership in the tools and the land, in the means of production and distribution, and to abolish all classes by absorbing them all in the Brotherhood of Man; until a man has thus shown himself clearly conscious of the Class Struggle, with its necessary implications, his heart may be in the right place, but laboring men can not trust him as a leader. The fact that the hearts of many popular reformers, political candidates and so-called "friends of labor," who ignore the class struggle, are on the right side, but gives them added power to mislead and betray workingmen. Workingmen, I beg you to follow no leader who has not a clear enough head to see that there is a class struggle, and a large enough heart to place himself on your side of that struggle. But remember that you are not fighting the battle of a class alone. You are fighting for the future welfare of the whole human race. But while this is true, it is also true that your class must bear the brunt of this battle, for yours is the only class that, in the language of the Manifesto, "has nothing but its chains to lose, and a World to gain!" The rich have much to lose, and this very real and tangible risk of loss not unnaturally blinds the eyes of most of them to the more remote, though infinitely greater compensations that Socialism has to offer them. The Middle Class, even down to those who are just a round above the proletarians on the social ladder, love to ape the very rich and the capitalist magnates. It tickles their silly vanity to fancy that their interests are capitalistic interests, and

their mental horizon is too hopelessly limited for them to perceive that the proletariat whom it pleases them to despise as the great army of the "unwashed" are in truth fighting their battle for them, and receiving instead of gratitude, contempt, gibes and sneers. Socialism does occasionally receive a recruit from the very highest stratum of society, but I tell you it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than it is for a member of the Middle Class to become a scientific socialist.

I have said the Class Struggle is a compass to steer by in the present struggle for the emancipation of the working class. If we steer by this compass, we will resolutely reject all overtures from political parties representing the interests of other classes, even when such parties in their platforms endorse some of the immediate demands of the socialists; we will "fear the Greeks bringing gifts;" we will not be seduced for a moment by the idea of fusion with any so-called Socialist party which is not avowedly based on the Class Struggle; especially as individuals, will we avoid giving our votes or our support to any Middle Class party which we may at times fancy to be "moving in the right direction." The history of the class conflicts of the past shows that whenever the proletarians have joined forces with the Middle Class or any section of it, the proletarians have had to bear the heat and burden of the day and when the victory has been won their allies have robbed them of its fruits.

You, yourselves, then, Workingmen, must fight this battle! To win, it is true, you will need the help of members of the other classes. But this help the economic evolution is constantly bringing you. It is a law of the economic evolution that with the progress of industrialism the ratio of the returns of capital to the capital invested constantly diminishes, (though the aggregate volume of those returns increases). You see this in the constant lowering of the rate of interest. Now, as their incomes decrease, the small capitalists and the middle class, who form the vast majority of the possessing class, become unable to continue to support the members of the liberal professions, the priests, preachers, lawyers, editors, lecturers, etc., whose chief function heretofore has been to fool the working class into supporting or at least submitting to the present system. Now, when the income of these unproductive laborers, an income drawn from the class hostile to the proletariat, shall sensibly decrease or, worse still, cease, these educated members of the liberal professions will desert the army of Capital and bring a much-needed reinforcement to the Army of Labor.

Some of the more far-seeing upholders of the present system are keenly conscious of this danger. And this danger (even though most of the expansionists may not realize it), is one of the most potent causes of the Imperialism, Militarism and Jingoism

which are at present disgracing the civilized world. England in Africa and America in the Philippines are pursuing their present criminal policies, not solely to open new markets for English and American goods, but also to secure new fields for the investment of English and American capital, and thus to stop the continuous dropping of the rate of interest and profits, for if this cannot be stopped, the intellectual proletariat will join the sweating proletariat, and the Co-operative Commonwealth will be established and then the poor capitalists will have to work for their livings like other people.

This was clearly pointed out by a capitalist writer in an essay in a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, who warned the capitalist opponents of McKinley, Destiny & Co.'s policy of expansion that they were attempting to close the only safety-valve* which under present conditions could not avert but postpone the Social Revolution.*

But, friends, nothing can postpone it long, for the industrial crises and financial panics are recurring at shorter and shorter intervals, and the process of recovery from them is slower and slower, and every panic and crisis forces thousands of educated, intelligent members of the middle class off their narrow and precarious foothold down into the ranks of the proletariat, where the hard logic of the facts will convert them to class-conscious Socialism.

Workingmen, I congratulate you upon the approaching victory of the workers and the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth for I tell you, in the language of an English comrade:

"Failure on failure may seem to defeat us; ultimate failure is impossible.

Seeing what is to be done then, seeing what the reward is.

Seeing what the terms are,—are you willing to join us?

Will you lend us the aid of your voice, your money, your sympathy?

May we take you by the hand and call you 'Comrade?'"

Robert Rives La Monte.

*The expansion policy also acts as a safety valve by promoting the emigration of the discontented and by providing employment abroad for the educated proletarians who would, no doubt, become "dangerous and incendiary Socialist agitators" in their native lands.

A BAD QUARTER OF AN HOUR.

From "Remembrances of Karl Marx," by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

It was in London, Nov. 18, 1852. The "Iron Duke" and "Victor in a Hundred Battles"—whom, nevertheless, the English people at the time of the Reform movement had made very gentle and meek—Lord Wellington, had died in Walmer Castle on the 14th of September, and on the 18th of the following November the "National Hero" was to be given a "national burial" and be laid with "national pomp" in St. Paul's Cathedral along with other "national heroes." Since the day of his death, two months before, preparations for this ceremony had been going on all over England, and especially throughout London, for since, according to English judgment the man himself had excelled all previous heroes, so all previous ceremonies must now be excelled in glitter and grandeur. And this was the day. All England was in motion, all London on its feet. Hundreds of thousands from the provinces, thousands upon thousands from foreign lands streamed by, and with these were all the millions of the metropolis.

I abhor such spectacles and have always avoided great crowds, and, like the most of my fellow-exiles, would have preferred to stay at home or spend the day in St. James Park. But two little lady friends scattered my desires to the winds. *Que femme veut, Dieu le veut*—what woman wishes, happens—and especially when they are six and seven years old, like my two little friends. And we were such good friends—the black-eyed, black-haired Jenny Marx—her father's head over again; and the fair, elegant Laura, with the roguish eyes, the very picture of her beautiful mother, who, in spite of the bitter earnestness of the exile, could laugh just as roguishly as the merry little "Lorchen"; yes, indeed, we were good friends, the little maidens and I.

And the two little girls, who from the first day we came to know each other, attached themselves to me and always clung close to me as long as I was in sight, contributed in no small degree during the time of the London exile to that keeping up of my spirits to which I owe my life. Nothing cheers and strengthens more at such critical times than the presence of children. How often, when I could no longer contain myself, I have fled to my little friends and wandered with them through streets and parks. The melancholy thoughts were then quickly scattered and I could return to the struggle for existence with renewed strength and courage.

I soon became known as the "story teller," and was always greeted with joyful cries for more stories. Happily, I knew many tales; but when my stock was exhausted I was forced to put together others—a trick at which I was soon caught, for these bright little maidens soon detected any attempt on my part to serve up a ragout composed of fragments of old stories; and so I was finally forced to invent new ones. Thus from very necessity I was forced to become, most certainly not an author, but a sort of "Storysmith," forging together stories out of bits of ancient history. Never did anyone have a more receptive, appreciative audience. But to where have I wandered? I started to tell about my bad quarter of an hour.

"Be very careful with the children. Do not get caught in the crowd!" Frau Marx had said to me as I started for the "show" with an impatient dancing maiden on either hand. And down in the hall Lenchen,* who had come to the door to see us off, called after us, "Be careful, Old Library," (the joking nickname the children had given me). Marx, who was ordinarily a late riser, was not yet visible.

I had made my plans—we had no money to hire a place at a window or on a bench—the funeral procession went through the Strand along the Thames. We must go along a street that emptied into the Strand from the north and sloped away to the river.

With a girl on either hand and the luncheon in my pocket, I made for the point of view I had selected—a spot not far from the Temple Bar—the old city gate that separated Westminster from the city. The streets, which had been uncommonly alive since morning, now swarmed with people, yet since the procession had to pass through widely separate sections of the city the millions were somewhat scattered and we reached our chosen point without any great crowding. It proved to be thoroughly satisfactory. I placed myself upon one of the steps, with the two girls clinging fast to me and I to them, one on either hand, on the step above me.

Hark! A movement in the human sea; a far away increasing roar like the dull rage of the ocean, coming ever nearer and nearer. An "Oh!" rising from thousands on thousands of throats! The procession is here, and from our excellent position we can see it as in a theatre. The children are entranced. No crowding—all my fears are banished.

Long, long continued the gold-bedecked procession with the gigantic, gorgeous catafalque, bearing the "Conqueror of Na-

*Helene Demuth, the old servant of the Marx', who shared all their sufferings with them and now lies buried with the family in Highgate cemetery, London.

oleon." Ever something new and more and still more—until at last no more came. The last gold-bespangled rider has passed.

Suddenly there came a start, a rushing forward of the masses packed in behind us. Everyone wishes to follow the procession. I braced myself with all my strength and sought to shelter the children, that the stream might roar by without touching them. In vain. Against the tremendous physical weight of this great mass no human power could prevail. It would have been as easy for a fragile skiff to have breasted the ice flood of an angry river just released from the grasp of a hard winter. I must give way, and pressing the children close to me I sought to escape from the main current. Presently I appeared to have succeeded and I drew a breath of relief, when suddenly a new and mightier human wave broke upon us from our right; we were swept out into the Strand where the thousands and hundreds of thousands who were pressed together in this great pulsating artery of a street were storming along after the procession in the hope of enjoying another spectacle. I shut my teeth together and seek to raise the children upon my shoulders, but I am too hard pressed—convulsively I seize the arms of the children, the whirlpool tears us apart and I feel that a force is pushing itself between me and the children—shoving in like a wedge, ever further and further—the children are torn away from me—all resistance is useless—I must let go of them lest I break their arms or tear them from the sockets. It was a terrible moment.

What shall I do? Before me rose the Temple Bar with its three passageways, the central for wagons and horses, the ones at the side for foot passengers. Against the walls of these openings the human stream had piled itself up like the waters of a river against the piers of a bridge—I must get through. If the children were not already crushed to earth—and the despairing cries of anguish that now rose around me testified to the extent of the danger—then I hoped to find them on the other side, where the pressure must be somewhat less. Filled with this hope I struggled like a madman with breast and elbows. But in such a crushing mob the individual is like a straw on the surface of a maelstrom. I struggle and struggle—a dozen times I think to make the entrance only to be thrown to one side. Finally a sudden shock, a terrible crushing—and I am on the other side and out of the wildest of the tumult. I rushed hither and thither looking. Nothing! My heart gave way within me—when suddenly from two clear, childish voices came "Library!" I thought I must be dreaming. It was the music of the angels, for before me stood, laughing and uninjured, the two girls. I kissed them and hugged them. For a moment I was speechless. Then they told me how the human wave that had torn them from me had borne them safely through the gate and then flung them to one side—under the shelter of the very walls which on the other side

had been the cause of this fearful damming up. There they had clung to a projecting point of masonry and remembered my old caution that if in any of our excursions we should get lost they were to remain still in the same spot and place, or as near to it as possible.

We returned in triumph to the house. Mother Marx, Marx and Lenchen received us with rejoicing, for they were much worried, having heard that there was a terrible crowd and that many had been crushed and injured. The children had no suspicion of the danger that had hovered above us and were perfectly satisfied, and I did not tell that evening through what a fearful quarter of an hour I had lived.

On the spot where they were torn from me many women were killed and the frightful scenes of that afternoon contributed in no small degree to secure the destruction of the Temple Bar, which had formed so horrible an obstacle to movement.

For me, however, that bad quarter of an hour is as vivid in my memory as if it had happened but yesterday. And since that time I have never gone with children into the midst of great crowds, and I never will again.—Translated by A. M. S.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN BELGIUM.

Brussels, August 10, 1900.

As was foreshadowed in our former letter (in the July issue of the Review), the Parti Ouvrier is preparing itself to take up the struggle which is to give it Universal Suffrage pure and simple—one man one vote. It will be the last act in a long series of efforts, the first of which dates back to the middle of the century, though they were the work of certain individuals rather than the desire to realize the programme of a party.

Our constitution of 1830, while it recognized the equality of the citizens before the law, had established a limited suffrage. The constitution left to the legislature the care of regulating the qualifications of voters, subject to certain fixed limitations. So, after various changes, the law finally reduced the rating for voters to the minimum annual property tax of 42 francs.

The next change, therefore, could only be accomplished by a revision of the constitution, and that requires a dissolution of the chambers, new elections, the meeting of the two chambers (deputies and senators), in a single convention, in which propositions can only be adopted by a two-thirds vote.

When in 1885 the Parti Ouvrier was formed, universal suffrage and a revision of the constitution were demanded by the left (progressive) wing of the Liberal army. But the bulk of the Liberal army, like the Catholic army, did not wish to hear them mentioned.

The watchword of the Liberals was "Capacity." However, as they had always failed to provide us with compulsory education, and as our economic regime prevents many children from going to school and obliges a large portion of the others to leave it at the age of ten or eleven; most of the workingmen would have been turned away from the polls.

It was really not until after the formation of the Parti Ouvrier that a serious propaganda in favor of Universal Suffrage began. We can not here retrace all the events of the struggle, among which were the rifle-volleys of 1886. Suffice it to say that it ended, so far as political results go, in the first revision of the constitution, that of 1893. The success was enormous when we consider that not one socialist had a seat in the parliament and that all the representatives except a few radicals were thoroughly hostile to the revision.

Thus they did not yield their consent except under compulsion, a general strike having been declared in the industrial Walloon districts of the country. The working class of Brussels was on

strike, and events were taking a revolutionary turn, when the reactionists thought it prudent to yield. Universal suffrage was granted in the sense that every Belgian citizen twenty-five years of age obtained a vote, but it was vitiated by the second and third votes accorded to property and education.

For the sake of completeness let us add that in the "Law Relative to Local Elections," which was directly enacted, the reactionaries found it necessary to require that the voters in the communes be thirty years of age, and they granted an additional fourth vote on the basis of property qualifications.

We consider, then, that we have long enough endured this odious and complicated system, which favors all sorts of frauds, and has no object but to assure clerical domination. To-day every one is making ready, and in October or November, when the Chambers meet, the proposition for revision will be made. The struggle will begin, and I am firmly convinced that it will finally take a turn at which we ourselves will be astonished—so strong is the desire throughout Belgium, not only in the working class but in a good part of the middle class, to be rid of the clerical reaction and at last to realize political equality. Remembering the struggle of 1893, who can doubt our victory? Then we had been established only a few years, our organizations were young, we had not a member in Parliament; we had against us the united force of the Catholics and Liberals (except a few radicals). To-day our Socialist party is most solidly organized, we have the experience of numerous struggles, we have 32 deputies and 3 senators. In the chamber of deputies about 25 Liberals are already won over to Universal Suffrage, and some Christian Democrats have pledged themselves to its support. As for the government, although it is playing its last cards, it has the discouragement of one who knows that he will be beaten, and that he will have no support in public opinion. The one feeble support it finds is given by the moderate Liberals, whose foremost thought is to act against Socialism.

The journals of the reactionary party realize that this time we do not propose to be content with a compromise, so they are attempting a diversion by attributing to us the most Machiavellian schemes; it appears that we wish to overthrow the monarchy and establish the Socialist Republic immediately. Others claim that our aim is by the aid of Universal Suffrage to abolish Proportional Representation. It is the Liberals, in particular, who are afraid of this last abolition, for it is safe to say that without Proportional Representation the Liberal party would no longer exist.

It is very probable that the recent idea of sending Belgian volunteers to China is partially inspired by the desire of creating a diversion in public opinion to take attention away from the

electoral question. The Parti Ouvrier has just put out posters to protest against this military policy which has just been inaugurated, against this sending of Belgian volunteers into China for no purpose but to protect the interests of a few big capitalists.

Emile Vinck.

SOCIALISTS AND ANARCHISTS IN ITALY.

The unfortunate assassination of the King of Italy by the anarchist Galtano Bresci has been a fine occasion for the conservative bourgeoisie to attempt fixing the responsibility upon the Socialist party, and to persecute it in consequence; while in foreign countries the event has given factitious arguments in support of the opinion that in Italy Socialism and anarchism are the same thing.

Now as for the Italian conservatives, the evidence as to the facts alleged by them against the Socialists has been so convincing that a reaction in public opinion is already manifest, while in two electoral divisions, a week after the commission of the crime, the voters named two Socialists, one of them the editor of "Avanti," whose great crime in the eyes of the conservatives was that he had shouted in the chamber of deputies, "Down with the King!"

For those outside Italy, here are a few facts which are worth more than any amount of argument. The first manifestations of socialism in Italy were anarchistic, or more properly, Bakounist. The "Alliance" of Bakounine found in Italy between 1867 and 1878 a more favorable soil than did the "International" of Karl Marx, and at Rimini in 1872 a congress was held to disavow the principles of Marx's "International" and to break off all union with the general council of London. Among the most influential men in this Bakounise movement there were in Italy Cafiero, Nabrazzi, Andrea Costa, Enrico Malatesta and Bakounine himself.

In the years which followed this period of tentative organization of the Bakounist section of the International—even then it was called "Internazionalisti"—bread riots, revolts and insurrections broke out here and there over the country, so that the government profited by them to dissolve the sections of the International and to follow up its more conspicuous adherents.

In view of these inconclusive exploits of the anarchist-revolutionary propaganda, while in Germany Marxian Socialism was making giant strides, some of the thoughtful minds of the movement became persuaded that another route must be taken. So in 1879 Andrea Costa wrote to his friends that the Internationalists were getting out of touch with practical affairs and real life, and that they were not giving proper attention to the study of the economic and moral conditions of the people nor of their immediate needs.

That was the first step toward the highway of Marxian socialism. But though already here and there an advocate of the pure socialist idea raised a clear voice above the tumultuous confusion

of the anarchist-revolutionary propaganda, there followed, before the formation of the Italian Socialist Party, a period of working-men's associations which was the passage between anarchism and socialism. Meanwhile vigorous and genial men like Turati, and devoted, angelic spirits like Prampolini, were preparing and molding the transition for the moment of its maturity. Turati popularized the Marxian doctrines in his "*Critica Sociale*" with his vigorous dialectic, and Prampolini won adherents to them among the peasants by his mild and persuasive words, spoken and written.

At the Italian Labor Congress, held at Milan in August, 1891, occurred the first positive rupture between the socialists and the anarchists. An order of the day proposed by the anarchist Gori was rejected by 104 votes to 13, and they laid the foundation of the Italian Labor Party, having for its aim the emancipation of the workers from the political and economic monopoly of the capitalist class, and for its means a participation in the struggles of public life, the solidarity of labor, propaganda and co-operation.

It was the conception of the Socialist Party which took place at Milan, and its birth was at Genoa in 1892. At the same time occurred the second and last noisy and violent rupture of the socialists and the anarchists, and the Italian Socialist Party came into existence on the basis of the class struggle, the struggle for the conquest of the public powers and the socialization of the means of labor and production—that is to say, its basis and methods are the same as those of the collectivist Marxian socialist parties of other countries. And on this line and no other the Italian Socialist Party has fought ever since. Since that period the anarchists have not ventured to interfere any further with the socialist congresses, and nothing more is said of them among the socialists. They did attempt to enter the International Congress at Zurich and at London, but they were expelled as at Genoa.

But their struggle against the socialists was not thus appeased, on the contrary it became more bitter as the socialists gained ground among the working masses, and increased their parliamentary strength at each election. Especially has their hatred been shown against Andrea Costa. As soon as he entered the Socialist Party they burned him in effigy, not being able to burn him in person. Prampolini was even attacked by an armed anarchist, just like a crowned head! The anarchists reproached and still reproach the Socialists for lulling to sleep the revolutionary spirit of the people with their delusive electoral tactics, with the mirage of the conquest of the public powers, which, they say, benefits no one but the chosen officials, and corrupts them in the unsavory struggle for legislative spoils. The anarchists' attacks in their press and in their debates at meetings have always been extremely violent. Even two months ago, during the obstruc-

tionist struggle, their central organ, D'Ancona's "Agitazione," attacked the Socialist Party and its deputies. Really, one only need observe the way the anarchists have treated the socialists, in order to form a correct conclusion as to the existence of any connection between them.

The socialists have always answered these attacks with the calm energy that goes with conscious strength. Only, as they are defending the liberties of all, even of the priests, when the anarchists were arrested, sent to the accursed islands on "forced domicile," or imprisoned illegally, the socialists have protested, both in their press and in the chamber, have demanded the abolition of "forced domicile," and have helped the sufferers by sending them money and in other ways. They fought their ideas, but they defended their persons.

And on certain occasions it has happened that in an agitation for personal liberty against the tyranny of the "law of exception," the Anarchists have struggled by the side of the Socialists and Republicans in an electoral contest over the name of a man condemned by the military tribunals. But that is all. This is the extent of the relations that have existed or exist between Socialists and Anarchists in Italy.

But as to the Anarchists a word should be added. The openly individualistic tendency which shows itself in the "propaganda by deed" is done with in Italy. There is left the revolutionary type called Socialist-Anarchist, accepting the whole Socialist programme except the electoral struggle. Their aim is to prepare for the revolution, but they denounce regicide, as do also the anarchists of Russia. Although they do little or nothing, at least they fight the Socialists. Their work ends there.

The individualist-anarchist type seems to have taken refuge in Paterson, New Jersey, where it has for a leader Ciancabilla, who edits his "Aurora" there. This Ciancabilla was, three years ago, a reporter for "Avanti," the central organ of Italian Socialism. Afterwards he was in Greece during the Greco-Turkish war, and sent some very fine letters to that paper. On his return to Bologna, during the socialist Congress, he had an interview with Malatesta, the last recognized leader of Italian Anarchism, and his liking for Anarchism began. After some travels in Europe, he sailed for New York, where he began to write in "La Questione Sociale," violently attacking the Socialists, who made a vigorous defense in the "Proletario," at Patterson. Naturally, his connection with "Avanti" was cut off after his adhesion to anarchism.

As this Ciancabilla was propagating an anarchism which apparently was not that of Malatesta, the latter left London for New York and forced his retirement from "La Questione Sociale." Ciancabilla then founded the "Aurora." The struggle between

the two factions, individualist-anarchist and communist-anarchist, soon reached an acute stage.

These are the facts, which can not be confuted nor denied. And here is the conclusion: If there is any party which can regret the crime of Bresci, it is by all means the Italian Socialist Party, which after struggling for years to educate and organize the toiling masses, thus diminishing the unhappy riots due to discontent and hunger, even though the discontent has increased, this party, which has fought a brave fight for the maintenance of liberty against the attempts of the reactionaries, runs the risk of seeing its work thrown into confusion and fettered by the act of a Bresci, who gives strength to the monarchy and a pretext for persecution to the reactionaries.

But Socialism will go on all the same, in spite of Bresci's pistol shots and the expiring blows of the reaction represented by our ruling classes.

Rome, August 13, 1900.

Alessandro Schiavi.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

[This department is edited by Max S. Hayes.]

Now some genius proposes to throw the poor "white wings," or street cleaners, out of their jobs. It used to be a standing joke-let among high-priced, skilled mechanics that, if displaced by labor-saving machinery, they could as a last resort "shovel manure on the streets." New York papers make the announcement that street-sweepers, teamsters, snow-shovelers and other workers are to be put out of business by a big machine, and one that can do three times the work of the laboring brigade. This machine sprinkles, sweeps and cleans at the same time. Already it has been placed on trial by Commissioner Nagle. The device was invented in Wheeling, W. Va., and is controlled by a \$5,000,000 trust. The company that exploits the machine operates its wagons by compressed air, and electricity can also be used. The machine is so constructed as to be able to sweep the streets under all conditions. Dust, dirt and slush disappear before its onslaught. In winter an attachment is arranged by which snow shoveling can be done. So it appears that the machine-chased mechanic cannot find refuge in the laborious work of cleaning streets.

At this writing the Canadian trade unionists are preparing for their coming congress, which will be held in Ottawa on the 15th inst. Last year the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada instructed its secretary to provide for the taking of a vote of all affiliated unions on the question of taking independent political action. The secretary reports that the proposition was carried by an overwhelming majority, and there is now every indication that the workers of the Dominion will declare in favor of severing old connection with the old parties, though it is admitted that the politicians will not allow their exploited labor voters to be torn from their grasp without a struggle.

The organization boom has not lessened. Nearly all national unions report steady increase in memberships. Nearly six hundred organizers are at work. Trade, however, has not improved much, as there are still thousands idle in the iron and steel, textile, boot and shoe and other industries. Many far-seeing agitators believe the coming winter will witness a repetition of "hard times," or industrial stagnation.

The iron workers in the large blasting furnaces are greatly disturbed on account of a complete revolution that is being made in the production of pig iron. In all plants scores of laborers were employed in unloading, mixing, reloading in trucks, hoisting and dumping the ore into the furnaces. The American Steel and Wire Trust has completed a device, and placed the same in operation in Ohio mills, by the operation of which the ore on the cars is forced up an inclined plane and dumped into the furnaces at tremendous rapidity and with the aid of comparatively few laborers. Now the Illinois Steel Co., another trust plant, has completed a revolution at the other end of the industry. After the hot metal leaves the furnaces it no longer runs into troughs and molds made in the sand. Under the old system 250 men were required in the latter company's 16 blast furnaces, who worked night and day making molds in the sand for the ingots and making troughs in the sand for the beds on the open hearth in front of the furnaces, through which the molten iron could run into the molds. Besides the great expense of carrying the 250 employes on the pay roll, there was the additional disadvantage that after a run had been made there was a wait of several hours for the metal to cool, then each ingot had to be lifted out of the mold and carried by hand to trucks and afterward transferred to freight cars. The new machine does all this work. Several hundred steel mold are arranged on a long link belt; the belt is kept in constant motion and brings the molds under the noses of the furnaces. The molten iron fills the molds as they pass under and then the belt carries them down into a deep trough of running cold water. In passing through this the ingot is cooled and then is carried by the belt out into the yards, where the mold dumps the ingot into a freight car standing under it. Hardly a minute of time is consumed from the moment the molten iron leaves the furnace until it lies an ingot in the freight car ready to be dumped into the steel furnaces. The machine costs \$50,000 to construct and is operated by but six men. It is estimated that the "revolutionizer" will pay for itself in three months in the saving of wages. Yet, the capitalistic politicians and newspapers blithely inform us that the machinery question is of no importance! And while these displaced iron workers suffer and starve and vainly search for employment, they can console themselves with the thought that Mr. John W. Gates, one of our foremost iron and steel trust magnates, won added laurels unto himself the other day by standing on top of the Eiffel Tower, in Paris, and hurling handfuls of 20-cent (franc) pieces, representing wealth produced by displaced and hungry American workmen, at the applauding and struggling multitudes below. Such are the fruits of the class struggle, of capitalism, of voting for the two old parties and in favor of the private ownership of the socialized tools of production.

One of the notable events of the month was the convention of the International Typographical Union in Milwaukee. Much important business of interest to the craft was transacted. Secretary Bramwood reported that the net increase of members was 1,459, making a total membership of 32,105. Thirty-nine members, suffering from various diseases, were admitted to the Printers' Home, at Colorado Springs, Colo., of which number six died and eight withdrew again. For one day at least the I. T. U., the oldest and perhaps the most influential national organization, was on a progressive basis, when the following resolution, introduced by Delegate Bandlow, of Cleveland, was passed by a vote of 87 to 73:

"Resolved, That the International Typographical Union emphasizes that it is distinctly a class organization, embracing in its membership all workers following the kindred crafts in the printing industry, who upon the industrial field are antagonized by their employers on every occasion, which fact should impress the members of this organization that to subserve their interests as wage workers it is essential that they act as a unit upon the political field, from whence capitalism derives its power to oppress, and we declare it consistent with the ethics of unionism and the sacred duty of every honorable member of this union to sever his or her affiliation with all political parties of the exploiting class, which is constantly encroaching upon the liberties of the working people."

Although, through the manipulation of small fry old party politicians, and distinct hostility from the daily press, the foregoing resolution was reconsidered and tabled, its passage originally was a distinct and progressive forward stride, and, therefore, a big moral victory. It is believed that at next year's convention, after the heat of a national political campaign has worn off and the capitalistic system has gone on developing, the I. T. U. will be ready to define its position in the great class struggle now waging in terms that will not be misunderstood.

Two more states have been organized by the Social Democrats during the past month—Iowa and North Dakota, which, with Nebraska and Utah, make a total of twenty-five states in which electoral tickets have been placed in the field. South Dakota and other northwestern states will also nominate electors for Debs and Harriman. Reports from every section of the country state that the greatest enthusiasm prevails for the United Socialist movement. Intelligent trade unionists are particularly active in aiding the cause, and the outlook for a big vote for socialism is very promising.

EDITORIAL

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

The near approach of the International Socialist Congress suggests the question if the time is not now here when it is practicable and advisable to take some action looking to the organization in a tangible manner of the international solidarity of the socialist movement. There are but few socialists that do not view with regret the dissolution of the "old International." All may admit that its form had outgrown its usefulness, yet it is to be regretted that that form was not sufficiently flexible to adapt itself to the new need. At the present time there seems to be a general feeling that the time is ripe for the formation of some form of international association. It is recognized that such an organization must necessarily be a very flexible one. It could have no dictatorial or even judicial powers and the majority of its functions must be clerical.

Some of the minor arguments upon grounds of simple utility that might be offered for such an organization are that it would afford a means to secure international translations of the classics of socialism. It is a disgrace to the English speaking socialists that but a small portion of the works of Marx have ever been translated into that language, while nowhere, in any language, is there to be found anything approaching a complete and uniform edition of the works of Marx or Engels. Again, there should be a much greater interchange of workers and speakers between different nationalities and in a great many cases international lecture tours could be arranged of very great benefit both to the country visited and the one from which the speaker came. It has also been pointed out that future generations will judge the socialists of this day with harshness because there is nowhere any attempt being made on an international scale to gather and preserve the manifold historical documents that are daily issuing from the socialist presses of the world.

All these, however, are but trifling reasons why such an international organization should be formed, beside others that are now just beginning to arise. At the present time there is scarcely a country in which the socialists are not divided on questions of policy. Many of these questions are identical in principle in two or more countries. Examples of such will at once occur to every socialist. Such is the question of "Ministerial Socialism" in France, the relation of the socialist parties to the Trade Unions in America and England, the relation of the co-operatives to the

socialist movement, the question of "Municipal" or "State Socialism," etc. While it is wholly out of the question to establish a court of final appeals on such matters, or perhaps even a court of arbitration, it is not impossible to gather together the opinions of a large number of representative socialists, not only in the countries directly concerned, but in others that may have passed through similar stages, or who by the very fact of the greater distance from the scene of discussion are able to see more impartially, if less accurately, than those immediately concerned. To some extent the various Reviews and other publications will meet this need, but an official central body that would gather all facts and opinions throwing light on these disputed questions and prepare them for publication would be of the greatest service and would save an immense amount of energy now wasted in what are too often fruitless discussions.

Much more important than any of these is the need which will soon begin to make itself felt for an expression in substantial form of the international solidarity of labor at times of great need in the various national struggles. Belgium is in the midst of such a contest at present in her struggle for Universal Suffrage, and while the Belgian comrades are perhaps better able to stand alone than those of any other nation, yet it is probable they would not refuse assistance from the comrades of other lands were they in a position to give it. England will be in such a struggle at her next general election. It will not be many years before the socialists of America will be face to face with capitalism in a contest whose success or failure will mean much to socialism. With her heterogeneous population she must have workers, writers and speakers in almost every language. How much better these could be secured were there some agency through which the men who had already fought the battles of socialism in the native lands of these people could be enabled to reach them again in their adopted country.

Finally, the time is now fast approaching when the governments of some of the great nations of the world will fall into the hands of the socialists. When that time comes it is of paramount importance to the cause of socialism that as few blunders as possible should be committed. We want no more Communes. Hence it is of the greatest importance that so far as possible the combined energy and intelligence of the international socialist movement should be at the disposal of those who have gained the victory. On some small scale this same principle has been recognized in France and Belgium by the Federations of Socialist Municipal Councillors, who seek thus to bring the combined knowledge of all to the assistance of those holding municipal offices.

As to what the exact form and details of this international

organization shall be must be left for the comrades assembled at the Congress to decide. There must be at least one salaried secretary in the central office, with as many corresponding secretaries as there are countries who care to be represented. There should probably be some kind of an advisory board, the majority of whose members should be residents of the country in which the General Secretary is located. Where there are two or more conflicting parties in any country there is no reason why each should not maintain its own local corresponding secretary, who in the majority of cases would be the general secretary of that party who could perform this work in addition to his other duties. If this matter can be brought before the International Congress and discussed, it does not seem too much to expect of them to say that such details do not offer insuperable obstacles to the success of the plan.

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF DEMOCRACY.

A prominent economist* has recently said that the coming political struggle is to be between plutocracy and democracy. This recognition of what is commonly called "the class struggle" gives occasion for a restatement of the meaning and implications of democracy.**

Democracy has received no better definition than the classical one of Lincoln's, "a government of the people by the people and for the people."

It may be said that this begs the whole question of the necessity of government at all, that by the abolition of special economic privilege, primarily in land ownership, even the present functions of government would gradually disappear. I have recently seen a sober argument written to prove that all so-called monopoly rests upon the private ownership of land; that by the absorption of rack rent by the community, all power of exploitation would quickly disappear, so that the state will not need to perform any common function, because the opportunity for exploitation being gone this function can be delegated to private persons in return for the competitive franchise value of the same. In this writer's opinion "the whole question is one of surplus value." If surplus value is eliminated, and only the wages of superintendence remains, they will be determined by the law of competition. In his opinion, interest is the outgrowth of rent, and he thinks that by the public appropriation

*Prof. W. G. Sumner, of Yale University.

**It is almost needless to say that I shall use the word democracy, not in its sentimental, but in its political and practical sense. Important as is the moral and social temper that is the flower of democratic institutions, it is well not to confuse this temper and sentiment of wide human fellowship with the form of organization which is to help bring it into being. When I speak of democracy, I mean popular government, and not the sense of fellowship with all sorts and conditions of men. Democracy is one thing, the democratic spirit quite another. There are many who are filled with the democratic spirit, men like Whitman, Wagner, Tolstol, Kropotkin, who are by no means representative democrats.

of rent interest will vanish on account of the competitions of capital. But the essential part of the argument for our purpose is that the elimination of surplus value will remove all the evils of competition, will render unnecessary the common performance of public functions, and hence practically eliminate government altogether.

Our first concern here is with the logic of the position. When Lincoln spoke of "government of the people by the people and for the people" he assumed that some sort of government was necessary. The anarchist does nothing of the sort. He sees in government simply one of the forms of economic exploitation, of which the leisure class has assumed control just as it has of religion, war or sports.

Here we have two distinct schools of thought, the governmentalist, including the socialist, who declares that government is necessary, and the anarchist, who declares that the laws of competition and of supply and of demand, will remove the necessity for governmental action.

This brings us squarely to the issue. What is government? Let us grant that it has been used as an exploiting function of the leisure class; none the less it was a necessary function, just as religion has been necessary. To a community free from superstition, and acquainted with the laws of cause and effect, the interjection of priestly functions will not be necessary; but while the dignity and good will of supernatural beings needs to be maintained ecclesiasticism will perform a necessary function.

So of war. Granted that the military class has taken advantage of the necessity of the community, or at least of the dominant part of the community, for protection or aggression, nevertheless this protection or aggression was necessary for the then stage of evolution. That at a later stage neither a priestly nor a military class will perform a necessary function does not invalidate the necessity of their services in the past. How, now, is it with the function of government? Is its desuetude also measurably near and certain, as the anarchist claims? The claim seems to arise largely from a failure to discriminate between the nature of the relation of government to the whole people, as compared with religion and war. Religion and war may or may not be necessary for the maintenance of the dominant class. As a matter of fact, they have been necessary in the past, but when the dominant class in society shall be the productive rather than the acquisitive part of the community, then the necessity for ecclesiastical and military institutions will disappear. But government differs from religion and war in that it is a vital function of a productive dominant class, no less than that of an acquisitive dominant class. For what is government? It is simply management, or more particularly

and looked at from the standpoint of the ruling class, common management. All government is the management of the interests of some dominant class. It may be the land owning class or the military class or the priestly class or stockholding class or, fitly enough, the governing class, or of a combination or compromise of these, but always that part of the community which economically and politically, were it in power, had a common management of its important affairs. It constituted the state and conducted "the government."

If now, as we have some reason to believe will happen, the productive part of the community becomes the dominant class, they, too, will have common interests and the management of those common interests will be government. Economic affairs are not going to run themselves, and the larger the interests are the more management there must be. No governmentalist, least of all a socialist, supposes that business will take care of itself. To state the problem in its simplest terms, government is simply the most economical method of common management, and democracy, since it is the management of the interests of the entire community, must needs include more management than any other form of government.

Government was once regarded as the instrument for keeping the people in order. That was because policing was the chief common interest of the dominant class. Mr. Spencer, as is well known, conceives that "the end which remains for" government "is that of preserving the component members of society from destruction or injury by one another." In other words police duty is the extent of governmental function.

It is little wonder that the anarchist would, with such a view, put an end to all government. But we are beginning to see that the real function of government is not the enforcement of conformity, not the compulsion of malcontents, not the damnation of Satans, i. e., critics; it is the direction of the whole; it is the management of common interests, and democracy the latest form of government is the common management of common interests for the common good. Mazzini called it "the progress of all through all, under the leadership of the best and wisest."

J. A. Hobson, (*Ruskin as a Social Reformer*, p. 225), says: "The real plea for democracy is the absolute need for the expression of the national life of the whole national organism in the arts of government. * * * Democracy insists that the people as a whole is rational, and that government must express this rationality" (p. 225).

This self-activity of the whole organism is the thought hidden in Lincoln's famous words, "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

For, consider, what does government by the people mean? It is a protest, high as heaven, against the whole notion that government is a specialized function in the hands of a particular class. However special an art the drafting of laws and their administration may become, government "by the people" means that they alone shall decide what to do for their own good; that they alone have authority, and that their will alone, and not that of any man or class of men, shall be dominant. This involves the democratization of industry. As we shall see later, the common interests of the whole people are vastly greater than the common interests of a class of exploiters. Under the management of the latter there has come into being a multitude of private industrial tyrannies in the midst of a so-called political democracy. The modern demand is that every public function shall be publicly managed, that the workers themselves shall determine the conditions of work and elect their own governors; that just as hereditary political rulers have given place to elected servants, so industrial bosses shall be chosen by the workers. Instead of a railway corporation having the right to forbid its employes from engaging in politics—a proof of how far industry dominates politics—railway managers shall be the servants of railway workers. The productive and useful part of the community will rule in a true democracy.

Under the definition that democracy is government by the people we have to sadly acknowledge that our forefathers fell far short of founding a democracy. What they founded was a government which was a compromise between monarchy and democracy by which, under the pretense that the people were governing themselves, their will was hedged in on every side. The people's representatives might make laws which would be valid if another body chosen by thirteen other legislative bodies should agree, and if the president, chosen not by the popular vote, but by a few wise men whom they were permitted to elect, did not interpose his veto, and if further these laws were not declared unconstitutional by a set of judges whom the people did not choose but were appointed by the president, whom they did not choose, either. It would be hard to conceive a more perfect system for thwarting the public will under the pretense of expressing it. The means by which these hedges were drawn around the public will was a paper constitution which was supposed to be the embodiment of wisdom for all time to come, and only by the most elaborate and roundabout process could it be altered. The framers of the constitution did not trust their own generation, and still less future generations, to govern themselves. Wisdom shall die with us, and this paper constitution shall take its place. They did for us politically what the church fathers have done theologically—locked us into a strong

box and swallowed the key. Constitutions and creeds are built of the same material, distrust of the people.

This poor thing we call democracy is not democracy at all. Mr. James Bryce says of the United States Constitution that it is "the least democratic of democracies." This constitution, beginning so grandiloquently, "We the people of the United States," leaves disenfranchised half of the people, one whole sex, and so distrusts the other sex that it limits their power in every possible way. "It is the work of men," says Mr. Bryce, "who believed in original sin, and were resolved to leave open for transgressors no door which they could possibly shut." That is to say, men are bad; they will do wrong whenever they can; they cannot be trusted to look for their own interests. Since they demand some control of government, we shall have to give them something, but we will curtail their power at every possible point. We will make it as hard as possible for them to express their will. So reasoned the authors of our famous democratic constitution. This is not to deny that they set their faces forward, but they did so very timidly. It is very well to recognize their skill in steering through a difficult passage, but to say, as Mr. Gladstone said, that the United States Constitution is "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a time by the brain and purpose of man," is only to convict oneself of the failings of its authors. The Constitution may have answered the purpose of averting the evils which are sure to threaten any government built upon distrust of the people; it may have succeeded for a century in not dying; it may have been a great advance upon existing forms of government; but it does not follow from this that it is suited to a people who no longer believe in original sin, who now think of government, not as a necessary evil for suppressing evil, but as the instrument of common endeavor. However well it expressed the political timidity of those who agreed to it, it does not express the political needs of a new generation, and it has thus become a means of tyranny, both in form and in fact.

Not only does our government fail of being a democracy in not being common management, it also fails in that it does not include in its management what have come to be common interests. It is neither government by the people nor of the people.

What does government of the people mean? It means the direction of those interests that concern the people altogether. It is the management of the common interests. Any government is a management of some interests. A monarchy is a management of the royal interests in which incidentally the people may be benefited, but will be exploited; an aristocracy is management of the interests of the aristocrats with incidental

good and inevitable sacrifice on the part of the people. A plutocracy is management of the interests of the wealthy, where the poor may share in the general advancement, but when their interests and those of the wealthy conflict, they are sure to be downtrodden. In any case, government is the management of somebody's interests. But democracy is the management of the interests of all. Government of the people, then, means management of common interests.

When our government was inaugurated, the population was largely made up of economic peers, largely agriculturists; there were no glaring contrasts in the distribution of wealth; there were large natural opportunities open to all. The common interests that were recognized were chiefly those relating to the keeping of the peace, domestic and foreign, and—including local governmental functions—the care of highways, schools, light-houses, the postal service, etc., and, as we have seen, there was an attempt, a half-hearted attempt, to give the people—or, at least, the propertied people—a voice in the management of these interests.

But the times have changed since then. Wealth is concentrated, natural and artificial resources are monopolized, the interests of the few are distinctly hostile to the interests of the many. Two changes have taken place. The whole machinery of government has passed into the control of a dominant minority. The instruments for the preservation of common interests, the universal protection of property, life, and well-being, are manipulated for the special benefit of the wealthy, while, on the other hand, what was the political function of the people then has become a very small proportion of the common life. Not that policing has not vastly increased. But at the same time that our army and navy and local police and courts of justice have multiplied for the benefit of the rich, our common industrial life has grown vastly more. Whether we like it or not, we are absolutely dependent upon tens of thousands of other men every day for the supply of the simple wants of common life. Modern life is city life, and the existence of the city man hangs upon a complicated maze of threads, the cutting of any one of which would bring disaster upon the whole mechanism of society. A savage can subsist almost anywhere, but a civilized man—i. e., a city man—can do nothing without thousands of other men to help him live. So a primitive community can get along with a political democracy, but government today must needs take a hand in the varied functions of modern life, for if it does not take part in them, then private tyrannies will usurp its place. This has actually occurred in America. While our common interests have increased immeasurably, our system of government is dead and inelastic. It has not developed

so as to form a framework on which the common life could find support. It has the bones of a baby for the flesh of a man. Under the name of a democracy there has grown up a huge system of private tyrannies.

Say Mr. and Mrs. Webb in *Industrial Democracy*, p. 841: "The framers of the United States Constitution, like various parties in the French Revolution of 1789, saw no resemblance or analogy between the personal power which they drove from the castle, the altar and the throne, and that which they left unchecked in the farm, the factory and the mine. Even at the present day, after a century of revolution, the great mass of middle and upper class 'liberals' all over the world see no more inconsistency between democracy and unrestrained capitalist enterprise than Washington or Jefferson did between democracy and slave owning."

A real democracy, on the other hand, would be a government in which every interest as soon as it became a common interest would find expression. It is bound to find expression somehow or other, and if it cannot do so through the public function, then it will through a private one. In other words, if the people cannot themselves control that part of their life which they live in common, then some tyrant will control it.

For example, when travel and trade take place on foot, either of man or beast, a highway is all that needs to be common, but when journeys can be accomplished and goods shipped only in dependence upon a great railway system, and these railways are so important that they are called "arteries of trade," then it's time for the people to manage their own railroads.

If they do not, a monstrous set of corporations will charge "all that the traffic will bear"; it can, at its will, crush out industries, monopolize coal, fix the price of wheat, discriminate in rates, rob oil refiners to pay the oil monopoly, bribe legislatures, defy courts, extinguish whole communities, in short rule the United States.

So long as the production of heat depended on each individual's sawing and splitting his own wood, the people altogether might leave it to each one, but when it depends upon a network of industries that involves everybody, then it is time that the people together produced heat. If they do not, a coal baron and an oil magnate and a gas king will produce it at their convenience and for their own profit, and will let the people freeze.

When the dissemination of news depended on individual letter writing it was not undemocratic to send mail by private messengers, but when it has become possible to gather and disseminate news only by agencies like railroads and telegraphs, telephones and express companies, that are a vital part of the whole organism of modern society, then it is time that that

organism itself gathered and spread the news. If it does not, then a press association and a newspaper trust, backed by a railroad and a telegraph monopoly, will do it and stuff the people as they please. Not only can these tyrants sift the news which they dispense to suit their own ends, but can use the whole reading public as a makeweight in a petty quarrel with their employes. For four days, including the Fourth of July, in the midst of an unusual demand for news, just after a great battle, the city of Chicago was refused all the news, either on paper or on bulletin, in order that a newspaper combination might lock out its stereotypers. That is not democracy, common management of common interests; it is private tyranny, nothing more and nothing less.

In an age when every man could produce his own bread on a little plot of ground, society need not concern itself about the matter, but when our daily bread is made by thousands of men working and interworking, when it takes a gigantic system to make a loaf of bread, then it has become time for the people to make their own bread. If they do not, some Joseph will corner the wheat market, as another Joseph did in Egypt long ago, the railways will monopolize the elevators, some biscuit trust will bake the bread and, at the price they see fit to fix, men and children may starve.

Private property in land was well enough when there was plenty for all and each lived off his own plot, but when few men live off their own land, when the common interest in land is what gives it its chief value, then it is time for the people to hold the land in common. If they do not, landlords will own it for them, making a landless and a homeless proletariat who must beg for a chance even to work. Free land would at least let men grub for a living.

When barter was the only form of trade and gold and silver had only commodity value, it was not undemocratic to do without a monetary system, but when precious metals have acquired their chief value as instruments of exchange it is time for the government to control their production and not leave it to the haphazard work of foolhardy adventurers or the exigencies of private mine owners.

Still more when trade has become so complicated and commerce so extensive that the precious metals are no longer capable of serving as true tokens of value, but a banking system takes their place, common interest demands that the government take charge of the banking system. If it does not, the banking system will take charge of the government, and decide not only questions of commerce, but of peace and war and colonial expansion.

What I mean is simply this, that democracy is the common

management of common interests. So long as the common interests of a people are simply to repel invaders, or care for criminals, or issue money, then its form is simple, but when its common interests come to include the whole production of wealth, then government must include this in its functions. If it does not, some private tyranny will usurp this function, and the people can have neither life, liberty, nor the pursuit of happiness. A true democracy, then, involves this, that when in the course of human events it becomes necessary for men to attain certain ends by working in common, then it becomes necessary for their common tool, i. e., the government, to assume the responsibility of accomplishing this end. Unless this principle be carried out, the very existence of democracy is at stake. Of what use, I ask, is a democracy that concerns itself with a part, and that a small part, of the common life and leaves the great part to be controlled and managed for private profit? Yet this is the condition that we are actually in. The common interests that are controlled in common in America are not a tithe of the common interests that actually exist. Granted that we are somewhat democratic in going to war, in furnishing ourselves with water, in punishing our criminals, in sending our letters, but at the same time we are content to be slaves in getting the news, in sending messages by telegraph or telephone, in using gas and oil and coal, in traveling from place to place, in eating meat, and salt, and crackers, and sugar, and wheat, in occupying land and in living in houses. Even when we die we must ask leave of a private corporation for a grave in which our bones may rest. Surely we have strained out the gnat and swallowed the camel.

It is simply mockery to call that government a democracy where the commonly managed interests are but a fraction of the really common interests, where these governmental functions are managed principally for the benefit of a favored class, and even the form of democracy is a cloak to cover high-handed imperialism. As Loria has pointed out, kings are but the tools of the real economic rulers, and King William I. of America is no exception to the rule, even though masked as "President."

The reason we are beset with private tyrannies is because our so-called democracy is not a thorough-going democracy. We have just enough government to serve as a bulwark behind which the tyrants who really rule us can entrench themselves and exploit us. There are then only two alternatives open to us. We must either have more government or less. We must have either a democracy—i. e., common control of common interests—or else no common control whatever, either collectivism or anarchism. The only scheme that is unreasonable is our present one, for it is simply a tool in the hands of the few

mighty against the many weak, and this is intolerable. This is a sham democracy!

But there is still a third lack to be pointed out in our so-called democracy. It is neither by the people nor of the people, nor is it for the people. "The state exists," says Aristotle, "for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only" (3:9). If government were simply by the people and of the people, what good would it be? To manage our common affairs in common is only the means to the end, namely, our common good. The object of government is not to make ends meet, to square accounts, to keep alive. As Aristotle further says: "The state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life." We can imagine a community managing all its common interests simply for the sake of the bare needs of life. Many have assumed that this is what the "army of discontent" wants. Animal comfort is declared to be the aim of these rebellious proletarians. Well, supposing it were. They are hardly to be blamed for demanding a living wage when they have it not. But that is not the present point at issue. The fault of such criticism is that it overlooks the most important function of government. Democracy is by, and of, and, most of all, for the people. It is common management of common interests for the common good. This includes, of course, a guarantee of comfortable existence, but besides it means far more than that. It means the actual provision of the means of enjoyment. At present our whole theory of government is built on the idea the less of it the better, *laissez faire laissez passez*, let the people alone to find their own fun, to pursue happiness one by one, to enjoy life each sitting under his own vine and fig tree. This is perfectly consistent with the idea that all government is interference and tyranny, which has been true enough. But nowadays people must enjoy life together. They cannot get away from each other. The closer and closer linking together of the industrial web makes them play together as well as work together. Recreation is a joint affair. In a democracy nobody can mind his own business. Men enjoy most what they do in common. A government that was truly for the people would take positive steps to provide for the satisfaction of our fun-loving instincts. The principle of making positive provision for public happiness is acknowledged in the public park, and bath-house, and library, and art gallery. Consistency demands that this provision be adequate. But however remote and Utopian any governmental functions of this sort on a large scale may seem to be, the securing of good and livable conditions for work is quite within sight and in active demand. For recreation is only a small part of life. It would be no solution of the social

problem even if the people should provide endless amusement for themselves. No conceivable abundance of opportunities for play could constitute a "good life" if the hours of work were still hours of drudgery. With all the joy gone out of his daily work, all the amusements in creation cannot make a man happy. This will be the great duty of the coming democracy, to make men happy in their work. This no tyranny can ever do, and it is the severest indictment to be brought against the tyranny of private capitalism that it makes men hate their daily work. Why should they not hate it under present conditions, slaves to hours, slaves to machines, slaves to the market, making an infinitesimal part of a product whose whole they may never see nor enjoy, making things not to use but to sell, the joy of creation gone, no longer artists nor even artisans, but only wage-workers and "hands"—no wonder that men hate their work and shirk it all they can. Not one word would I say against the triumphs of modern machinery or against the combinations of capital. It is not machinery nor trusts which have spoiled the pleasure of work; it is the system under which the machine and the trust are used and the man is worked. The man no longer works; he is worked. If such degradation were necessary in the use of machinery, far better, as Ruskin says, would it be to cast all our machines to the bottom of the sea and make all we need by manual labor. But production by machinery does not involve slavery. The fault is the lack of democracy, industrial democracy, in which the producers are the masters, common encouragement for the common good. Under right conditions there is a pleasure in work, such pleasure as cannot be equaled, and when the people do their work not for the profits to be got out of it, but for the good use to be got out of what they make, then life can be well spent at work and at play. When the people produce wealth for themselves to use, they will not only produce it well, but produce it with joy to the maker and the user.

William H. Noyes.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

A series of events running through several years and leading up to a climax within the last few months have served to bring the "negro question" prominently before the public. The succession of terrible outrages committed in the Southern states—the burning and torturing of defenseless negroes, often innocent, and always without form of trial—have attracted universal attention. The horrible barbarities accompanying these scenes—the slow roasting alive of human beings, the tearing to pieces of the still quivering bodies and the distribution of portions of them among the mob as "souvenirs"—all this bore witness to the fact that capitalism had developed within itself a body of demons more ferocious than African head-hunters or prehistoric savages.

Perhaps the feature of these horrors that impressed the ordinary observer trained to capitalist methods of thought was that throughout the portion of the country in which these ghastly orgies took place the so-called "respectable" or bourgeois element of society, who are supposed to be the especial conservators of "morality" and "law and order," apologized for, excused or openly encouraged such acts. Still further, at the same time that these outrages were being inflicted upon a helpless people these same bourgeois pillars of society were conspiring to take away their only means of legal defense—the ballot. Apparently more remarkable still, although the votes thus destroyed were almost wholly Republican, that party made no emphatic or significant protest against such action. On the contrary, the last few weeks have seen the beginning of a series of outbreaks against the negroes in Northern cities, that for unreasoning, brutal violence rival those that have gained so much notoriety for the Southern states. New York, Brooklyn, and Akron, Ohio, have been the seats of "race riots" as ferocious as those of the South, and it was apparently only the lack of opportunity that prevented the perpetration of equally hideous barbarities. Here, too, the "authorities" and "respectable citizens" lent open sympathy, if not active assistance, to the perpetrators of the outrages. In New York city it was especially noted that the police often lent assistance in the beating of the helpless negroes.

These are the phenomena with which we are confronted. It now remains to find an explanation. To do this it will be necessary to pass hastily in review the various phases that the "negro problem" has assumed in American history.

During the pre-revolutionary period those who sought to live

upon the labor of others found themselves confronted with the problem which always arises in a new country where natural opportunities are not yet wholly monopolized by a possessing, employing class. Such opportunities being open to all and capable of utilization with simple individually-owned tools, everyone can secure the full product of his labor in this crude form of production, and there is no class whose members are compelled to sell themselves to the owning class in order to live. This is the situation at present in the S. African diamond fields, and the Philippine Islands. In all of these cases it was found necessary to introduce some form of chattel slavery until the natural opportunities could be sufficiently monopolized to make it impossible for anyone possessing nothing but his labor power to exist without selling himself into wage-slavery.

In America all attempts to reduce the Indians to slavery having failed, recourse was had to Europe and white "indentured servants" and negro slaves were imported. Owing to a variety of circumstances, such as the long Winters, an increasingly intensive system of agriculture, a more concentrated population, hemmed in by natural features and hostile Indian tribes, and the growth of a trading class, there soon arose in the North a body of men who were compelled to sell themselves into wage-slavery while at the same time life ownership of the slave became unprofitable.

Under these circumstances chattel slavery became "immoral" and the New England Puritans "freed their slaves," and thus avoided the burden of their support at unprofitable periods of the year, while they well knew that monopolized opportunities would keep them close at hand eager to sell themselves for a limited period when needed. This left the highly moral New Englander free to organize "abolition" societies and carry New England rum to the Gold coast with which to buy the "black ivory" so much in demand in the Southern states.

With the settling up of the great West the two systems came into conflict, and, the Northern capitalist being in the ascendant in Congress, cut off one source of supply to the slave market by forbidding the further importation of chattel slaves. At the same time he began in every possible way to encourage the importation of wage-slaves for the Northern labor market. The following table, giving the number of immigrants by ten-year periods from 1821, will show the extent to which this form of labor was imported:

Years.	Number immigrants.
1821-1830	143,439
1831-1840	599,125

1841-1850	1,713,251
1851-1860	2,598,214
1861-1870	2,314,824
1871-1880	2,812,191
1881-1890	5,246,613

Grand total, 1821-1890.....15,427,657

Since that time the economic conditions here having become practically identical with those of Europe, and there consequently being no particular incentive to the immigrant upon the one hand to come, nor to the capitalist upon the other to encourage his coming, immigration has fallen off considerably.

By the late 50s the two forms of labor in the United States were in sharp conflict. Each owner was eager for new fields for his slaves to exploit. The resulting struggle was a testimonial to the wisdom of the Northern capitalist in choosing wage in preference to chattel slavery, for he was able to inspire a portion of his "hands" with "patriotism" and send them forth to fight his battles, while those who remained at home to work for him were immensely more profitable than the Southern chattel slaves.

At the close of the Civil War, when the victory was won the conquerors wished to revel in the spoils of the conquered and complete the humiliation of their fallen foe. As instruments to that purpose they chose the former chattel slaves, and through a series of constitutional amendments gave them full political equality with their late owners. With the mock morality that has ever marked all dealings with the helpless negro since the time he was brought from Africa to "enjoy the blessings of a Christian civilization" this was nominally done for the protection of the former chattel slaves. But precious little good it has done him up to the present time, and when he does show some signs of using it for his own good it is promptly taken away.

In the "reconstruction period" immediately following the war the negro was but the helpless tool of the horde of Northern "carpet-baggers" who rode upon his back through the prostrate, defenseless South to a career of plunder and pillage that had scarce been equaled since the days of Alaric or Atilla. And this period, when the helpless blacks were but mute tools in the hands of a new and more unscrupulous set of masters, is known in history by the bitterly ironical name of the "period of negro domination."

With the passage of time the South too began to be capitalistic and the interests of the ruling classes of the two sections, North and South, became the same. Both desired submissive wage-slaves. The troops were withdrawn from the South by Presi-

dent Hayes and the Southern employers were left to treat their black wage-slaves as they chose. Steps were at once taken to disenfranchise the negroes. At first this was accomplished by the clumsy methods of intimidation and fraud. These were the days of the Ku Klux Klan, the "tissue ballot" and the "shot-gun campaign."

But shortly after this great industrial changes began to take place in the South. The great superiority of wage over chattel slavery from the point of view of the employer began to make itself felt. Factories of all kinds sprang up throughout the South. A quotation from the "Textile World" of July, 1900, will give some idea of one phase of this movement:

"The Southern group of states now operated 5,815,429 spindles and the Northern mills 15,242,554. In 1890 the South had 1,828,982 and the North 12,721,341. The actual increase in the number of spindles in the South in ten years is 3,986,447, a gain of 217 per cent. The actual increase in Northern states is 2,521,213, a gain of 19.8 per cent."

These figures and the movement they represent offer one more proof of the fact that when slaves are bidding against one another in the labor market for a job they are much more docile, and profitable to the slave owner than when masters are bidding against each other to secure possession of the slaves. They will work harder to fit themselves for their masters' work and are no expense to him save when actually engaged in production. At first only white laborers were used in the new Southern industries. The "poor whites" and "crackers" who fought so valiantly from '61 to '65, that their rich neighbors might have the right to own black laborers for life, are now pouring into the cities to fight each other for the chance to sell their own bodies and brains for such periods as they can make themselves profitable to their buyers. Unorganized, composed mostly of women and children, helpless, untrained to resistance, with a low standard of life in a semi-tropical climate, wages are soon forced down to the subsistence point, hours lengthened to the limit of endurance, and abuses of all kinds multiplied until the terrible horrors of the early days of the English factory system are almost duplicated to-day in many a Georgia, Alabama or Mississippi cotton factory.

But the black can live even cheaper than the white, and so another phase is given to the "negro question." Says a writer in the Forum for June, 1898:

"A notion is abroad in the South that the negro could not work in the cotton mill. . . . But there is no rational ground for this belief. Negroes now work day and night in the tobacco factories and display marvelous dexterity and deftness in the

use of their fingers. Of course unusual risks must attend the first venture with dark labor in a cotton mill. All new mills must employ some experienced hands to start with; and if a manufacturer undertook to start with negro help he could not bring in white laborers to teach them, owing to the unwillingness of the whites to commingle with the other race. He would have to start with all raw workers; and if the business failed the fact that negroes had lived in the tenement houses would render it almost impossible to get decent white laborers to occupy them. However, the ice will soon be broken. A mill in Charlestown is already running with dark labor, and another is now building at Concord, North Carolina, to be run exclusively by the same kind of labor. If these experiments prove successful, then indeed will the South have a never-failing fountain of cheap labor."

These experiments have proven successful, as anyone who had followed the course of capitalist development could have foretold from the beginning. Deficiency of education and incompetency will not long prove serious obstacles. Lured on by the will-o'-the-wisp hope of economic advance that has for these many years sufficed to lure the white worker into the swamps of capitalism, the negro is crowding into Tuskegee, Berea, Hampton, and a host of other "colleges" and "training schools," where he is fitted to better serve the purposes of his new capitalist masters.

These developments have for the first time made the negro an essential element of the capitalist system. The "negro question" has completed its evolution into the "labor problem." This at once made itself felt in two directions. Of one of these, the introduction of the developed factory system into the South, we have already spoken. The other was the use of the negro by Northern capitalists to break the resistance of organized labor. At Pana, Virden and the Chicago Packing Houses, and at various other points, strikes of organized white labor have been followed by the wholesale importation of negro "scabs." Their presence added the fury of race prejudice to the natural hatred of union and non-union men and was the occasion of bloody race riots.

This race hatred was in itself a valuable thing for the capitalist class. When the negro entered the field of modern industry as a wage-slave his interests were for the first time in his history completely identical with those of his fellow white laborers. It was of the utmost importance to the laborers that the two races should act together in harmonious, united resistance to the demands of the employing owning class. But, as is always the case, the class interests of the capitalists and laborers being diametrically opposite, it was of the greatest importance to the ma-

terial interests of the capitalist class that this race hatred and prejudice be fomented and increased in every manner possible.

Hence it is that whenever the two races are introduced to each other in the course of capitalism, it is under conditions tending in every way to embitter their natural hatred. The negro is brought in as a scab at a time when passion is running high against any who dares to betray the cause of labor, or else, as in the Coeur d'Alene, he comes as a part of the regular army to act as the tool of oppression and capitalist outrage upon his fellow white worker. In the South there was little need of active encouragement of race hatred. It was only necessary to give natural savagery full sway whenever a negro was accused of any crime and occasionally permit a few of the "best citizens" to take part in a "negro hunt" with all its accompaniments of brutal bestiality.

This fact that the material interests of the ruling class are in accord with the excitation and continuance of race hatred accounts for the comparative acquiescence by the Northern people in outbreaks of savage ferocity throughout the South, which did they occur in Turkey or China would at once be considered as grounds for "armed intervention" on the part of capitalist government. The capitalist interests of the North and South are now in accord with the prejudices of the old plantation owners in opposition to "negro domination"—as if the dice had ever dominated the hand that threw them, or it was of any advantage to the spades in a pack of cards to be used as trumps.

But if something is not done it will not be very long before the negroes, who are now meeting the same problems, bearing the same burdens and groaning beneath the same form of slavery as their white fellow toilers, will begin to realize the fact of the solidarity of interests which unites the workers of the world. The history of the world has shown that no difference of race, religion, color or politics is able to maintain itself permanently against the terrible leveling influence of capitalism. Hence the time cannot be far away when the white and black laborers of the United States will join hands in their unions to resist economic tyranny (indeed, the process is already well advanced), and there are even signs that the time may be closer than we think when the fact of the common economic interests will find expression in common political action and a joint protest against the entire capitalist system.

Under these circumstances every material interest of the ruling class both North and South pointed to one course of action—the excitation of race hatred, followed by disenfranchisement of the negro before he could intelligently protest. Hence the open encouragement or silent approval of negro lynchings, burn-

ings and torturings, the quiet acquiescence by the "authorities" in negro riots in Northern cities, and, most significant of all, the general acceptance of wholesale disenfranchisement of the black laborers. Ten years ago any suggestion of such a disenfranchisement on the part of the Democratic party would have been met with a howl from every Republican spell-binder or editorial scribbler from Maine to Oregon. To-day the party of Bryanism can stand upon the proposition that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" and at the same time take away from 500,000 American citizens all opportunity of protest or participation in the government beneath which they must live, and the Republican party scarcely utters a growl.

To anyone foolish enough to think that the Republican Party really desires the enfranchisement of the negro it can be shown that, on the contrary, it would much rather see William Jennings Bryan elected to the Presidential chair than to in any way interfere with the economic or political slavery of any portion of the laboring class. Did they really desire to defeat Bryan or defend the negro they could accomplish both at one stroke by wiping 34 electoral votes completely off the Bryan side of the slate.* The Constitution provides that "when the right to vote at any election . . . is denied to any of the male members of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall

*In the North American Review for 1899 complete figures of the extent of disenfranchisement up to that time are given. The following table giving the vote in three of the Southern states in 1876 and again in 1898 is taken from this article and shows to what extent both white and black laborers have been disenfranchised.

VOTE OF 1876.			
	Republican.	Democratic.	Total.
Louisiana	75,315	70,508	145,823
Mississippi	52,705	112,143	164,848
South Carolina	92,981	91,640	184,621
Totals	220,001	274,191	495,192

VOTE OF 1898.			
	Republican.	Democratic.	Total.
Louisiana	5,667	27,629	33,296
Mississippi	3,573	23,804	27,377
South Carolina	2,823	28,970	31,793
Totals	12,063	80,403	92,466

This indicates a falling off during these 22 years in the Republican vote of 207,938 or over 94 per cent, and in the Democratic vote of 183,788 or 67 per cent or a total falling off in votes of 401,826, or over 81 per cent. But this does not tell the whole truth, as this has been a time of rapid growth in population in these states especially since the new industrial development. Says the writer in the North American Review quoted above: "According to the census of 1890 there were 797,249 males of voting age in these three states, of whom 354,016 were whites and 403,233 were colored. The natural increase from births and immigration must have brought the total up to 900,000 and the white voters to about 400,000."

be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

But no step has been or will be taken to enforce this provision because ever since the time when the Democratic party ceased to be semi-feudalistic and became purely capitalistic, the two parties have agreed to perfection upon the point of keeping the worker in helpless subjection. When the "negro question" became the "labor problem" both parties joined hands against the worker.

TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM.

The vital point of the trust problem, which is at present engaging the public mind, is thus formulated by President Hadley in *Scribner's Magazine* (November, 1899):

"Will such monopolies be long allowed to remain in the hands of private corporations at all? Is it not rather true that this consolidation is a step in the direction of state ownership of industrial enterprises? Is not a grave crisis at hand in which there will be a decisive struggle between the forces of individualism and socialism?"

The main difficulty in answering this question lies in the indefiniteness of the conception of Socialism. There are to-day in this country two or three distinct political parties, each claiming to be the incarnation of scientific Socialism; there are, furthermore, the advocates of co-operative and colonization schemes as methods for "ushering in" the "co-operative commonwealth"; there are the Christian Socialists, and lastly, the Anarchist Communists, also demanding recognition as a distinct school of Socialism. In view of this divergence of current Socialist theories, one who seeks an answer to the question raised by President Hadley must go back to the fountain-head of modern Socialism, Karl Marx's "Capital":

"As soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet," says Karl Marx, "then the further socialization of labor and further transformation of land and other means of production into socially exploited and therefore common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, take a new form. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the imminent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many."*

Thus to Marx, who has foretold the coming capitalistic evolution, competition appears to be the only lever which sets it in motion.

"The battle of competition is fought by the cheapening of commodities; the cheapness of commodities depends, *ceteris paribus*, on the productiveness of labor, and this again on the scale of production. Therefore, the larger capitals beat the smaller. The smaller capitals, therefore, crowd into spheres of production which modern society has only sporadically or incompletely got hold of. Here competition rages in

*"Capital," by Karl Marx (New York: Humboldt Publishing Co.), p. 467.

direct proportion with the numbers and inverse proportion to the magnitude of the antagonistic capitals; it always ends in the ruin of many capitalists, whose capitals partly get into the hands of their conquerors, partly vanish."*

Marx does not attempt an analysis of competition itself. "It is not our intention," says he, "to consider here the way in which the laws imminent in capitalist production manifest themselves in the movement of individual masses of capital, where they assert themselves as coercive laws of competition."†

The "coercive laws of competition" are to him the visible form in which "the laws imminent in capitalist production" are perceived by the capitalist. It does not seem to occur to him that competition itself is but a transient phase in the development of capitalism, or, to use his own phraseology, that the "negation" (or elimination) of competition within the age of capitalism marks the beginning of the process by which "capitalist . . . production begets its own negation."‡

In the days of Karl Marx capitalism had not yet arrived at that age of maturity when this new tendency of development first begins to manifest itself. It was not before the early 80's that general attention was attracted by the attempt of capitalists to subordinate the elementary economic *bellum omnium contra omnes* to the conscious control of combinations of capitalists.

The structural form of capitalistic combination has undergone a gradual process of evolution. On the lowest round in the scale of evolution we find the manufacturers' association which meets periodically with the object of arranging for an uniform scale of prices for their products. This is the most primitive form of capitalistic combination, in which there is, strictly speaking, neither organization nor centralization; competition and chaotic production continue as before. It goes without saying that this form of organization exhibits utter lack of stability.

A higher form of capitalistic combination, still with the principle of competition unrestrained, is represented by the system of equalization of profits. Unlimited freedom of action is reserved by every manufacturer, but a fixed percentage of the profits is divided among all the parties to the combination. While this form of organization breeds a certain degree of community of interests among the several entrepreneurs, still both production as well as marketing are as yet regulated wholly and exclusively by the individual capitalist.

*L. c., p. 394.

†L. c., p. 188.

‡L. c., p. 487.

The first step towards actual regulation of production and exchange is taken through the territorial division of the market among the parties to the combine. These combinations tend towards complete elimination of competition within each district. The rise and permanency of such combinations are largely dependent upon favorable geographical conditions. In many cases a territorial division of the market is impracticable. The same object is attained by the regulation of the output and sale. The parties to the combination limit by mutual agreement the output of each manufacturing concern; some factories are shut down upon the payment of an indemnity or bonus to the owners. It is here that we find for the first time social regulation of the scale and, partly, of the methods of production and marketing, the individuality of each concern remaining, however, intact. Competition is here temporarily in abeyance, as a result of an understanding among the competitors, ever ready, however, to revive upon the breakdown of the combination. The potential form of competition is preserved in the continued individual connection of the producer with the market.

The highest form of combination of individual producers is found in the joint selling agency. The independence of the several producers is retained, but the marketing of the product is entrusted to a joint agency which alone deals with the market. Competition among the producers is here completely eliminated. The methods and the scale of production, as well as the prices, are regulated by mutual agreement. Production is completely divorced from exchange. We have here a case of centralization of exchange without centralization of production.

All these combinations of capitalists are embraced within the colloquial meaning of the trust; none of them, however, is a trust in the strict sense of the word. The distinctive feature of the trust proper consists in that it embraces not only exchange, but production as well. Competition is here entirely eliminated. The several concerns continue in existence, yet merely as branches of one centralized enterprise. The only trace of their former independence can be discovered in the nominal corporate life of the component stock companies.

This legal survival was seized upon by the middle-class opponents of the Trust to secure the passage of a number of laws, both state and federal, prohibiting or restricting all sorts of combinations among corporations, designed for creating an industrial monopoly. Still, the anti-monopolistic agitators overlooked the fact that the fire of their attack was directed not against the substance of monopoly, but merely against its primitive form, which had been devised by the first pioneers of monopoly, as a concession to the proverbial conservatism of Capital. The trust form appealed to the irresolute mind as an

assurance of a retreat behind the old intrenchments of competition, should the experiment eventually prove a failure. But when the cherished form brought on a conflict with the law, it was cast off without hesitation. The trusts were reorganized. The federation of corporations, the Trust proper, was replaced by a sole centralized corporation which absorbed the property of the former trusts. The name has stuck to the language as a generic term for every industrial monopoly. The legislative and judicial war upon the trusts merely resulted in hastening the process of centralization and the final disappearance of the relics of individualism in centralized industry.

The extinction of competition has necessarily resulted in a general rise of prices of all articles whose manufacture and sale are controlled by monopoly. This does not mean, of course, that there are no limits to the rise of prices under monopoly. On the one hand a maximum of profits may be realized through the increased consumption of a given merchandise stimulated by reduced prices. The advocates of monopoly point to the cheapening of kerosene oil and sugar within the last quarter of a century and give credit for it to the oil trust and the sugar trust. To this the opponents of trusts reply that, considering the progress in technical methods within the same period, the prices of those products would, under free competition, have come down far lower. As can readily be seen, however, this argument implies an admission that a gradual cheapening of articles of merchandise is possible even under monopoly, owing to the improvements in manufacturing processes. On the other hand, the principal check upon the power of monopoly in regulating market prices lurks in the potential competition of new concerns. Extravagant prices invite new competitors, who at times threaten the very existence of the trust. The time-honored "law" of Political Economy, which declares that prices are determined by the cost of production plus the mythical "average" profits, is displaced, with the advent of monopoly, by a new standard—"what the traffic can bear." This standard, however, as proven by experience, is very flexible. In August, 1899, the American Anti-Trust League directed an inquiry among manufacturers and wholesalers in New York City, to ascertain the influence of the trusts upon the prices of merchandise. Not a single case of reduction of prices could be ascertained; on the contrary, the prices of about 150 articles were found to have gone up from 5 to 100 per cent.* Ample proof can be gathered from other sources in confirmation of this upward tendency of prices.

Monopoly prices again stimulate the formation of monopolies

*The Anti-Trust Bulletin, September, 1899.

in new branches of industry. Who are directly affected by a rise in the prices of merchandise? The answer to this question can be read in the table collated by Mr. Baker in the latest edition of his "Monopolies and the People" (pp. 270-275). In summarizing Mr. Baker's figures we have classified all industries under two heads: First, those ministering to personal consumption, and second, those ministering to productive consumption, i. e., those manufacturing the means of production. The latter group includes iron and steel, machinery and hardware, iron and steel products, metal and wood products, chemical products, glass and clay manufactures, and electrical apparatuses and supplies. This classification, of course, does not aim at mathematical precision; so, e. g., twine, jute, bags, and partly felt, belong rather into the second group, while glass and metals, hardware and chemicals (salt) enter into personal consumption as well. But these errors mutually balance each other. The table follows:

Products classified.	Number of industries.	Capital invested.
I. Personal consumption	71	\$1,740,362,800
II. Productive consumption (means of production)	96	2,447,899,000
	167	\$4,188,261,800

As appears from this table, the inroads of Monopoly into the sphere of manufacture of means of production, such as raw materials, half products, machinery and auxiliary matters (coal, etc.), are considerably heavier than into the manufacture of articles of personal consumption. In other words, monopoly prices materially affect manufacturers and tradesmen, as well as consumers of sugar, meat, kerosene oil, etc. Whereas, however, the latter are utterly defenseless, manufacturers and wholesalers in those branches which are threatened by monopoly from without, still find one road open to them, viz., an internal offensive and defensive alliance, i. e., monopoly to fight monopoly. Conversely, the organization of a monopoly in one branch of production inevitably reacts upon the production of the raw materials consumed by it. Being confronted with one sole buyer, the monopolistic corporation, the scattered producers of raw materials competing among themselves are compelled to accept the prices dictated to them by the monopolistic corporation. The only remedy is a combination of one sort or another, with a view to eliminating competition. Thus the elimination of competition within every branch of production necessarily leads to a conflict between the several industries mutually connected as links in the chain of social division of labor. This antagonism of private capitalistic interests finds its expression

in the tendency of every monopolistic concern to monopolize the supply of the raw materials consumed by it.

The growth of monopoly in the extractive and manufacturing industries again reacts upon the wholesale trade. "The formation of trusts among the producers made the manufacturer more independent in his treatment of the jobbers, and disposed him to cut their profits to the lowest point. Naturally, these men combined to resist this encroachment on their income. The point of greatest interest in this is the fact that combinations among the first class of middle men are fostered and made possible by the combination of producers. Nor does the series necessarily end there. The increased price which the retail dealers are obliged to pay for the goods . . . makes them eager to do the same; and by the aid and co-operation of the wholesale merchant they may be able to do much towards checking the competition among themselves and increasing their profits. Thus by the operation of the combination at the fountain head, among the producers, there is a tendency to check competition all along the line."*

Monopoly prices bring fabulous dividends, which, in their turn, become a potent factor in stimulating the monopolization of wider and wider fields of industry and the further concentration of many monopolies in the same hands. A new problem naturally arises, What shall be done with these hundreds of millions of the annual accumulation of capital? Where there is competition among capitalists, the ultimate aim of every capitalist is to eventually capture, if possible, the entire market; this race after the buyer forces all capitalists to go on increasing their investments. But the displacement of competition by monopoly results in the adaptation of production to demand. Herein lies the historical mission of industrial monopoly. The dividends of a monopolistic concern can therefore not be reinvested in that very concern and must seek an investment elsewhere. Thus monopoly must necessarily practice expansion.

Monopolization of production finds its natural complement in the sphere of circulation of capital. As pointed out by Marx, the increments of individual capitals are accumulated in the shape of a reserve money fund,* which forms a potential money capital.† The management of this reserve fund of capitalistic society is the function of the banks. In the measure as the places of many scattered capitalists are taken by one monopolistic corporation with a huge capital, the reserve money fund accumulated by every such concern runs into the scores of mil-

*Baker, l. c., p. 75.

*Capital, Vol. 2, pp. 55-59.

†L. c., p. 322.

lions. It is a well known fact that the fabulous dividends accumulated in the hands of monopolists have made them a ruling power in banking. The banking trust, which controls all avenues of capitalistic circulation, becomes the lord of the capitalistic market in general. A clear conception of this tendency of modern industrial development is essential to a correct understanding of the evolution of capitalism. Karl Marx, in the first volume of his "Capital," elucidated the historical role of capitalism in the process of production, which, according to him, consists in the socialization of labor, brought about by the development and improvement of the productive forces of society. But the organizing role of capitalism in the creation of a regulated system of social division of labor is scarcely hinted at by Marx. There is an obvious reason for it: the very phenomena had hardly any existence in his life-time. It may be remembered that the first real trust, the Standard Oil Trust, was founded only one year after his death. In Marx's conception, capitalism is still inseparable from industrial anarchy. The followers of Marx hailed the appearance of the Trust as a fulfillment of the prophecies of the master. That the trust, or industrial monopoly, is a natural and necessary phase in the development of capitalism, a phase which modern society "can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactment,"* cannot be said to have received a clear recognition in the Marxist Weltanschauung.†

To establish order in social economy in place of chaos, is, according to the current socialist view, the problem of the "class-conscious proletariat." The development of industrial monopoly proves, on the contrary, that a regulated organization of social economy (what Louis Blanc called *l'organisation du travail*) is growing up gradually and spontaneously, as the result of the unconscious historical activity of the capitalist class.

Exception will be taken to this statement of the case of monopoly, on the ground that it assumes precisely that which must yet be proved, viz: that monopoly is a natural growth. The suppression of foreign competition will be shown to be at the bottom of many a monopoly in the home market. Like at the dawn of the capitalistic era, when capitalist accumulation was fostered by the paternal policy of the state, so in our own days capitalism was given a start along the road of Monopoly, by protection. All observers are agreed, however, that to-day monopoly has already so fortified itself in some of the protected

*"Capital," vol. I (Humboldt Ed.), p. 12.

†To Mr. Edward Bernstein is due the credit of being the first among Socialist writers to point it out in his latest book, *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Social-demokratie* (pp. 76-94).

industries that it has no fear of foreign competition, being fully able to take care of itself without protection.

A further objection will be raised by the adherents of the American theory of "natural monopolies," which upon closer analysis will be found to be of a kindred origin with the fiat theory of money. The tendency towards monopoly first found its way into industries of a quasi-public character, such as railways, gas works, electric works, water works, and similar concerns supplying public utilities. The common feature of all such enterprises consists in that they rest upon a franchise or upon the condemnation of private property. This has given birth to the belief that they are exempted from the domain of free competition by the authority of the law. The fact is that the law itself does not hinder the operation of free competition among the railways. Until but lately the law in this country has regarded railways as ordinary industrial concerns, subject to the general laws of competition. This view has found support in the fact, unknown to continental Europe, that railroading is here scattered among hundreds of corporations, which leads to competition between parallel lines and eventually to railroad wars. But the era of railroad competition was very short-lived and soon yielded to consolidation. The history of railroading has firmly established the familiar principle that "where combination is possible, competition is impossible." To judge by the latest information, the day is not far distant when the entire railroad system of North America, including the United States and Mexico, will be combined under one management.

The transportation monopoly furnished the historical basis for the creation and further development of the first monopolies in mining and manufacturing. Early in the seventies the railway companies directed their efforts to securing control of the coal mines, until they now practically control 95 per cent of the entire output of anthracite coal in the United States.* Of still greater importance than this direct centralization of property under the control of railway companies was the part played by the railway tariffs in fostering centralization in other branches of industry. The facts are too well known to bear repetition. It is a genuine historical drama, with its heroes, its villains, and the "people" in the background, with its psychology, its stage sensations, and a climax in which the heroes fall, true to their colors, and vice comes out triumphant.†

Can the work of history be undone? The trust-smasher would answer this question in the affirmative. We quote the

*Von Halle, *Trusts*, p. 80.

†See "Wealth vs. Commonwealth," by Henry D. Lloyd.

following from the testimony of Mr. M. L. Lockwood, President of the American Anti-Trust League, before the Industrial Commission:

"I know the independent oil producers and refiners of America, and I feel safe in saying that if you will re-establish the equality of our people over the highways of the country, that in less than fifteen years they will drive the Standard Oil Company into a secondary position in the oil trade of the country. These great trust combinations do not know the first principles of economic management. By virtue of the great flow of wealth which has come to them from railway rebates and monopolistic position, they have not been obliged to study the principles of economy a moment in their lives. By this monopoly process they have taken more money from the people than they know what to do with."

This optimistic view is not shared by the students of industrial monopoly. According to Mr. Baker, the ultimate victory of the trust is assured by the fact "that the trust can produce and market its goods at substantially less expense than its small competitors."* That this is so, the complaints of the hosts of traveling salesmen, canvassers and middle-class men of all sorts, dispensed with by the trust, bear ample testimony. Thus the trust is to-day producing the same effect in the sphere of exchange, as did the machine earlier in the century in the domain of production. Nor is this all. The centralization process, beginning with organization of exchange, reacts upon production as well. While most American writers confine themselves to denunciation of the Standard Oil trust and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Mr. Paul de Rousiers calls attention to the progressive role of this Napoleon of modern industry. After dwelling at length upon the improved methods of oil refining introduced by the Standard Oil Company, the French author, who otherwise takes rather an optimistic view of competition, is forced to the following conclusion:

"One leaves the refinery fully convinced that the advantages of production on a large scale are a crushing power. The trust, having practically monopolized the transportation of crude oil and being in possession of enormous capitals, was bound to destroy by force the competition of independent refiners. The monopoly which was created by the regime of competition has retained control of the business of oil refining, however, owing to the normal conditions of that industry."†

Aside, however, from the general advantages of production on a large scale, which still remain a mooted question in econom-

*Baker, l. c., p. 851.

†Paul de Rousiers, *Les Industries Monopolisées aux États-Unis*, pp. 61-65.

ics, the consolidation of the ownership of all concerns within any given industry is of itself productive of technical progress, in that it alone assures to society the access to all the acquisitions of applied science. Says an engineer and inventor in a letter to Prof. Ely:

"When several firms owning different patents on the same kinds of machines consolidate, all the improvements can be combined in one fine machine, to the great advantage of all concerned, the public included."‡

The elimination of competition is still in another way conducive to economy of the productive forces of society, viz., through the substitution of conscious social control of demand and supply for industrial anarchy. In the first place, it restores the equilibrium between supply and demand, which is characteristic of the early period of production of merchandise where every producer manufactures for an easily ascertainable local market. Monopoly removes the inherent wastefulness of the competitive regime, which manifests itself in the overstocking of the market with perishable goods, for which there is no demand. In the second place, monopoly, to put an end to chronic overproduction, proceeds by shutting up all superfluous industrial establishments in every branch of production; as a rule, it affects those factories which are the most backward in regard to technical methods and equipment. It makes for progress by cutting off the moribund vegetation of antiquated methods of production.

There comes a time, however, when, to quote Marx, "the monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production which has sprung up and flourished along with it, and under it."*

"Political economy has demonstrated that under the regime of free competition the men who control the production and circulation of wealth have been forced, under penalty of seeing their benefits vanish and their efforts go to waste, to be ever striving for new improvements of every nature. It is a fact amply established by experience that, under the regime of liberty, progress is to an extent compulsory. The implantation in a certain industry of the system of combination tends to make this conception disappear and we may say, to render progress optional."†

This latent tendency towards technical stagnation must ulti-

‡*Monopolies and Trusts*, by Richard F. Ely, pp. 148-149.

*"Capital," vol. 1, p. 487. The term "monopoly" is used by Marx in the colloquial sense of private appropriation, not in the specific sense of the term, as it is applied in this paper.

†*Essai sur les ententes commerciales et industrielles*, par Charles Brouilhet (Paris, 1896), pp. 88-89.

mately prove fatal to industrial monopoly. The critical period seems to have arrived in that most centralized branch of American industry, railroading. The proof of it is furnished in the highly instructive paper by the well-known electrical engineer and inventor, Prof. Short, on the substitution of electric power for steam power in locomotion.* It hardly need be said that such a change would be a great stride on the road of technical progress. Suffice it to mention that the introduction of electricity as a motive power, would make it possible to travel at a speed of 125 miles an hour, instead of the present rate of 40 miles. This means a complete revolution in the industrial methods and mode of life of modern society. From an engineer's point of view, there is nothing to prevent it. What then is in the way? The answer is found in Prof. Short's article. There are to-day about 36,000 locomotives on all the railways of the United States, which, with the introduction of electric motors, would have to be disposed of as junk. At an estimate of \$10,000 per locomotive it would result in a loss of over \$300,000,000 by the railway companies. The entire railway system is under the control of a few railway combines; competition is out of the question, a duplication of the lines would require an immense capital, which could be raised by no one save the magnates of monopoly themselves. But the interests of these magnates are so closely interwoven with the interests of the railways, whose stock they largely control themselves, that they could not be reasonably expected to favor a technical improvement which would result in pecuniary losses to themselves. This shows to what degree the practical application of modern improvements in railroad engineering is handicapped by private ownership of the railways.

When "the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the . . . property relations under which they have heretofore acted,"§ then the repeal of the antiquated legal institutions becomes but a question of time. The conflict is settled by "the state . . . the concentrated and organized form of society," which is always "the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."† That that force (meaning the power of the state) "is itself an economic factor"‡, is amply evidenced in this country, on the one hand, by the intimate connection between the protective tariff and the trusts and on the other hand, by the vast body of anti-trust laws enacted in the interest

*The Coming Electric Railroad, by Prof. Sydney H. Short, *Cosmopolitan*, January, 1900.

§Carl Marx, *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, Preface.

†Carl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, p. 479.

‡Ibid.

of the small capitalist class represented both in congress and in the state legislatures. The historical part played by railway discrimination in the formation of the oldest commercial and industrial monopolies in the United States, accounts for the growing popularity of the demand for public ownership of the railways. While the socialists either sympathize with this idea in doctrinaire fashion, or oppose it in likewise doctrinaire fashion, to the American small capitalist it is a burning live question: public ownership of the railways would put an end to railway discrimination at the dictation of the trust, and would, so they confidently hope, bring us back to the good old times of free competition.

It must be understood that the conception of "small capitalist" is of a relative value. A manufacturer whose business is worth \$150,000 and brings him a yearly return of from \$30,000 to \$45,000, i. e., from 20 per cent to 30 per cent per annum, would to-day be reckoned in Russia among large capitalists; so he was considered thirty or forty years ago in the United States. With the advent of the era of the Trust a capitalist of this size succumbs under the onslaught of monopoly.* But this class does not surrender without battle. It is composed of men who have played the part of organizers and leaders in the industrial life of this country. These men have trained their fighting abilities in the school of competition. Conquered in the economic battle, they transfer their energies into the field of politics, having set to themselves the task to obtain possession of the machinery of state for the advancement of their own economic interests, precisely as it has heretofore furthered the interests of monopoly. They know how to create public opinion. They have with them the press, which is driven by its own interests into the camp of the enemies of the trust. The paper trust dictates the prices of paper; the telegraph trust controls the monopoly of the news, and—last, not least—the development of the trust threatens the very life blood of newspaperdom—the advertising column. Public ownership of "natural monopolies" thus becomes the instinctive platform of the small capitalist class. The ultimate triumph of this platform is assured by the very institute of unwritten law which the opponents of the public ownership idea are wont to cite as the chief obstacle in the way of its successful realization and operation—by the spoils system. Public ownership of railways, telegraphs, telephones and other public utilities is bright with the promise of new political jobs by the hundred thousand. It is noteworthy that Mr. Richard Croker, than whom there is no higher authority in the art of practical politics, is reported to have ex-

*Henry D. Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 52.

pressed himself in favor of "Municipal Socialism." The business interest of the politician fraternity warrants the prediction that next in the order of social development of America will be public ownership of public utilities, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, gas and electric lighting and similar equally important items in the expenditure account of the commercial and industrial class.

But the middle class mind no longer contents itself with the one plank of public ownership of these so-called "natural monopolies." The rush towards monopoly in modern American industry has forced upon the middle-class thinkers the conclusion that it is not a passing wave on the open seas of free competition, but a complete industrial revolution. Says Mr. Baker, who appears to be in close touch with the industrial interests of the country:

"We have now determined that the trusts are here to stay and that, taken as a whole, they are bound to take from their present competitors such part of their business as they choose. Manifestly, then, merely letting them alone will not result in their disappearance, as has been claimed, neither can we rely on outside competition to protect the public from the extortion of monopoly. What measures can we take, then, that will give to the public the protection they have a right to demand? . . . Modern society, threatened by the extortion of the trusts in hundreds of industries, has the key in its possession, which can render every one of them harmless. Every one of them is a corporation, an artificial person created by society and subject in every respect to any restriction which society may impose."*

The author suggests certain measures of public supervision of monopolistic corporations. The experience of the Interstate Commerce Commission justifies him in his opinion that an efficient supervision of monopolistic concerns from without is impossible. He therefore recommends the placing of government directors upon the board of directors of every trust or other monopolistic corporation, the affairs of each corporation thus to be administered by the directors elected by the stockholders jointly with these government directors. It is not the form, of course, but the underlying principle of this suggestion that is essential. Following the current expression of public opinion, it takes no prophet to foretell that state regulation of industrial monopolies demanded by the anti-monopolistic section of the capitalist class will find its way into national and state legislation. Mr. Baker himself believes "that this proposition is not so radical as it might seem."† And this will be seconded both by the advocates of

*Baker, l. c., p. 363.

†L. c., p. 359.

state regulation of monopolies, as well as by the communicants of dogmatic Marxism in this country and in Europe. The writer of this paper believes it, on the contrary, to be the starting point of a transformation in the structure of society.

"The transformation of capitalistic private property into . . . socialized property" assumes before the vision of the author of "Capital" the outlines of a violent revolution. "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of private capitalist property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." It is "the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."† That this conception sounds a discordant note in Karl Marx's theory of economic evolution, has been pointed out by Mr. Bernstein in his well known book, which has so much stirred up the minds of the German Social Democracy.‡ If the real basis of society is its economic structure, while legal and political institutions and all other forms of manifestation of the social mind are but "super-structures;" if "it is not the conscious mind of man that determines the form of his being, but quite the reverse"* then it would follow that capitalistic society must grow into socialism as the outcome of the free play of economic forces, without the intervention of the conscious social mind, as embodied in the socialist party platform. Political revolutions are but incidents in the development of society; they may forcibly register the changes which have already been accomplished in the constitution of society, they are not endowed, however, with creative power.

A retrospective view of the development of legal institutions within the half century which has elapsed since those principles were first promulgated in the famous Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, will prove their ideas to be completely obsolete. Following up Mr. Baker's line of argument, we shall discover that capitalism has long since crossed the danger line which separates private property from public ownership. It occurred when the corporate form of industrial concerns first came into being. Corporations were first called into life by the necessities of large industrial enterprises, such as railroads, telegraphs, etc., which required the investment of enormous capitals, far in excess of the means of the individual capitalist of those days. Later on other advantages came in, such as the limitation of liability which contributed to the extension of the corporate form to such enterprises where it was not necessitated by the amount of the requisite investment. On the

*Karl Marx, *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, Preface.

†L. c., pp. 487-488.

‡L. c., pp. 27-36, 87, 139.

other hand, however, the corporate form has its disadvantages unknown to the individual concern or the ordinary partnership, viz.: a great deal of red tape and a certain degree of state supervision. It is for this reason that up to the present day along side with the stock corporation, individual concerns and ordinary partnerships have held their ground. It is the quantitative moment that tells here. The technical development of every industry prescribes a certain minimum of investment. It is utterly immaterial for the success of the business whether this capital be invested by a single individual, or a stock company; in fact, the entire stock company may be concentrated in the hands of two or three individuals, and oftentimes of one single person. While thus under the rule of free competition, the corporate form is not essential, with an industrial monopoly, on the contrary the corporate form becomes mandatory, the essential point being here the unification of all private capitals interested in a given branch of industry. But what is a corporation? "A body politic," according to Blackstone, a quasi-public institution; its very existence depends upon the sanction of the state, its powers are strictly limited by a charter, in one form or another granted by the state, all its operations are subject to the supervision of the state. The scope and form of this supervision varies with time and place, but no one disputes the prerogative of the state to exercise supervision over corporations. So long as the principle of free competition was in full operation, the state in this country pursued the same policy of laissez-faire both towards corporations and individual capitalists. Says Mr. Baker: "So long as I can supply my necessities as well at one store as at its rivals on the next corner, nobody wants the government to interfere with private business. But when a great combination of capital obtains control of some necessity of life or of comfort and gives the people the choice of buying at the price it sets, or going without, then its character as a private business has disappeared."*

This view is supported by the authority of the United States Supreme Court which has held that "when a business becomes a practical monopoly it is subject to regulation by the legislative power." (*Budd v. New York*, 143 U. S. 345.)

It is noteworthy that even Mr. John D. Rockefeller conceded before the Industrial Commission the right of the government to exercise supervision over monopolistic corporations, for the protection of the interests of the community as consumers.

From all these facts it may be inferred that the substitution of monopoly for competition in determining market prices will force the state to fall back upon the mediaeval system of regulating

*Baker, l. c., p. 350.

the prices of commodities, precisely as to-day the prices of gas, electricity, water, street railway fares, etc., are already regulated by the legislature or the municipality. While thus regulating prices in the interest of consumers, the state could not at the same time ignore the interests of the stockholders and bondholders. This would make it incumbent upon the state to regulate the rate of interest on the bonds and the rate of dividends on the stock. In so doing the state would have to take notice of the fact that the stocks of all monopolistic corporations represent largely water, i. e., the capitalized profit derived from the unrestricted power of a monopoly to charge the public extortionate prices. The state, by assuming to regulate prices in the interest of the consumers, would necessarily be called upon to fix a valuation upon the stocks and bonds, in conformity with the estimated real value of the investment. On the other hand, given the price of a commodity, the prices of raw materials and the rate of profits (dividends and interest on the bonds), the rate of wages is, *eo ipso*, determined. The state will thus be logically led to regulate the scale of wages, which involves the question of working hours, the salaries of higher grades of employees and of directors, the compensation of inventors and patentees, etc. In short, the mere regulation of the prices of monopoly products by the state is seen gradually to deprive all industrial corporations of the character of private enterprises. The prerogative of the stockholders are practically reduced to drawing an annuity fixed by the state and voting at elections for directors entrusted with the management of quasi-public institutions, under the direct supervision of government officers. Fourier's dream of organization of social production with division of the product among Capital, Labor and Talent, proves to be prophetic.

"Capitalistic production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation."* Yet the conversion of private capitalistic concerns into quasi-public institutions, subject to state regulation, is accomplished, not by expropriation, but as the outcome of the unconscious historical activities of the capitalist class itself. The principle of public control of monopolies grows, not from the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but from the antagonism, inherent in ware-production (Waaren production), between the producer and the consumer. It is only in the measure as one branch of industry after another is falling under state regulation that a conflict matures between the capitalists, as a class, and the workingmen, as a class, upon the issue of fixing the tallage levied upon society by the modern "feudal corporations."† The rate of dividends

*"Capital," I, 487.

†The expression is taken from an editorial of the *Journal of Commerce*, March 22, 1890, quoted in Mr. Holt's paper, (*The Rush to Industrial Monopoly*, *Review of Reviews*, June, 1890).

being in inverse ratio to the rate of wages, the laboring class comes directly in conflict with the corporations. All such questions being regulated by the public power, the labor question becomes a political issue, not merely in the scientific, but in the colloquial sense, comprehensible to the "millions of bipeds" (as Carlyle would have it), whose power of grasp does not extend beyond dollars and cents and working hours. With the development of culture among the working class, the demands of labor will steadily grow, resulting in the gradual decrease of capital's share in the social product.

Whether society will ultimately provide for a sinking fund, with a view to a final liquidation of the claims of capital, is at this hour mere scholastical speculation, affecting the form, not the merits of the problem. The British Empire has given to the world an example of a political democracy under a government nominally monarchical. Modern political science can conceive of a similar process of evolution in the working out of Industrial Democracy.

Marrist.

PHILOSOPHY OF IMPERIALISM

There is a sound philosophy, a deep underlying stratum of common sense and practical level-headedness, in the demand for the territorial expansion of the United States, as formulated in the platform of principles of our reigning political party, which the working class of America totally fails to appreciate.

The demand for expansion is one of the most logical demands of the century. There is a true force; properly speaking, there is the impact of an idea, behind it.

It is no mere accident that the issue of imperialism has developed into the "paramount" issue of the present presidential campaign. There is no fortuity in the circumstance that the great Republican party of the United States stands towards the new foreign policy of the nation in the relation of its avowed champion and guardian.

In the very nature of things, as we shall see, this could not be otherwise. The drift towards expansion is the necessary and logical outcome of a chain of causes with which it would be useless to quarrel, and against which we are powerless to fight. It is written in the inexorable decrees of fate that the United States shall develop into a colonial power. The sufficient reason for this assertion is what we shall endeavor to set forth in this dissertation.

I.

To come to the root of the matter at once, the simple fact is, that the industrial and commercial development of our country has about reached a point, or is fast attaining the same, where the field is a limited one for the profitable investment at home of the surplus value or surplus products resulting from our high organization of industry in recent years. On the one hand, the profits from American industry are becoming so vast; and on the other hand, owing to the fact that our industries have become equipped with virtually all the capital necessary for their economical management, the increasing profits therefrom are ceasing to be available for further investment in home industry. Consequently, in one way or another, the profits made from our American push and enterprise within the United States must find channels of investment outside the Union.

The great fact that stands out preeminently in the history and statistics of our foreign commerce, is the steady and continuous growth of our exports over our imports. Our volume of foreign commerce is growing in a phenomenal manner in every respect. But the most superficial analysis of the exact informa-

tion furnished by our bureau of statistics shows, that we are certainly selling to foreign countries more goods, products and commodities than we are buying from them in return. Year in and year out, not only does the value of our international sales exceed the value of our international purchases, but the excess of one year is followed by a greater excess in the succeeding year.

For proof of these statements we cite the "Historical Table," a sheet publication of the Statistical Bureau, in which is lucidly set forth the "total volume of imports and exports into and from the United States, 1789 to 1900."

This table is so arranged as to show at a glance that during the first eighty-five years of this period (1790 to 1875) our imports all but continuously exceeded our exports. During each of the latter twenty-five years, however, or from 1875 to now, the reverse has practically been the case, our exports for this period having all but continuously exceeded our imports.

During the last quarter of a century, moreover, whilst the volume of our imports has been reasonably increasing, the volume of our exports has been enormously increasing. In other words, whilst our import trade continues to increase, our export trade increases in a still greater proportion.

Thus, taking only the last four years, the excess of goods sold by us to other nations over goods purchased by us from the rest of the world, was in round numbers two billion dollars, or exactly \$1,996,042,334, made up as follows:

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897.....	\$286,263,144
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898.....	615,432,676
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899.....	529,874,813
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900.....	544,471,701

This means, substantially, that the outcome of our international trade for the last four years has been a loan of two billion dollars to the rest of the world. We have loaned to other countries goods and commodities up to this value, or, as we say in common parlance, money up to this amount. The greater value of goods which we are sending abroad over what we are receiving in return is not a free gift to the nations, but a loan from the capitalist class of this country, and the same is one of the strongest evidences of the wonderful capitalist prosperity which now obtains in the United States. During the administration of President McKinley the world's net debt to our capitalist class is a sum represented by the above amount.

These figures conclusively show how the Republican protective policy, and the fostering care of our present administration towards the manufacturing and industrial interests of the country, has not only freed us from a position of dependence on

European capital, but is rapidly placing the United States in the front rank of the financial powers of the world.

Time was when this country looked upon Europe generally, and the United Kingdom in particular, as the main source and supply point from which was furnished the necessary capital for the internal development of our growing republic. But we have changed all this. Such time no longer is.

For a number of years past our financiers and capitalists have been rapidly absorbing enormous quantities of American securities held in England and Continental countries, a relic of the time when the trend of capital was from without our country to within. The capital necessary for the construction of our great railroads and western improvements being originally supplied from this source, American railroad shares and bonds, as also mortgage securities, were mainly held across the Atlantic. But there is unmistakable evidence showing that foreign-held American securities are becoming, to an hitherto unprecedented extent, the property of American investors. American capitalists are coming to be the owners of these home investments, in place of English, French and German people of wealth. In consequence of this marked tendency, as a market for "American rails," New York is continually increasing in importance; whilst London and the Continental bourses are declining.

Again, to consider this matter in the light of our own national obligations, or United States bonds. Not only are the same at the present time virtually held exclusively by American capitalists, but the obligations of foreign governments are beginning to be extensively held by this class of the American community. It is only a short time since we successfully floated a Russian loan; and in the interval of writing I gather from the daily press how, upon the British government advertising its need of a loan, fifty million dollars worth of bonds were instantly applied for by the capitalist class of America. Fifty million dollars were immediately offered to the British government by our own men of wealth.

All these facts go to show that we have emerged from that stage in our national existence where the United States is to be looked upon as a debtor country, as a borrowing nation. That we have grown into a creditor country or lending nation is a fact now firmly established beyond the possibility of contention.

In the phenomenal continuous increase in the value of our exports over our imports we have the sure sign of the triumphant march of the United States to a position, not merely of absolute financial independence, but to a coign of vantage which must ere long place her on a level with, if not above, the pre-

eminence up to the present enjoyed by the United Kingdom of Great Britain in the realm of international finance and world commerce. The trend of present conditions unquestionably points to a time in the near future, when in place of the United States of America seeking any financial aid from abroad, there will be a general turning towards the capitalist class of this commonwealth for assistance on the part of other nations, to an extent hitherto unthought of.

Our surplus of manufactures and food stuffs, or the excess of what the working class of the United States produce over what they need, and which our capitalist class necessarily disposes of to foreign nations, will find itself installed, in the shape of the investment of American capital in every field of commercial opportunity over the whole outside world.

The study of the statistics of our foreign trade brings out the above facts more and more clearly. The figures show, not only that the United States, even at the present time, occupies the proud and enviable position of a creditor nation, but that we are progressively becoming a greater creditor nation; that the balance of trade is growing most rapidly in our favor year by year; that the productions of our working class so greatly exceed the requisites for their subsistence, that the profit from their industry which our capitalist class is thus rendered capable of loaning to foreign nations is constantly on the increase.

The custom house reports and official statistics show beyond cavil that instead of a stream of foreign capital flowing towards the United States the tide is running the other way, which is but to say that our country is so prosperous we have more than a sufficiency of capital for home uses. Thus it comes around, that a large proportion of the goods which we export, instead of being paid for directly by the importation of other goods of the same value, remain in foreign countries, being there transmuted into American capital, from which our capitalist class will in the future receive a permanent revenue.

In brief, the United States is fast becoming a great capitalist nation; one of the money loaning centers of the earth. Our government, in pursuing its wise policies of the last four years, has inaugurated an era of increasing prosperity for our capitalist class which is rapidly raising this Union of States to an international position of industrial, commercial and financial sovereignty. But granted, as in every likelihood seems probable, a new lease of power to the Republican party, and the development of capitalist prosperity within the next four years must be even greater than that which has been witnessed under the present administration.

In that time, too, in all probability, we shall more clearly see than we do now, what is the real and inner meaning of our ex-

ceptionally rapid advance. We are making history so fast; we are forging precedents and changing conditions so swiftly, that the ordinary man of affairs is unable to keep track of what is really going on, or at any rate to form an adequate judgment of what it all means.

In this paper we shall simply treat of one phase of this great contemporary problem. What we propose to show is simply this, that the increasing prosperity of our capitalist class is the sufficient reason why expansion must continue a permanent force, or is with us to stay.

Between the national prosperity, or rather the prosperity of our great capitalists, and imperialism, there is a distinct causal relation. Our capitalist class is prosperous to a degree hitherto unheard of; therefore, imperialism is something which must be. It is because our capitalists are making so much profit from home industry that the United States is bound to expand into a colonial power. With their profits increasing at a greater ratio than the home field of investment can absorb them, the capitalist class must be given an opportunity to invest these profits abroad.

The development and elaboration of the position here assumed forms the subject matter of our argument.

So far as I know, all our foremost writers and thinkers appear to have overlooked the elucidation of this simple cause which is operating to bring about expansion, for the reason, as it must be, that great minds neglect small things. My sense of right and justice would fain see the case for imperialism stated in the clearest terms, from this its strongest aspect. It is only in lieu of some abler representative that I have undertaken this self-imposed task.

II

In the preceding section we have seen that concurrent with the increasing prosperity of our capitalist class our exports are regularly far exceeding in volume our imports; that the trend of capital is rather out of the country than into it; that from a borrower of capital the United States has grown into a lender of capital. This concatenation of facts constitutes the *raison d'être* of imperialism. An outlet must be found for the profitable investment of the increasing surplus value or profit constantly accruing to our capitalist class from the energies of our working class. We accordingly find that, within recent years, the capitalist class of this country has been feeling its way, instinctively rather than by conscious volition, for opportunities to expand our territorial limits. Our men of affairs know that in this way, provided we can only expand to a sufficient degree, the profits which are currently being received from their investments within the Union, and which are becoming so great that

it is no longer possible to reinvest them within such a restricted area, as may continue to remain under our federal jurisdiction.

It is this instinctive sense of this class, the capitalist class, or as we sometimes hear it called, the money class or money power, that is the motive force behind the movement towards imperialism, or the territorial expansion of our nation at the present time. And what is more reasonable or natural than that this should be so?

Consider: For the span of a generation or more this country has been favored with an era of material prosperity, unexampled perhaps in the history of the human race. The last thirty or forty years has marked an epoch in American history in which American ingenuity has added invention to invention; in which science has been advancing with rapid strides, and the intelligence of our working class raised to a point which enables us to compete successfully with all nations.

The beginning of this period marks the formation of a capitalist class, properly so called, in the United States. During this period the newly born capitalist class has been accumulating enormous profits. It has been essentially an era of prosperity for this section of the community.

As fast as the capitalist class has made its profits it has with a laudable patriotism reinvested them, at home for the most part, nay, wholly so up to within a few years past, in industrial and commercial enterprises which have contributed to raise the American commonwealth from the position of an agricultural state to the foremost rank among the manufacturing and trading nations of the earth.

Up to the present time, practically, the profit made by the capitalist class of the United States has remained at home. The increase from capital has been devoted to the internal development and improvement of our native country. This money has been used to found American cities; to build ships and factories; to help girdle our land with railway and telegraph systems; to open up our stores of hidden mineral wealth; and, pre-eminently, to develop the natural resources of the western states and territories. But, as any man of affairs, if questioned, will admit, within the country itself, investment has about gone as far as it safely may. In other words an outlet must be found for the profit of our capitalist class. Therefore, what more logical than that we should look abroad with a view to acquiring, wherever the same may be possible, lands belonging to other peoples.

As might be reasonably expected, since the profit of the capitalist class is being continually reinvested in the form of new capital, the revenue of this class is perennially increasing. Profit of capital, instead of being consumed in elegance and

leisure, as is for the most part the case in older and less progressive countries, is so utilized in the United States as to yield more profit. In a word, with us interest of capital is diligently compounded; the profit from capital is continually capitalized, or reinvested in modes so as to be a further source of capitalistic revenue. As a consequence, the capital of the American capitalist class is continually growing in a ratio proportioned to the increase which it yields; and the profit from their capital continues to increase in a similar ratio.

Now, as a nation, we have about reached that point where it is no longer possible, as has been the case hitherto, for this process to continue. Confined to the United States, it is impossible for the capitalist class to keep on reinvesting their surplus of profits in the form of active capital, or in a manner which will enable the working class to continuously produce for them a further supply of revenue.

Hence arises the desire, nay more than that, the inherent and imperative necessity, of this class to invest, under the aegis of American law, their already immense and progressively increasing revenues in Porto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines and the Orient. Should such be possible, the profit which they can no longer turn into capital in the United States, may be utilized to this end in these backward, unprogressive, undeveloped and uncivilized countries. Thus, instead of the process of profit-making being interrupted, as it otherwise most certainly must be to some extent, profit will keep on giving birth to profit. In place of the money of our capitalist class, which they periodically receive as a return from their investments, developing into a barren factor, the same will continue the fertile progenitor of money.

If the capitalist class of the United States, from now on, are to be restricted in their industrial, commercial and financial operations, to the territorial limits of their own country, it is clear that the profit they are making must become a burden to them. A burden, for the reason that they will be unable to re-invest it.

To use a colloquialism, and looking at things, of course, from the capitalist viewpoint, we are up against a condition of affairs which reveals a clear case of expansion or "bust." To expand or to bust, are the only two logical alternatives for our capitalist class, or the so-called money power of the country at the present time.

Now, the money power being the dominant factor in American politics; our national policy and immediate future destiny, at least, being in control of the class which holds this power, there can be no doubt that its influence must be thrown in the scale of its own material interests. Expansion, in consequence,

is a foregone conclusion; a logical necessity based on the material interests of our capitalist class, or the class which for the time being rules over the American commonwealth.

To recapitulate: The capitalists of the United States, since this country has reached its present stage of development, must of necessity do one of two things. They must either find new fields in which they may continue to reinvest the profits they are regularly and periodically making from the working class of their own country; or, failing in this, our capitalist class must go bankrupt. Bankrupt in the sense that the profit they are obtaining from their capital will be of no use to them, since they can no longer reinvest it or transmute it into capital. Bankrupt, for the reason, in the last analysis, that they will have so much money they will not know what to do with the same.

Unless the United States becomes a colonial power, the most distressing spectacle of the near future will be the sight of the capitalists of this country resisting and struggling against the mathematical necessity, or rather mathematical impossibility, of being compelled to eat up their own profits. Being no longer able to capitalize their profits, or to transmute the same into a perennial source of capitalistic revenue, the American capitalist will stagger under the burden of an increasing accumulation of profit, which will be to him as so much dead weight in the handicap of life.

That this is the outcome to which the present trend of things must carry them, our capitalists are beginning to recognize. Though, to be sure, engrossed in the routine of business, they cannot be expected to give their side of the argument formal statement.

But since the issue is thus so vital; and since the capitalist class is essentially the class which dominates in the present social order—its economical antagonist, the working class, giving its support to two factional parties of the capitalist class, and thus unwittingly obeying the dictates of this, its superior—we may depend upon it that the recent acquisitions of territory, which promise at least a temporary relief to the inconvenience attending the growing volume of profit, will not be permitted to recede from the nation's grasp.

From the time of its first settlement up to the present day, practically speaking, the United States has been a country of workers. If we omit the slaveholding aristocracy of the south, there has in reality, at no period in the history of the nation, existed a distinct leisure class; a class devoting themselves mainly to the art of elegantly spending the revenues which they were in receipt of from the exertion of others.

The capitalists of this country have not only been capitalists *per se*, but also in part workingmen, laborers. They have com-

bined the two functions of capitalist and laborer. At no time have they consumed their revenues unproductively. They have invariably preferred to invest their incomes. With the unerring regularity of a true business instinct, the capitalist class have capitalized their profits, in order that they might receive further profits in the future.

As a consequence of this unparalleled thrift, coupled with strict fidelity to business, the capital of the country has so increased that the return from capital is steadily diminishing. In place of ten per cent, which at one period of our national existence was no unusual return to investment, capital can now only with difficulty obtain a net return of three or four per cent.

During the whole of this period of the diminishing rate of profit, that is to say from the time of the colonization of our country up to now, the profit obtained from capital has been capitalized. Instead of being wrongfully, foolishly, and wastefully consumed, the profit has been saved and discreetly reinvested in judicious ventures, which have not only been a means of furnishing employment to our working class, but have enabled this class to greatly increase the concrete results of their productive efforts. The results of their production being thus increased, and the needs of their subsistence not being necessarily enhanced thereby, a larger surplus of the produce of labor remained available for distribution as profit of capital. This in its turn was again capitalized and a further revenue extracted therefrom.

Now, in no country, and in the long run not even in the world, can this process of the capitalization of the profits from capital go on to infinity.

In any country, in any given stage of its industrial progression, and at any given stage of population, the amount of capital which can be employed in production is a finite quantity. At any given time the volume of the means of production which the working class can manipulate for the creation of wealth, for the production of the wages of labor and the profit of capital, is limited. The volume of capital which can at any time be employed in a community is limited, first, by the extent of numbers of the community, and, second, by the stage of invention and the industrial arts.

Thus, now that the United States contains a great population, familiar with the railroad and telegraph and the use of machinery in all branches of production, the means of production which may be utilized for the creation of wealth are manifestly much greater than could be employed when population was sparse, the most efficient means of transportation the stage coach or freight wagon, and handicraft dominant in industry.

€. Given a stationary stage of population and a stationary con-

dition of the arts, and let the capitalist class keep on capitalizing the profits they obtain from their capital, and it is clear that in a very short time a point will be attained whereat capital will become redundant and the rate of increase from capital reduced to a zero.

Granted, as for the sake of argument we may, that the United States can employ more capital than she is now possessed of, she could not employ indefinitely more. So, in the same way and by the same rule, grant an increasing rate of population and a progressive stage of the industrial arts, and let the compounding of profits continue. Then under these conditions also, unless we suppose that population and science ever advance in a greater proportion than the ratio of profit, capital must become redundant and the rate of profit from capital decline to a minimum.

Saving the exception, this latter condition represents the stage of industrial and economic development which the United States is entering upon in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Great as has been our progress in the technical sciences; rapid as has been the advance in the population of our country, both from birth and emigration, the growth of capital has kept even pace with the same and more than even pace. So much so, in fact, that to-day the bucket of capital in the United States is not only full; it is overflowing.

Should the profits of the capitalist class continue to be capitalized then, or the interest of their capital compounded, the capital of the country must come to exceed what the working class of the country can utilize, even when the means of production, furnished by the capitalist class, consist of the most expensive machines and the costliest labor-saving devices. In brief, should we keep on adding indefinitely to our capital, the same must become so plentiful as to be useless, and so cease to yield a return.

Whenever the capitalist class of any country reaches such an extremely dangerous stage of prosperity, there are two courses for its members to pursue: (1) Spend their profits as they receive them. Contemporaneously consume what the working class contemporaneously produce for their benefit. (2) Send their profits to some country where they can be capitalized or invested in such a manner that they will continue to breed profit.

Fortunately or unfortunately, according to the standpoint from which one looks at this problem, in the case of the United States, the supposition of the capitalist class spending their revenues is out of the question. The practical make-up of the American capitalist presents an insuperable difficulty against any such procedure as this. The average American man of

wealth, as yet, is essentially an active business person. He is a person of no culture. He has not yet grasped the conception of traveling the journey of life easily, gracefully, and in an elegantly idle manner. Much as his means may afford the luxury, it is impossible from the constitution of his inherited and acquired nature, for him to assume an attitude of unparalleled ease and regal dignity.

He must, therefore, continue in business, and manipulate the profit he makes therefrom so that it may be transmuted into capital, and yield a further supply of profit. Consequently, the only consistent position for the capitalist class of this country to assume is an attitude favorable to expansion.

As we have remarked in the preceding section, concurrent with the social and material progression which the United States has experienced from the earliest colonial days, there has been evidenced a clear tendency for the rate of profit obtainable from an investment of capital to decline.

No matter what may be the nature of the concrete form which the investment assumes, capital invested in the United States at the present time will no longer yield the old-time eight, nine or ten per cent. The investor, if he desires security with his investment at all, must in these present days needs be satisfied with a modest three or four per cent. The fact is, there is unlimited capital, seeking a safe and reasonably sure channel of investment, at a less percentage of profit than these low rates.

This same is a hard, absolute and incontrovertible fact, patent to all men, and which no economist ought to attempt to get away from, but rather to grapple with. It comes within the province of the economist to explain, if he can, how it comes about that with increasing social progress, the rate of interest, or the percentage yield of profit obtainable from an investment of capital, is on the decline.

Whether we view the phenomenon as a decline in the interest rate of money loaned as money; or whether we consider this fact in the light of the diminished rate obtainable when money is invested in the form of concrete capital, or in the purchase of industrial, railway or other securities, the problem is one and the same. The tendency of the rate of profit to a minimum is a clear and indisputable economic phenomenon which there is no getting over. It cannot be denied by word or fact. Nothing is to be gained by refusing to look the thing square in the face.

From seven or eight per cent, which not many years ago was easily obtained on first rate security in this country, and even more than which could readily be secured from the generality

of business enterprises, we have seen the rate of profit from capital gradually decline to five or six per cent. From five or six per cent there has been witnessed its steady decadence to four per cent. From four per cent it has settled around three per cent. From three per cent it must necessarily further decline to two per cent. And from two per cent what is to stop the rate of profit from capital declining to nothing at all. Logically, in this way, the percentage yield of profit from capital must be swept away altogether.

Considered in itself, or apart from all other distinctly observable sociological tendencies of the time, this continuous fall in the rate of profit obtainable from capital would seem to imply a decrease in the revenue of the capitalist class, or a decline in the volume of profit.

From a purely theoretical and isolated economic viewpoint, it would appear that, through a decline in interest rates, there is being made over to the working class the whole, and more than the whole, of the pecuniary gains that come from civilization and the adoption of improved productive processes. But despite the logic of such a roseate view, the working class insist, that in practice, through the operation of some mysterious principle which they cannot explain, the true statement of the case runs counter to this logical assumption.

Instead of the decline of the rate of profit from capital meaning the advent of equality in economic and social conditions, or the final absorption by the laborer of the total produce of his labor, as it would seem that the same ought to mean, the working class are beginning to feel that the reverse of this will prove substantially to be the case. They are conscious of the fact that, in some way they do not comprehend, with the decline of the rate of interest is wrapped up increasing inequality, or the steady growth in volume of capitalistic revenue. Interest of capital may be falling, but the working class know that the wages of labor are not rising.

The working man will admit that interest of capital has never been so low in the history of the United States as at the present time. He cannot get behind this fact. But at the same time, he will point to and insist upon the recognition of this further fact, which it is difficult to deny, that considered from the point of view of its volume the profit of our capitalist class has never been so great at any period in our history as a nation.

Interest of capital is falling. This is fact number one.

The income of the capitalist class is rising; this is fact number two.

This, then, is the condition of things with which we are now confronted in the United States more clearly than in any other country of the earth: (1) That the rate of interest, or the per-

centage of profit obtainable from capital is decreasing. (2) That despite this fact, the amount of revenue which the capitalist class receive as a return from their capital is increasing.

The rate of profit is falling. The volume of profit is rising. With interest at three per cent the capitalist class are receiving more profit than when interest was five or six per cent. When the rate of profit goes down to two per cent they must, consequently, make more profit still. And when to one per cent they must do still better. But when the rate of interest gets down to nothing at all, then, logically, must be the harvest time of the capitalist. He will then be making the maximum of profit. The time when the capitalist class seemingly get nothing will be the time they will actually get all. But we are anticipating the argument. This paradox of capital is not as yet intelligible.

So to keep on the solid ground. Here are two absolute and incontrovertible facts, which no man, whether he be a member of the capitalist class or a member of the working class, can get away from. While the rate of profit is falling, the actual revenue of the capitalist is rising. These are two facts, inviolable and irresistible, co-existing in our national development. Since both are truths there must be a relation of congruity existing between them. What is the nature of this relation? Being truths they cannot be contradictions. They only appear as such because there is a truth to be discovered, a principle to be revealed, of which we are now ignorant. What is this principle? What is the true explanation which will reconcile two such seemingly contradictory and discordant phenomena? In a word, what is fact number three, which will harmonize and correlate these two well-known facts?

If we compare the present actual selling value of our great railways and our manufacturing plants; of our steel and armor plate works; of our coal and iron and copper mines; of our oil wells and refineries, etc., etc., with their selling value of ten years ago, we shall find that they have increased in actual value. These same things sell for more now than heretofore. A person who wishes to invest his money, either in the direct purchase of these undertakings, or indirectly through the purchase of their securities in the market, will have to pay more for the whole or any part of them than some years ago. These concrete forms of capital, which investment must of necessity almost exclusively assume, have been steadily appreciating in value. This is to say that the capitalization, selling value, or actual cash worth of the means of producing wealth and transporting commodities, is on the increase. A condition of things which the trustification of industries must still further accentuate.

Of course, the means of production are doubtless increasing of themselves, or in the sense of their quantities. But this is beside the point. What I wish to bring out and elucidate is the fact that their value, the price which is set upon them by their owners, is increasing apart from this circumstance. There are, for instance, better steel works, and more of them, at Pittsburgh than a decade ago; the Standard Oil Company has more oil wells and better refineries at the present time than it ever had. But the value at which the same are now estimated, the price at which their owners would be willing to sell the same, is much greater than the quantitative increase in the things actually possessed.

The increase in the capitalized value of our industrial plants, of our transportation facilities, of our public service corporation investments, and the means of production generally, may be due to a multiplicity of causes.

A portion of this increase may fairly be attributed to actual and additional improvements which have cost labor or expense to produce them. On the other hand, a portion of their increase in value is clearly assignable to the elimination of competition, resulting from the absorption or annihilation of business rivals. Again, in many cases, the increment in capitalized value has its rise in favorable special legislation, increased franchise rights, and so on.

But whatever may be the causes operating to occasion the same the fact remains that the means of producing wealth are enhancing in value. The capitalization of our industries is certainly increasing; increasing, too, in a greater proportion than the addition to their capital which may happen to be based on cost of production; increasing, this is to say, in a greater ratio than mere payments for actual improvements and visible additions to the plants themselves.

Most unquestionably the capitalization of capital is increasing. By increasing capitalization of capital is not implied any reference to the idea of water. What is meant is, that taking the present industrial community as a whole and as we find it, the actual selling value or cash worth placed upon the means of producing wealth (which means of production are capital, and their ownership the source of profit obtained by the capitalist class) has for some time been increasing, is now increasing, and must in the nature of things continue to increase, as a result of natural forces over which we have no control.

Concurrent with this increase in the capitalized value of capital, the percentage of profit from this increased capitalization is decreasing. So here we have fact number three. The rate of profit from capital is falling, and the volume of profit from capital is rising, or the income of the capitalist class increasing, be-

cause their lower percentage of profit is calculated on a higher capitalization of their capital.

Let me give a few concrete illustrations of the practical working of this concrete principle:

We will go back a number of years to a time when the average rate of interest, or percentage of profit from capital in this country was, say six per cent. Let us suppose a railroad at this time to be making an annual profit of say \$6,000,000. The capitalized value of such a railroad at such a time would evidently be \$100,000,000.

Coming now to the time present, when the rate of interest has declined to say three per cent, let us suppose the annual profit or net earnings of this road (the same road, in no ways altered save in earning power) rises to \$9,000,000. Now, interest being three per cent, and the road earnings net \$9,000,000 per year, the capitalized value of this road would therefore be at the present time \$300,000,000, or have increased three-fold.

Again, to instance one of the great forms of capital—one of the means of first importance necessary for the production of wealth—land. Taking the land of the United States from Maine to Puget Sound, and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, its capitalized value at the beginning of the century was not worth consideration compared with its capitalization of to-day.

In this simple illustration we have all the three facts combined. In this fall of the rate of profit from six to three per cent we have fact number one. Then we have fact number two that the profit of the capitalist class has at the same time advanced from six to nine million dollars per year. Then fact number three, consolidating and harmonizing these two facts, which is that the capitalization of the road has spontaneously risen from one to three hundred million dollars.

To give another illustration: The rate of profit, or interest on his money, which a man can obtain from investing the same, say in Standard Oil stock, is at the present time much less than could have been obtained a few years ago. This is fact number one; the general decline of interest, or the tendency of profits to a minimum.

But the profit made by the Standard Oil Company has not diminished. A greater sum is now paid out in the form of dividends than at any previous period. This is fact number two, or the general fact that the income of the capitalist class is rising.

When we go in the market, however, we find Standard Oil stock quoted at a high premium. It cannot be bought at its old price. The three or four per cent which is the utmost that can be obtained from an investment of capital in the securities of

this corporation (or, in fact, any other) at the present time, is calculated on a more than higher proportional capitalization than the decrease in the interest rate. This is fact number three, which explains why the income of the capitalist class is rising despite the fact that the percentage income from money is falling.

The above is virtually what is occurring over the whole field of investment. All our railroads, telegraphs, tramways, public service undertakings, industrial plants, etc., are appreciating in capitalization. They are held by their owners, the capitalist class, at a greater price than the price put upon them some years ago.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Representative Democracy. By John R. Commons, New York: Bureau of Economic Research, 35 Lafayette Place. 100 pages. Paper, 25 cents.

The name of John R. Commons, one of the few professors who had the privilege of incurring the enmity of plutocracy and as a result have had to forego the right to teach the younger generations in the universities of the United States, more than that of any other American economist deserves the attention of the Socialist press. Though not a Socialist in the Marxian sense, he touches elbows with us on frequent occasions, and unlike most of his colleagues, has the courage of his convictions.

Some months ago Professor Commons stirred up the annual meeting of the American Economic Association to a degree quite unusual and unknown in the annals of that organization. The occasion for that was furnished by the annual address of President Hadley, who chose for his subject, "Economic Theory and Political Morality." In dwelling upon the decay of representative government, as observed in the modern boss system of American politics, President Hadley advanced the idea that the economist ought and was coming to occupy a more conspicuous part in the councils of government, because his training enabled him to embrace all sides of public questions and see the whole truth without regard to the special interests of particular classes.

Prof. Commons took issue with that view and in a lengthy and comprehensive paper tore those arguments to shreds. In concrete historical illustrations he brought out the never ceasing class struggle and showed how all real progress came as a result of that. He cited the example of Adam Smith, who in his progressive (for this period) views voiced the struggle of the rising capitalist class against aristocracy and concluded that economists can have an influence in society not by acting as all-wise counselors to those in power, but by identifying themselves with those particular classes which in their opinion stood for progress; only by taking part in the class struggle of the day would the economist exert an influence in shaping the events in his country. "As economists, I believe we would stand on safer ground if, when our conclusions lead us to champion the cause of a class, * * * * we should come squarely out and admit that it is so." "The economist in working through so-

cial classes is working through the greatest of social forces. Class struggles are a condition that make for progress, and their absence indicates stagnation." Such were the utterances that struck the keynote of his paper, and though from the standpoint of a Marxian the principle was not consistently carried out throughout the paper, the new philosophy was pronounced enough to call down upon its author the rebuke of his disagreeing colleagues. It is very significant, too, that not a single one of those who took part in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, undertook to discuss it upon its merits, but all limited themselves to expressing displeasure with the author's conclusions.

The book on "Representative Democracy" is an application of the theory of the class struggle, as its author understands it, to practical political questions of the day. As a plea for Proportional Representation and the Referendum it differs favorably from other works on the subject in that its author is fully conscious of the limitations of the reforms he advocates, and further, that he takes the right standpoint of treating them as a necessary result of a natural evolution rather than as panaceas invented and designed as a specific cure for a social ill.

Considering the subject matter in the book from that standpoint, the most valuable and instructive chapters are Ch. II, "Representation of Interests;" Ch. IV, "Direct Legislation—the People's Veto;" and Ch. VI, "Proportional Representation from an American Point of View."

In the first mentioned chapter we are given a sketch of the evolution of the representative form of government in England, from its origin in the middle ages to the modern party system in the United States, and the evolution of political institutions as a result of economic forces is brought out with admirable clearness in very short space. It will repay reading by every socialist and student of social questions.

In the chapter on "Direct Legislation" the author traces the historical development of the referendum in Switzerland and shows that it was introduced as a people's veto, a check on the corrupt practices of politicians in office. As indicated in the title of the chapter he sees the chief merit of the referendum not so much in the positive results which it might accomplish, but in the possibility of checking corruption, and in so far stands head and shoulders above those who see in it the panacea for all social ills. To quote the author: "The referendum is essential only as a veto on unrepresentative law makers. Where the legislature represents all the people instead of the bosses, then the referendum, while retained as a safeguard, will gradually drop into disuse." (p. 85).

Finally, Ch. VI, which has been prepared as a paper for the

International Congress of Comparative Law at the Paris Exposition, gives a concise account of the evolution of American politics from the beginning of the Republic to the development of party system and its modern outgrowth—the boss.

But while the chief merit of the book from a socialist standpoint, lies in the method of treating the subject, it must be said that the way in which it is carried out is far from perfection. While adopting the standpoint of the class struggle, the author is by no means imbued with the materialist philosophy, and as a consequence contradictions and exaggerations are found here and there throughout the chapters; this is also partly due to the fact that the book has been written for a practical purpose rather than as a treatise in the theory of politics.

Thus, the author evidently fails to see that the party is a necessary organization in modern society which can not be done away with by any such reforms as proportional representation or the referendum, when he says: "Boss politics is possible only because the boss is not compelled to make concessions to any interests other than those of the 'organization' and the campaign contributors." He seems to underestimate the influence of the latter element. The fact, however, is that both the "organization," i. e., the party and its boss are but the tools of "the campaign contributors," i. e., of the class whose interests they are expected to represent and guard in the legislature. While proportional representation would make it easier for the smaller parties to gain a due influence on legislation, it would not do away with the party system, and its logical result, the boss, under the capitalist system. The interests which are best preserved by and through the Republican party would continue to contribute to the fund of the Republican party and of its members both in and out of campaign times. Same would be true of the Democratic party and the interests it represents. The Social Democratic party, which has no boss, depends as much on its "campaign contributors" as the capitalist parties. Without the support of the working people, who furnish its sinews of war, as well as its rank and file, it could not exist a day. In other words, boss or no boss, proportional or "unproportional" system of representation, the political parties of to-day are no mere self-constituted and boss-controlled "organizations," they are an organic part of our body politic, which can not be removed by reforms in the method of voting; so long as there are conflicting class interests they will assert themselves in concerted action, whether we have a strict party system, as to-day, or a "non-partisan" party organization, of the type sighted after by such men as Mayor Jones. In fact, the opportunities for bossism would be far superior without any party organization than they are at present.

An example of exaggeration, not wilful but due to enthusiasm for the reform, is the statement on page 32 of the book to the effect that "The Swiss people are free from the corrupting extremes of wealth and poverty because direct legislation headed off encroachments of boodlers, etc." It is a matter of common knowledge that Switzerland has its millionaires and its poor, its capitalists and proletarians, just as any other country, though perhaps not in the same degree. It is due to the fact that the capitalist system holds sway over the Swiss mountaineers as it does over the free and independent Yankees, with the natural consequences of the "corrupting extremes of wealth and poverty," which are not supposed to be there, thanks to the referendum system.

The chief practical aim of the author, to furnish "to the reform parties of the United States a method of united action in state and local elections without fusion" (p. 7) can hardly be achieved. His method is Proportional Representation. Under such a system fusion before elections between parties would be unnecessary, since every party, be it ever so small, would have a practical chance to elect one or more of its candidates. While that is true, and there is hardly a minority party that would not like to see the principle adopted into law, the problem still remains, how to get this over the heads of the bosses of the great political parties; the answer which the author gives us is that the minority parties ought to fuse for that purpose, which brings us back to where he started from.

With all these limitations, however, the book remains the most valuable contribution on the subject so far made in America and because of the sober spirit and proper attitude which characterize it, as well as for the valuable information it furnishes, ought to be read by every Socialist, the more so that the question is one that will assume a practical importance for us in the not very distant future.

N. I. Stone.

World Politics. Paul S. Reinsch, Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology. Macmillan & Co., pp. 366, cloth, \$1.25.

The appearance of this book is a sign that the new tendency in American capitalism has reached the seclusion of the university. As a usual, indeed an almost universal thing, when Americans have written on this subject they have simply made themselves ridiculous. Economic development had not yet furnished them with the facts from which to reason inductively and they were ignorant of any philosophy of society from which they could accurately deduce conclusions. This volume is, however,

the first sign of a new day. The author has not been extremely pretentious and has confined himself to things whereof he knows. In his opening chapter he traces the new development in nations from nationalism to national imperialism and shows the reappearance of Machiavellism in the field of world politics. Attention is called to the fact that when representatives of the various nations talk of a "universal peace" as at The Hague and elsewhere what is usually meant is a sort of "pax Romana" in which each nation hopes to play the part of Rome and be the one to impose the peace upon the others.

In his general discussion of the new imperialist tendency he points out very clearly the part played by missionaries in the furthering of territorial advancement. "As the priority of appearance of a nation on unappropriated soil is of great importance under the doctrine of preoccupation, the emissaries of religion who begin the civilizing process, are under the present exaggerated conditions of competition, most valuable advance pickets of national expansion."—pp. 33-4. "Never before, perhaps, has so much material value been attached to ministers of the Gospel in foreign lands, and the manner in which, after their death, they are used to spread civilization is somewhat foreign to our older ideas of the function of the bearers of spiritual blessings."—p. 146. "The murder of a European missionary is one of the most expensive indulgences the Chinaman can nowadays permit himself."—p. 147.

The chapters on Russia are particularly full of valuable information that has been hitherto largely inaccessible to the English reader. The course and direction of Russian expansion for the past century is pointed out and attention called to her success as a colonizing power, which the author largely accounts for on the ground that her own semi-barbaric stage of social development removes her to a less distance from the tribes she governs than the majority of modern nations.

Another chapter that "fills a long felt want" at the very moment when the want is most intense is the one giving the facts as to the relation of the powers in China just before the outbreak of the present trouble. Here is just the information that is wanted concerning the terms of the concessions secured by various governments and associations in China and the natural resources which will be opened up by these and pending concessions.

In his final chapter on the internal effects of a policy of expansion he points out the fact that when public interest is concentrated on foreign affairs it tends to strengthen the party in power, increase the influence of the executive, and draw attention away from domestic problems. It is in this chapter, however, that the one defect which runs all through the book is

most apparent, and that is the utter ignoring of the underlying economic factor that determines the movements described. We have been informed that this was done consciously in order that this book might not overlap others in the same series but even so it gives a sense of incompleteness to the reasoning which might easily have been supplied without at the same time making the book in any sense a treatise on economics.

The Emancipation of the Workers. Raphael Buck. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Paper, pp. 267. Fifty cents.

This is a work in which it is easy to find faults. The merest tyro in socialist philosophy would find little difficulty in detecting mistakes. A large portion of the argument is founded upon a conception of Malthusianism more stringent than ever dreamed of by Malthus and in the discussion of socialism he has largely misunderstood the philosophy he criticizes. Yet, notwithstanding all these faults the book has much of value and interest and the author's clear style covers many defects in his logic. His criticisms and analysis of present society are keen and well-taken and much of his discussion of the land problem is excellent. The fundamental difficulty with his scheme of social reform is that it is a scheme and society is not reformed by schemes. The author has no conception of the necessary direction of social evolution and hence sees no reason why his scheme should not have a trial.

The Impending Crisis. Basil Bouroff. Midway Press Committee, Chicago. Paper, 196 pp. Thirty-five cents.

The book consists largely of compilations of facts concerning the distribution of wealth in America and as such will constitute a valuable book of reference. These are summarized and arranged in various forms to make them more vivid but there is little that is new either in matter or manner of presentation.

The following books have also been received and such of them as space admits will be reviewed in future numbers.

The Poverty of Philosophy, Karl Marx. Translated by H. Quelch. The Twentieth Century Press, London. Cloth, 195. 2s. 6d.

The Trusts. William Miller Collier. Baker & Taylor Co. Cloth, 338 pp. \$1.25.

Socialism and the Labor Problem. Father T. McGrady, Bellevue, Ky. Published by the author. Paper, 44 pp. Ten cents.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

The strike of anthracite miners in Pennsylvania, in which 150,000 workers (or at least half a million persons) were directly affected when the order was given, is the result of a long train of evils that would require volumes to enumerate. "No tongue or pen can relate the horrible conditions in which those poor wage-slaves find themselves," writes "Mother" Jones, the famous woman agitator, who is now playing an important role in the troublous district. "When I tell you that the hard coal diggers are in a worse position than were the slaves and serfs generations ago you may believe it is the solemn truth. They are ruthlessly robbed of the wealth they produce and then are treated worse than the dogs and mules of this unhappy region, seemingly because they do work their lives out, and even sacrifice their women and children upon the altar of capitalistic greed, in order that their masters, the coal and railway barons, may pile up untold millions for the glorification of plutocracy. The men, according to the admission of the operators themselves, average less than \$240 a year. They demand a raise of wages—ranging from 5 per cent to 20 per cent. They demand the prohibition of child labor—the state law being openly defied by the bosses. They demand the abolition of the 'truck stores'—another law which is brazenly disregarded. They demand honest weight of their product—being now compelled to mine 3,400 pounds for a ton while the bosses sell 2,000 pounds as a ton. They demand a reduction of the price of powder, for which they are compelled to pay \$2.50 for a can that costs the barons but 88 cents. They demand a modification of the dockage system, through which the men are robbed of an additional 5 to 25 per cent of coal mined. They demand a uniform price, where now the foremen fix whatever prices they please. That the miners shall have the right to select their own doctors, that favoritism shall be prohibited, and that the semi-monthly pay law shall be obeyed. There are many other grievances that need adjustment, but I am afraid they would take up too much space in the Review to enumerate. Your readers might secure a glimpse of the conditions that obtain here by reading Dante's 'Inferno' and every description of chattel slavery that they can get hold of and then bunching them all together. The only solution for this awful situation is the placing of a revolutionary political party in power, at the head of which is such a champion of labor as Eugene V. Debs. Long live the Social Democratic Party!"

Among the many conventions that have met at Paris in the last few weeks one of the most interesting was of the co-operatives. Delegates were present from socialist co-operative societies of Belgium, Italy, Spain, Holland, and some other countries.

The question of co-operative insurance received a great deal of attention, while the most animating and eloquent speeches were caused by the questions of how the profits of such co-operative enterprises should be shared and to what extent such enterprises do positive good for socialist propaganda. Most delegates urged that a large percentage of the profits of these co-operative undertakings should go for socialist propaganda, and it was argued that in Belgium and England these enterprises did a great deal toward spreading the principles of international socialism. One delegate expressed himself that he did not have any faith in the practicability of political action. He was immediately replied to by the well-known agitator, Anseele, who, amidst the thundering applause of the delegates and visitors, made a masterly speech and proved conclusively how even co-operative enterprises could not have succeeded without the indirect support of the class-conscious proletariat, trained in the political arena. Finally, a resolution was adopted in which the co-operators are called upon to come in close contact with the socialist organizations, and in which the members of the socialist movement are called upon to participate in these co-operations. A second resolution decided that only those co-operations that will donate part of their profits in socialist propaganda shall be admitted in the next congress.

For many years the railway brotherhoods have lobbied for the enactment and enforcement of a law compelling the railroad corporations to provide a safety car coupler. The companies appear to be obeying the wishes of their employes with a vengeance. They are not only employing safety devices to protect the lives and limbs of their workers, but, according to reports from the East, the corporations are making it unnecessary for at least one branch of employes to further risk life and limb, or even to work. The Philadelphia papers state that the Delaware & Hudson Railway has introduced an automatic coupler and discharged 350 brakemen, as their services are no longer required. A St. Louis dispatch says the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway will introduce a telephone system along its route and discharge its telegraphers and hire cheaper employes, probably girls. Still another report has it that several roads are experimenting with automatic devices to feed engines and displace firemen. There is no doubt but the railway employes are "up against" the same industrial development that concentrates effort in all other branches of industry, and those workers will do well to give a

little study to economics and prepare to vote right, instead of "throwing away" their ballots on capitalistic parties opposed to their interests.

A new cigar-making machine has been invented in Germany and is being introduced in some of the large factories. It is claimed the device overcomes all difficulties in rolling and other technical objections.—Two Michigan miners are reported as having completed a new car coupler that is superior to all other similar inventions. The device is guarded with considerable secrecy, and therefore a description cannot be given as yet.—Electrical machinery is now applied in the cutting of plug tobacco and rolling cigarettes, and the output is described as being simply marvelous.—An electrical shoemaking machine has been put into a New Jersey establishment, and a pair of shoes was turned out in sixteen minutes from the moment that work was begun on the raw material until the finished shoes were boxed ready for market.—New York man invented a new stereotyping outfit, which displaced three men in an ordinary plant, and work that required thirty minutes to perform can now be done in ten minutes.—Drop a nickel in the slot and you have your shoes shined by a machine that is making its appearance in large hotels and at railway stations. Think!

The Massachusetts textile workers are greatly disturbed because of the bringing out of a new revolutionary machine. It is a rotary spinning ring, which, with a new application of compressed air, will double the capacity of all the cotton, silk and woolen mills of the world. The Haverhill Social Democrat declares that the new device is "the greatest invention in spinning machinery in one hundred years," and "the new spinning ring will do in eight hours what the old one does in sixteen hours. And it costs about a cent." The Boston Times claims that "when the frame is perfected to meet the great speed of the new ring, thread will be spun probably four times faster than at present, quadrupling the capacity of the mills." A \$5,000,000 combine is handling the invention, which will be leased to manufacturers, who are said to be jumping at the chance of making one of their spindles do the work of two. So it appears that large numbers of the poor, underpaid and exploited textile workers will be given a long vacation to study over the beauties of the capitalist system and private ownership of the tools of production. It's high time that the unions took up the discussion of the socialization of these tools.

EDITORIAL

Next to the platform the most authoritative expression of the positions of the two great political parties are the letters of acceptance written by the Presidential candidates. Both McKinley and Bryan have written such letters during the past month and a comparison is of interest.

We can afford to pass by their statements on money and imperialism as of no interest to the laboring class with which Socialism chiefly concerns itself. As has been explained in these columns, expansion is simply the natural results of the accumulation of the surplus products of labor in the hands of the capitalist and while capitalism exists, expansion is inevitable. The man or party who talks of opposing imperialism and expansion without attacking capitalism is so manifestly insincere or ignorant as to be unworthy of consideration.

Both felt themselves called upon to express opinions regarding the trust question and the utterly meaningless character of both declarations testify most eloquently to the height attained by demagoguery in American politics. Mr. McKinley declares that:

"Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation."

Nevertheless he concludes that:

"Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained."

Mr. Bryan takes several hundred words to express the same thing, for after a long play to the galleries describing the direful effects of these new industrial combinations he finally comes to the conclusion that:

"The Democratic party makes no war upon honestly acquired wealth; neither does it seek to embarrass corporations engaged in legitimate business, but it does protest against corporations entering politics and attempting to assume control of the instrumentalities of government. A corporation is not or-

ganized for political purposes and should be compelled to confine itself to the business described in its charter."

It is impossible to find any explanation of such phraseology except that of demagoguery. It is too ridiculous, and Bryan has shown himself too cunning in other lines to ascribe it to ignorance or oversight. The first sentence, of course, is a bit of bourgeois generality and assumes at once that wealth acquired according to bourgeois legality and morality is sacred, which once granted implies the whole competitive system, corporations, trusts, monopolies and demagogic politicians. But what does he mean about corporations entering politics. Does he mean to imply that any corporation has ever had as one of its lines of business the conduct of any branch of the government? If not, that last sentence is pure bunco. What he is trying to say is that corporations should not continue to use their funds and influence to secure privileges. But this is done in a thousand ways, not the least of which is the education of such men as Mr. Bryan to deceive the laborers so that the great privilege of private ownership, with its natural consequences of wage-slavery and class rule may not be disturbed. Capitalist domination in no way hangs upon so slender a thread as the direct participation of corporations in politics. So long as the capitalist class (including both large and small without regard to the "legitimacy" of their business) have control of all the means of education, communication, dissemination of news, and general control of "public opinion" it need not be concerned about any attacks upon such crude methods of control as those denounced by Mr. Bryan.

Both politicians pay special heed to the "labor vote." Mr. McKinley says that "the best service that can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment and give it every encouragement for advancement." The old chattel slave owner formerly declared that the best thing to be done for the negro was to "keep him busy, feed, clothe and house him well, and once in a while make an overseer out of one of them to encourage the others to work harder." What more does McKinley offer? Indeed, when he attempts to specify he merely elaborates a little further on the old slave-owners' idea of a good master. "The wages of labor," he says, "should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age." The chattel slave did not have to worry about "infirmity and old age," but the wage slave must practice economy for the day when he is no longer of value to his master and is turned out to starve.

Bryan, again is more pretentious, and declares himself opposed to "government by injunction" and the black-list. But

he forgets to mention that Democratic judges have vied with Republican ones in the granting of injunctions, and he has no suggestion as to how he is going to abolish the black-list and retain the wage laborer. He advocates the establishment of a court of arbitration, but while the government remains in the hands of the capitalist class no intelligent laborer will vote to hand over to them the adjudication of his differences with his employer. Then follows another bit of demagoguery in the advocacy of a "Department of Labor with a cabinet officer at its head." It might not appear at first what good it would be to the laboring class to have one more stool pigeon within the ranks of capitalist government, but in his concluding sentence we are informed that he would be "invaluable to the President," and anyone who has seen the way in which those labor leaders who have accepted office under capitalism have been used will fully agree that such an officer would be invaluable to the President to keep his political fences in order.

There are some things which neither side sees fit to mention. While Bryan is filled with indignation at the action of the Republicans in not at once giving the franchise to a few thousand Filipinos and Porto Ricans, yet he is strangely silent concerning the disenfranchisement of nearly a million American citizens in the Southern states of this country, and while Mr. McKinley spends several thousand words in explanation of the conduct of the Republican party regarding the inhabitants of the same islands, he never thinks to respond to his opponent's attack by pointing out what the party of Bryanism has done at home.

Again, while both letters are filled with denunciation or defence of militarism abroad neither has anything to say about militarism in the Cour d'Alene, where at the present time martial law still prevails, as it has prevailed for over a year, and where no laborer can even ask for a job without first signing away his rights as a man and promising never to unite with his fellow laborers in resistance to economic oppression. The reason for this is also not hard to see. These troops were sent to Idaho by President McKinley and are maintained there at the expense of the national government, but they were sent at the request of the Democratic governor of that state and are kept there by his orders, and this governor and his delegation were received with cheers at the Kansas City convention that nominated Bryan and are still supporting him.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The International Socialist Congress



THE fifth great international congress of Socialists was held in Paris during the closing week of September. The following account is made up from the reports contained in the French and Belgian Socialist dailies and the various weekly and monthly organs of France, Belgium and Germany, with several private letters and the report of the American delegates. It has been thought best to thus combine and edit the material from all these sources so as to make one connected narrative rather than to publish any one or several of these accounts.

The opening day of the Congress was filled up largely with the work of organization, which was somewhat delayed by a factional fight between the French Socialist parties. After this had been settled and some speeches of congratulation had been made the chairman recognized H. M. Hyndman, the well-known English Socialist.

Hyndman, speaking in French, said that he thought that that first meeting of the Congress ought not to close without an expression of its profound sorrow and regret at the great loss which the International Socialist movement had sustained by the death of their great comrade and leader, Wilhelm Liebknecht. (At the mention of Liebknecht's name the whole of the delegates rose to their feet and remained standing till the close of Hyndman's address, many evidently being deeply affected.) Only a few short weeks ago they had all hoped to meet him once more on this occasion. Now he was dead; and yet still he lived with them, for the sentiments of that international solidarity and unity for which he lived and struggled were alive in their hearts to-day. He was the warrior of the revolution who for 60 years had been engaged in struggles on behalf of the working people of all countries. They mourned his loss, but they gloried in the work he had done, and while expressing to his widow their sense of the great loss they had sustained and

their sympathy with her in her bereavement, they could also express their appreciation of his career and their confidence in the ultimate success of the cause to which his life's work had been given.

The vote of regret was carried with unanimity and in silence. Speeches were made by a large number of representatives from different countries generally along the line of urging the union of Socialist forces in all countries. The following from the speech of Emile Vandervelde, of Belgium, while addressed to the French Socialists, applies equally well to those of all countries who have allowed themselves to be divided in the face of the enemy:

Comrades we (the Belgians) are united, and this union is our only strength. May I not hope that the union of the French party will soon be realized? Socialists of France, unite! And in spite of appearances socialist union is on the way with you. The obscure militants who do not mix in the polemics of the schools desire union. Those who carried the flag of revolution in 1793 also disagreed, but when the cannon sounded they presented a solid front to the enemy. Socialists of 1900, will you do less than the militants of 1793?

This statement was followed by a veritable ovation of enthusiasm and approval by the assembled delegates, which was repeated when Troelstra (Holland) declared that "You French comrades must unite. The enemy is upon you and you are quarreling. It is the crime of lese-proletariat."

A letter was then read from Katayama, editor of the "Socialist World," of Japan, in which he asked that the Congress be told that "in the extreme Orient he was working for the same cause as the European comrades. He wished very much to come to the International Congress, but poverty prevented." In reading this Jaures (France) remarked that "it was some consolation to notice at the very moment when the extreme East had become the theatre of war, the spirit of socialism was awakening there."

On the second day of the Congress the time was largely taken up with the final verification of credentials and the organization of the delegations from the various countries. It was then that the attempt was made by one of the American delegates, representing the DeLeon faction of the S. L. P., to prevent the seating of the delegates of the S. D. P. This led to a discussion of the anti-trade-union attitude of the DeLeonite faction and finally to the complete endorsement of the attitude of the Rochester and Indianapolis convention in this regard and the seating of the delegates of the S. D. P.

The afternoon session was largely taken up with the reports from the various countries. The following nations had delegates present at the Congress: Belgium, Germany, Austria, Bo-

hemia, Italy, Holland, Denmark, England, Russia, Poland, Switzerland, Argentine Republic, Spain, Portugal, United States, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, and Roumania. Later on in the Congress delegates came from other countries, while telegrams and reports were received from almost every land where capitalism has entered. The number of these delegations varied from 1,083 from France, 96 from England, 57 from Germany, 43 from Belgium, and 20 from Austria to one or two from some of the smaller and more distant countries. The Austrian and English delegations would have been much larger had not both of those nations been in the midst of general elections, which demanded the energies of the party at home.

On the third day was taken what was perhaps the most important action of the Congress. This was the re-establishment of an International Organization. It will be remembered by the readers of the International Socialist Review that the establishment of such an organization was advocated editorially in the September number. The final completion of the matter and its adoption by the Congress was in no small degree due to the efforts of H. M. Hyndman, the English writer and orator, who has long advocated such action. The following is a translation of the resolutions in this regard finally adopted by the Congress:

The International Socialist Congress at Paris considers—

That it is the duty of the International Congress, which is destined to become the parliament of the proletariat, to take such resolutions as will guide the proletariat in its struggle for freedom;

That such resolutions, resulting from international relations, ought to be translated into acts;

That the following measures should be taken:

1. A committee of organization to be named as quickly as possible by the socialist organizations of the country where the next Congress will be held.

2. A permanent international committee having a delegate from each country will be formed to have charge of the necessary funds. A report from each nationality adhering to the Congress will be demanded at the following Congress and will constitute a portion of the regular order of business.

3. The committee shall choose a general salaried secretary, whose duty it shall be to—

A.—Procure all necessary information.

B.—Write out an explanatory code of the resolutions taken at previous congresses.

C.—To distribute reports upon the socialist movement in each country three months before the new congress.

D.—To prepare a general survey of the questions discussed by the Congress.

E.—To publish from time to time brochures and manifestos upon questions of fact and general interest, such as important reforms, and studies upon the more important political and economic subjects.

F.—To take the necessary measures favoring the international organization of the workers of all countries.

On motion of Hyndman the seat of the Congress was located at the Maison du Peuple of Brussels. This was carried unanimously amid great enthusiasm. Vandervelde, of Belgium, then rose and expressed the thanks of the Belgian comrades as follows: "In the name of the Socialist Party of Belgium," he said, "I thank the Congress for this proof of esteem and confidence. The International has long been in our hearts, but for the first time since the Congress of 1889 we are on the way to see its practical realization. We will go from this Congress with the certainty that the ties of sympathy have become the ties of organization, of action, of close relations, and I am sure that we shall bring to the next Congress results worthy of the grandeur of our resolutions."

On motion of Furnemont, Belgian, it was decided not to elect the national representatives to the international committee, but to leave this to the action of the various national organizations. At the suggestion of Van Kol, Holland, arrangements were made for the organization of an international parliamentary committee from those nations having Socialist representatives in legislative bodies whose duty it should be to advise as to the action to be taken by such representatives, with a view to insuring uniformity in the legislative action of the Socialists of different countries.

On motion of Vandervelde the following resolution was adopted without debate: "The International Secretary at Brussels shall have the duty of collecting the international archives of Socialism, and gathering together the books, documents and reports concerning the labor movement in the different countries."

The Congress then took up the question of attempting to establish a minimum wage and after considerable discussion passed a resolution to the effect that such an attempt could only be successful when the workers were strongly organized and that it must vary in each nation according to the prevailing standard of life. Resolutions were also passed urging the observation of the first of May as a day of international demonstration. The committee upon the means to the freedom of the laboring class then offered the following resolutions:

The modern proletariat is a necessary product of the capitalist regime of production, which demands the political and economic exploitation of labor by capital.

Its relief and its emancipation can only be realized by a struggle against the defenders of the interests of capitalism which by its very nature will lead inevitably to the socialization of the means of production.

The proletariat, therefore, must array itself as a class fighting the capitalist class.

Socialism, to which is given the task of transforming the proletariat

into an army for the class struggle, has for its first duty to introduce into that class a consciousness of its interests and its strength and to use for that purpose all the means which the existing social and political situation puts into their hands or are suggested by the higher conceptions of justice.

Among these means the Congress would indicate political action, universal suffrage, and organization of the laboring class into political groups, unions, co-operatives, benefit societies, circles for art and education, etc. It urges the militant socialists to propagate in all possible manner all means of augmenting the strength of the laboring class and rendering them capable of politically and economically expropriating the bourgeoisie and socializing the means of production.

One of the American delegates, Job Harriman, here called the attention of the Congress to the fact that in this country there was an organization professedly Socialist which attacked the economic organization of the workers and sought to disrupt the unions. The resolution was then adopted by the Congress unanimously.

During this session reports were received from Hungary, explaining that owing to the terrible poverty of the proletariat of that country the Hungarian Socialist party would not be able to contribute to the expense of the international organization; from Australia pointing out that the reign of capitalism and exploitation was as brutal there as in older capitalist countries; from the Armenian Socialists conveying the sentiments of that stricken nation to their fellow Socialists, and from several minor countries unable to send delegates.

On the next day the larger part of the time was taken up with the discussion of the Millerand case, which, indeed, seems to have been given much more attention as a whole than its importance deserved. The result of nearly two days' discussion, in which at times the French comrades seemed almost upon the point of physical violence, was that a compromise resolution, introduced by Kautsky, was adopted, which provided that a Socialist might in case of an emergency take an office in a Bourgeois ministry, but that it must be with the approval of his party, and that he must leave the ministry whenever the Socialist party to which he belongs should so decide. On the question of political alliances it was pointed out in the debate that these were only to be considered at times of extremest peril or where a momentary struggle must be made for some great end, as for example to secure the right of suffrage. The resolution as finally adopted by a unanimous vote was as follows:

The Congress recognizes that the class struggle forbids all forms of alliance, with any division whatsoever of the capitalist class.

It being admitted that exceptional circumstances may at times render coalitions necessary (cautiously and without confusion of programme or tactics), yet the party ought to seek to reduce these coali-

tions to a minimum, eventually to their complete elimination, only tolerating them as much as shall have been decided to be necessary by the regional or national organization of the party concerned.

Resolutions were also adopted denouncing the policy of militarism and colonial expansion and advocating the organization of the maritime laborers on an international scale. An interesting portion of a resolution referring to universal suffrage is that which declares that "considering that upon the ground of Socialist politics men and women have equal rights, the Congress proclaims the necessity of universal suffrage for both sexes." After pointing out some things concerning the so-called municipal socialism and suggesting lines of Socialist activity in municipalities a report was submitted by the committee on the trust problem, pointing out that these new forms of capitalist organization were the natural outcome of the competitive system and that they could only be controlled through socialization. The question of the universal international strike was the last matter acted upon by the Congress, and the following resolution was adopted:

This congress is of the opinion that strikes and boycotts are the necessary means to the accomplishment of the task of the laboring class, but it sees no actual possibility of a universal international strike.

The step which is immediately necessary is the organization into unions of the working masses, since upon the extension of such organization depends the extension of strikes in entire industries or in entire countries.

After a short speech from Von Kol, assuring the Congress of a welcome to Holland for the next meeting, which is to be held at Amsterdam in 1903, the Congress adjourned to the singing of the "International."

Karl Marx on the Money Question

(A Reply to Mr. Hitch)



R. HITCH'S article in the first issue of the International Socialist Review is a unique contribution to socialist literature, and will, we hope, stand alone in the future as a shining example of how socialists ought not to write when they undertake the serious task "to re-examine their position and admit that Marx made a mistake."

Mr. Hitch hurls insults at the American socialists when he says that to discuss the money question from a standpoint other than the one accepted by Socialist science as it is formulated today means to "stir up a good deal of bad blood," that "billingsgate will flow freely where arguments are lacking," and that he will "be looked upon by our comrades * * * a repudiator and an inflationist in the pay of silver mine owners." Knowing, as he undoubtedly does, through what a painful and disagreeable struggle the American socialists recently passed to establish the right of free discussion of socialist doctrines, his remark is, to say the least, unwarranted. Had Mr. Hitch confined himself to a calm discussion of the question at issue without reflecting upon the character of the men he calls his comrades, and without the many flippant and irrelevant reflections upon the sobriety and sanity of "comrade" Marx, he would spare his Socialist opponents the unpleasant task of administering to him a rebuke which he had himself called forth, and all personal allusions would be kept out as they should be in a theoretical discussion of this kind.

To come now to the subject matter. It has been an old custom, among writers, to quote verbatim an author's statements whenever exception is taken to his views. If, for reason of lack of space, such quotations are impossible and the writer has to sum up the views of his opponent he is at least expected to give references to the page of the work he is discussing so as to enable the reader to make his own comparisons, if he has the leisure and desire to do so. Mr. Hitch does not consider that necessary. With two or three exceptions he combats Marx not for the opinions that he, Marx, expressly holds, but for what Marx is supposed to believe according to Mr. Hitch's opinion. It is an ungrateful task to discuss the money question with him, under these circumstances, for instead of considering the respective views of Marx and Hitch on their merits, we have to show what Marx did not say. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Hitch is clear only about Marx's conclusions, but by no means about

the principles on which the latter bases them, nor about the connection between his views on money and his fundamental theory of value.

Like Edward Bernstein in his recent famous book, "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus," Hitch starts out with the task of correcting a mistake in Marx' theory which need by no means lead in his opinion, to an overthrow of the theory as a whole. Marx' mistake about money, he says, "is easily accounted for, and in no way lessens the general value of his economic and social teachings." (p. 30). But when he labors through about three-fourths of his article he loses all patience with the evasive "comrade" Marx and accuses him of introducing the distinction between price and value "to save yourself in a debate" (p. 41-42). Now, if there is anything that Marx might justly be proud of in his system of Political Economy, next to his theory of surplus value, it is the sharp line he draws between price and value; you may agree with him in that and call yourself a Marxist, or you may follow any one of the so-called modern schools like the Austrian, for example, in wiping out all difference between the conceptions of price and value, but whatever you do you have to be clear about it in your own mind. If you think that there is no difference between the two, you disagree with Marx from the start, and whether you are right or wrong, you have no business to say that you are only introducing a correction in one of his theories. What you are really doing is to throw overboard his whole theory of value, the cornerstone of his economic science.

MARX' THEORY OF VALUE.

Stated briefly, what is Marx' theory of value and the theory of money following from it?

Under the system of division of labor and private ownership of the means of production, all goods are produced, as a rule, by individuals not for their own use, but in order to be exchanged for other products which they need for their consumption. This system of division of labor and exchange of commodities is resorted to to obtain the greatest quantity of goods with the least expenditure of labor and time. Whenever a producer of a certain kind of goods should find out that by manufacturing an additional article he could get a certain quantity of that with less labor and time than what he spends on his own goods which he has to give away in exchange for that quantity he will immediately give up exchange for production. To illustrate by an example. Say a shoemaker makes eight pairs of shoes in a week, which he exchanges for other products. Among these products is a coat for which he has to give away in exchange eight pairs of shoes, in other words, a week's labor. If the shoe-

maker were to find out that it would take him only three days to make his own coat, he would certainly refuse to exchange his shoes for the coat and would rather devote three days of his time to making the coat. Basing himself on this universal law of human action under a system of private production and free competition Marx framed his law (and he was not the first economist in doing so) of value, viz., that commodities are exchanged at their values., i. e., a product requiring the expenditure of a certain amount of labor under a given system of production will be exchanged for another product requiring the same amount of labor under the same system production prevailing in society, neither more nor less. So much for the general law of value. But like all general laws, the law of value expresses a condition which is true on the whole, but which is ultimately brought about only as a resultant of opposing forces. Thus, in the exchange of commodities there are two sides with conflicting interests. In the illustration cited by us, the shoemaker will try to give away as few shoes as possible and "get as many coats in exchange as he can, while the tailor will act in the opposite way. Therefore, if for any reason the tailor should happen to have an advantage over the shoemaker, he will utilize it to get from him more than four pairs of shoes (representing three days' labor) for the coat, and on the other hand, should he, by his excessive charges attract a number of other people to the tailoring trade and thereby produce an excess of coats, the advantage will lie on the shoemaker's side, who will now compel the tailor to accept less than four pairs of shoes for the coat (or less than the equivalent of the coat in labor time). The fluctuating terms on which the conflicting parties are thus concluding their bargains constitute prices, or temporary value, as Mr. Hitch prefers to call them. While these prices thus rarely coincide with true value and as a rule are somewhat either above or below the latter they do not in any way vitiate the law of value. The use an oft-repeated analogy from Natural Science, the law of gravitation states that all bodies when left in the air without support will fall toward the earth with a certain velocity. Yet, the actual velocity of falling bodies is never equal to that formulated by the law; it is sometimes greater and sometimes less. If, instead of letting a stone drop, you will throw it down with some force it will fall faster, if, on the other hand, you let it drop, but it meets with a resisting force, such as the friction of the air or of water, it will fall slower. Thus the actual rate of fall is never equal to the theoretical rate as formulated by the law of gravitation; yet, we have not heard so far of any scientist claiming that the law of gravitation is an imposition upon the credulous, and that the moment you point out to Newton the discrepancy between his theory and actual facts, he "saves himself in debate"

by a recourse to artificial distinctions between the true rate of fall and the temporary one.

MARX' THEORY OF MONEY.

The law of value as explained above deals with exchange of commodities without the intervention of money. Money, however, appears at a later stage. Barter, or the direct exchange of one commodity for another, is the first stage; the introduction of money follows it as a natural consequence of the growth of trade, indispensable for trading facilities. The reasons for its appearance have been so often described by economic writers that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them here. One fact only must be emphasized. Whenever and wherever money first appears it is usually in the form of some commodity, whose production requires expenditure of time and labor just as much as any other article of trade. It is never something that can be easily picked up anywhere without trouble. Among a northern people it may be skins of wild animals, among African tribes it may be ivory, with others it may be leather, in American colonies in the early days it was tobacco, at a more advanced stage of civilization it may become some metal, such as iron, copper, silver or gold, but whatever the country and the period, wherever you find a generally acceptable article which you can exchange for anything else and which, in short, performs the function of money, that article is a product of labor, which is exchangeable subject to the general law of exchange governing the exchange of all commodities not subject to monopoly, viz., the giving of value for value, as expressed in the amount of labor required to produce the respective articles under the existing methods of production.

But, say the advocates of the quantity theory of money, would not a relative scarcity of the article used as money result in raising its exchange value; as well as a relative abundance, in lowering its value? Of course it will, just as in the case of any other commodity, and that is what constitutes the fluctuation of prices about the true value we have spoken of above. But does that mean "saving yourself in a debate" or playing with words? Let us see whether it does.

According to Mr. Hitch, if all the coins in circulation were "diminished in weight by one-half, but the coinage limited in quantity to the same number of coins as previously existed, the price level will remain the same. though the value of the gold metal contained in the coins will be one-half the same as formerly." This is a frank, bold, logical *reductio ad absurdum* of the fundamental principle of the quantity theory of money, according to which money has no intrinsic value and is at all times fully exchanged for all other articles. Not so, according to Marx. In

the problematic case cited by Hitch, the producers of gold would at first have an advantage over the rest of the people. It would practically mean that every gold-mine owner (or silver-mine owner, if the coins consisted of silver) could call half a dollar's worth of gold one dollar, for the government would stamp it to that effect at the mint. But while it is true that the half-weight coin would be still called a dollar and everybody would be bound to accept it as such, there is no law either in Political Economy or on the statute book that could prevent the owners of other goods to charge now two dollars for goods that they sold previously at one dollar. The enormous profits of the gold (or silver) producers would attract other capitalists to that industry and the increased competition would soon bring about a normal level of prices. Herein lies the significance of distinguishing between price and value. Whenever price differs from value it is by its own motion bound to go to the other extreme and bring about the equilibrium. In this respect it is like the swinging of the pendulum, which keeps swinging now to the left, and now to the right, constantly tending to come to rest midway in a vertical position.

MARX' "ADMISSIONS."

Let us take up now the various points made by Mr. Hitch, and his assumptions as to Marx, and examine them one by one. On p. 31 Mr. Hitch enumerates five cases to which, he says, "Marx admits that the quantity theory of money applies." Among them are "times of great changes in the value of gold, which generally occur on the discovery of new and productive mines." No reference is given to any of Marx' works where such an "admission" by Marx is made. We are afraid that the "admission" is a result of Mr. Hitch's failure to understand Marx. Here is what Marx says on the subject, on page 160 of his Critique of Political Economy (*Zur kritik der Politischen Oekonomie Stuttgart, 1897*. All citations from this work are translated by the writer from that German edition, since the work remains as yet untranslated into English):

"The purely economic causes of that change in value (of precious metals) * * * must be traced to the change in the amount of labor time necessary for the production of these metals. The latter will depend upon their relative natural scarcity as well as upon the greater or less difficulty with which they can be found in a pure metallic condition." In other words, Marx' "admission" amounts to this: with the discovery of new productive mines it becomes possible to mine gold or silver with a smaller expenditure of labor time than before; hence according to Marx' law of value gold becomes cheaper. Does that mean, Mr. Hitch, that it becomes cheaper on account of

its greater quantity or on account of the decrease in labor time necessary to produce it? You think it is the former, Marx thinks it is the latter, but whether you are right, or Marx, why should you make him "admit" the quantity theory, which he never did?

Mr. Hitch will perhaps seize upon the word "scarcity" in the above quotation from Marx and see in that a disguised admission of Marx' part of the correctness of the quantity theory. But Marx leaves no doubt as to the meaning he attaches to that word. Scarcity will affect the value of the metals only in so far as it causes a greater expenditure of labor time necessary to obtain it, otherwise it will have no influence, whatever on the value of an article. The point is so interesting in many other respects that we shall quote Marx at length: "Gold is really the first metal discovered by man. On the one hand, nature itself produces it in a native crystalline form, individualized, free from chemical combination with other substances, or as the alchemists would say in a virgin state; on the other hand, nature takes upon itself the technological work in the large gold washings of rivers. Only the crudest work is thus required on the part of man whether in winning gold from rivers or earth-deposits, whereas the production of silver presupposes mining and relatively high technical development generally. In spite of its lesser absolute scarcity the primitive value of silver is, therefore, higher than that of gold. Strabo's assertion, that among a certain tribe of Arabs ten pounds of gold were given for one pound of iron, and two pounds of gold for one pound of silver, seems in no way incredible. But, as the productive powers of labor in society are developed and the product of simple labor is therefore enhanced as over against combined labor, as the earth's crust is more thoroughly broken up and the original superficial sources of gold supply are exhausted, the value of silver will fall in proportion to the value of gold." (Critique, p. 160-161).

It would be interesting, by the way, to have Mr. Hitch explain, according to his quantity theory, how the price and value of silver were higher originally than those of gold, in spite of the greater abundance of the former.

If Mr. Hitch objects to ancient testimony, Marx will accommodate him with a more modern example which will also show that Mr. Hitch ascribed him opinions which he did not hold. The rise of prices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is ascribed by the school of economists to which Mr. Hitch belongs, to the increase in the total quantity of gold and silver following the discovery of new mines in America. Marx denies that emphatically and ascribes the rise of prices to the fall in value of gold and silver, i. e., to the fact that less labor was

required in the more productive mines in the New World than had been the case before. (*Critique*, p. 169). He ridicules Hume's quantity theory explanation (which Mr. Hitch would have us believe, Marx accepted himself), and says: "That not only the quantity of gold and silver increased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but that the cost of their production diminished at the same time, Hume could see from the fact of the closing of the European mines." That is, if the fall in the price of gold would be only temporary, due to its increased production, there would be no necessity for closing the European mines in preference to the far off American mines. The reason for doing so came only after the amount of labor time necessary to extract the precious metals from the European mines became greater than the "socially necessary labor," as determined by the more productive American mines. So much for one of Marx' "admissions."

Another "admission" by Marx, of the correctness of the quantity theory of money, is in the case of "full weight free coinage gold money in gold producing countries, where the gold is coined direct for the miners' account, without being first bartered for commodities" (*Hitch*, p. 31). Again, no reference to any place in Marx' works is given to vouch for the assertion and we are at a loss to understand where the "admission" was obtained. As Mr. Hitch himself, however, "admits" that it is only an impression of his, "at least this is as we understand Marx," says he, we hardly need dwell on this any longer.

The fifth and last "admission" of Marx is in "cases where the weight of the unit is changed." Again no reference, and again we must deny the "admission," as utterly at variance with Marx' fundamental views on the subject. Marx devoted a whole chapter in his "*Critique*" entitled, "Theories of the Unit of Measure of Money," to show how erroneous were the views of various economists who thought that the name attached to the coin, and not the weight of the precious metal it contains, determines the exchange value of money.

As to Marx' first two admissions, as to the applicability of the quantity theory of money to fiat and partially fiat money, Mr. Hitch is right, in a way; but fails to see the full import of the "admission." Marx says that fiat money has value not because of the government sanction of it, but only in so far as it is covered by gold or silver. If the paper money is covered by a metallic reserve to its full extent, it will have a full face value. Should it be increased, however, beyond the metallic reserve, say, to twice the amount of the latter, its value will fall in proportion. The fall in value of fiat money is therefore due primarily not to its increase in quantity, but to the fact that it has no intrinsic value outside of the value of the metal it stands for.

Increase the metallic reserve in proportion as you increase the issue of your fiat money and the latter will not fall in value. It is enough to refer to our financial history during the Revolutionary and Civil wars to prove the correctness of Marx' view; we regret to be unable to comment upon these at length, for lack of space.

Having disposed of Marx' "admissions," we have practically performed our task, except that we have not taken up, as yet, Mr. Hitch's arguments. Let us take them up in their order. On p. 32, Hitch opens his arguments as follows:

To decide whether a rise in the price level is due to a fall in the value of gold as Marx claims, or to an increase in the quantity of money, as we claim, it is only necessary to observe that, if under free coinage the coins be diminished in weight by one-half and the same names retained, there would be a rise in the price level, as Marx admits. If on the other hand, the coins be diminished in weight by one-half, but the coinage limited in quantity to the same number of coins as previously existed, the price level will remain the same, though the value of the gold metal contained in the coins will be one-half the same as formerly. This proves that the quantity of money, and not the value of the metal in the coins determines the price level. This is to Marx a stumbling block.

Poor Marx! Mr. Hitch undertakes to prove his claim, viz., that it is the quantity of money and not its intrinsic value as metal, that determines its value. And how does he prove it? By using a hypothetical case and saying that he has no doubt that things would turn out as he wants them to. "This proves" it, he triumphantly concludes, and proceeds to pity poor Marx, who cannot see the point. But Marx and those who agree with him claim that just the opposite effect would take place, viz., that prices would rise, and Mr. Hitch's "this proves" is insufficient to shake their belief. Instead of dealing in hypothetical examples they point to concrete historical cases, when clipping of coins, both open and surreptitious, invariably led to a fall in their value and a consequent rise in prices, in spite of the fact that the names of the coins remained unchanged. Thus, on p. 61 of his "Critique" Marx tells us of the curious state of affairs in England under William III, when the market price of silver stood above the mint price, something just the opposite of what we are experiencing now. An ounce of silver was divided into 62 parts, each part constituting one penny, twelve such parts making up a shilling coin. According to that the mint price of an ounce of silver was 5s. 2d. But when you went to buy an ounce of silver in the open market you had to pay 6s. 3d. for it. "How could the market price of an ounce of silver rise above its mint price?" Marx asks, "when the mint price was but a

name for an aliquot part of an ounce of silver?" The riddle was easily solved. Of the £5,600,000 of silver money which were in circulation at that time, four million were worn and clipped. It appeared upon a trial that £57,000 in silver, which should have weighed 220,000 ounces, weighed but 141,000 ounces." Thus the value of the coin fell, in spite of the fact that the mint continued to coin the money according to the old standard. What does it show? Simply this: that when you diminish the weight of a metal coin, that coin being the standard money (and not a mere subsidiary coin, when the law would not apply on the same principle as in the case of fiat money, see above) it will lose in value, no matter what name you attach to it.

MARX' "ASSUMPTIONS."

"All of Marx' theories about money," says Hitch on p. 33, "are based on the assumption that the price level is always constant." Again no quotation corroborates the assertion, and again we must respectfully but most emphatically deny that. Let Marx speak in his own behalf. "These three factors, state of prices, quantity of circulating commodities, and velocity of money currency, are all variable." (*Capital*, p. 61.) But Hitch still insists: "Marx tells us frankly (?) that in his reasoning he considers the value of gold as given, as fixed, which of course (?) implies that the price level is also fixed" (p. 33). Now we are beginning to see why Marx is misunderstood by Mr. Hitch. He cannot imagine any other cause for a change in prices but a change in the price of gold. It evidently does not occur to him that the absolute value of gold may remain the same, but that owing to a change in the methods of production, such as new inventions, new division of labor, or what not, prices of various commodities may change and thereby affect the price level. Thus we see that even if Marx had said that the value of gold is fixed, Mr. Hitch would not be justified in his conclusion that Marx considers the price level constant. One could hardly imagine a greater absurdity than that. One need not be a Marx to know that the price level varies all the time.

But the whole assertion made by Mr. Hitch looks decidedly like an attempt at humor when we turn to Marx and find that he had not made any such assumption, even with regard to gold. Here is what he says on p. 50 of his "Critique": "To serve as a measure of values, gold must be as far as possible a variable value," (underscored by Marx), and further: "Just as in determining the exchange value of every commodity in terms of use value of another commodity, so in estimating the value of all commodities in terms of gold it is only presupposed that gold represents a given quantity of labor time at a given moment." Is it possible that the assumption of the fixedness of

the value of gold at a given moment (perfectly justifiable in all discussions) has led Mr. Hitch to his assertion? But then how did he understand this passage in the "Critique" (p. 50) which immediately follows the above: "As far as changes in its (of gold) value are concerned, they are subject to the law of exchange value worked out above. If the exchange value of commodities remains constant, a general rise of their gold prices is possible only in case of a fall in the exchange value of gold. If, on the other hand, the exchange value of gold remains constant, then a general rise of gold prices is possible only in case of a rise of the exchange values of all the commodities. The opposite causes are at work in the case of a general sinking of prices of commodities, etc." So much for Marx' views and what Mr. Hitch tries to make out of them. No wonder he can dismiss Marx after that with a contemptible sneer: "This is the sum and substance of thirty-five pages of financial philosophy in *Capital*, and one hundred and fifty-six pages in *Critique*. 'The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse'" (p. 34). The mistakes displayed by our author on several pages following are due to this fundamental misconception of Marx, and are filled to a great extent with the same sort of cheap ridicule of one of the greatest minds this century has produced.

On p. 36 we are treated to another "assumption" of Marx, viz., "that a country requires a certain quantity of money to circulate its commodities, no more and no less." That is true only in a limited sense. Again, we are not given a word of Marx' own statement as corroboration of the "assumption." If Mr. Hitch had thought of the quotation from Marx which he himself gives on page 30 of his article, he would read there the following:

"The law that the quantity of the circulating medium is determined by the sum of the prices of the commodities circulating and the average velocity of currency may also be stated as follows: Given the sum of the values of commodities and the average rapidity of their metamorphoses, the quantity of precious metal current as money depends on the value of that precious metal."

But we have already seen that Marx does not think that the value of precious metals is constant; consequently the quantity of the metal current as money cannot be constant. Furthermore, when Marx says: "Given the sum of the values of commodities," etc., it requires an extraordinary logic to interpret that he assumes that the sum of these values is constant; thus, there is not a single element among the factors which according to Marx determines the quantity of money in a country, that is constant. What Marx did say was that at any given time the existing prices and the rapidity of circulation of money as well

as all the other devices for substituting money, such as checks, bank clearings, etc., determines the amount of money necessary for the country.

We now come to a new "assumption" of Marx (p. 38), viz., "that all the gold in a country does not enter into circulation." Mr. Hitch thinks that "this is superficially true; but essentially it is utterly false and misleading." "Let us pit Marx against Marx," exclaims Hitch, on p. 41. Let us follow his example, and pit Hitch against Hitch. Let us put side by side what Hitch has to say on the subject on p. 38 and then on p. 41:

"That all the gold in a country does not enter into circulation." "This is superficially true; but essentially it is utterly false and misleading."

"To say, therefore, that all the gold in a country does not circulate as money is analogous to saying that all the products of a country do not circulate as commodities. This is superficially true. But in substance it is false."

(Hitch, p. 38.)

"The fact that gold coin and bullion are interconvertible does not make them the same thing at the same time; when gold is money it is not bullion, and when it is bullion or is hoarded even in the form of coin it is not money. A product can not be money and a commodity at the same time. Herein lies Marx's vital errors" (sic!).

(Hitch, p. 41.)

Does it lie in disagreeing with Mr. Hitch on p. 38 and agreeing on p. 41, or vice versa? We are waiting for enlightenment. The contradictions in which Mr. Hitch entangles himself in the following pages are in the main due to the two causes we have illustrated now in so many examples. First, that he ascribes to Marx views and arguments which the latter never held or advanced. Second, that he is not clear in his own mind when he believes a certain principle to be true and when not. It is not necessary to consider all these contradictions at length. If all that Mr. Hitch has to say on the following pages were true in itself (which it is not) his case would not be won after all that has been brought out here.

It is a pity, however, that he has not attempted to give some positive proof of the correctness of his quantity theory and limited himself instead to mere criticism. Perhaps he would have explained to us then why prices did not fall uniformly during the depression which led to the silver craze of 1896, as they should have done if his theory is true, that the cause of the fall lay in the insufficiency of money and its consequent appreciation; and also why the recent rise of prices which reached its climax last March or April was also devoid of any uniformity, if we consider the prices of various articles. Mr. Hitch, finally, gives up his cause when he says (p. 44), that universal monometallism might be a good thing, but until that comes it is ad-

vantageous to have the money of different countries interchangeable at a fixed rate of exchange; for if it is a good thing, the natural inference is that in order to attain it we should strive to get the countries which are still on a bimetallic basis (and they are the most backward countries, by the way, and therefore are least involved in international exchange) to adopt monometallism and not adopt the opposite course, as Mr. Hitch would have it. And in the light of that it sounds rather theatrical and affected when he adds: "And it appears to us inconsistent in the monometallist, who claims to be the friend of the working men of the world, to ride rough shod over all those who do not happen to live in gold using countries."

Really, Mr. Hitch, if the workmen who "do not happen to live in gold using countries," were so vitally affected by the monetary conditions as you seem to think, and if, furthermore, your assertion would be true that "international parity of exchange, even without an international unit of account, but especially combined with such a unit, would be a most powerful bond of union between the working men of all countries," don't you think that they would have raised this question long ago at the International Congresses to which they send their representatives from time to time? And does it not rather tend to justify the attitude of the American socialists who, in common with the socialists of all the world, consider the whole financial question but a matter of subordinate importance, not worth the powder of socialists, who have far more momentous questions before them to settle?

Were it not for the fact that Mr. Hitch's article appeared in the *International Socialist Review*, and further, that because of that, if unanswered, the impression might go abroad that it represented the sentiment of the American socialists, the writer, for one, would not think it worth the trouble to go at this time into a discussion of the question.

N. I. Stone.

Edward Carpenter and His Message

THERE is no single feature in the literature of our times that is more profoundly significant and interesting than the revolt against modern society. A Tolstoi in Russia, a Zola in France, an Ibsen in Norway, a Howells in America, have all made their art the vehicle of a social message. In England this tendency is especially marked. We have seen John Ruskin and William Morris, two of the most striking literary figures of the Victorian era, break away from the old traditions, and throw the whole weight of their influence into the struggle for better social conditions. In the England of to-day we see a spectacle equally remarkable. We find communism—that bugaboo of the respectable classes, that very embodiment in the popular mind of all that is accursed—openly espoused by a group of literary men whose genius is recognized all over the world.

Edward Carpenter is perhaps the most talented member of this group, and he strikes a note in contemporary literature that is as unique as it is inspiring and beautiful. Carpenter stands for democracy in its fullest and broadest sense—democracy which represents not merely political forms, but which penetrates to the very roots of society. He turns with horror from the life of to-day, with its degradation of human life, and its subordination of beauty to profit, and pictures the days of the future, when commercialism has been supplanted by communism. In his dream of the society which is to be he realizes his ideal of brotherhood of art, of nature-love.

Thirty years ago Edward Carpenter, while at Cambridge University, came under the influence of the Rev. F. D. Maurice, the Christian socialist, and entered the Church of England. He relinquished his orders, however, and for some years was a university extension lecturer on art, music and science in the north of England. In 1877 he visited the United States and became acquainted with Walt Whitman. He had already fallen deeply beneath the spell of this great democratic thinker, and upon his return to England he took to farm life at Millthorpe, near Sheffield, and began to think out his "Towards Democracy." Much of this book was written in the open air, and it breathes the spirit of the fields and flowers. "Towards Democracy" and its sister poems, were published in 1883 and were quite startling in their unconventionality. Carpenter had become saturated with the Whitman spirit. He used in his poems the same rough, unfettered form, and held out to the world

the same democratic ideal. "Leaves of Grass" finds its transatlantic prototype in "Towards Democracy." The poem "Towards Democracy" is a wonderful revelation of Carpenter's personality. In a series of seventy dramatic stanzas, which sweep the reader along with impetuous force, the poet touches every emotion in human life. He associated himself with the lowest and vilest, as with the noblest; he hurls anathemas against modern society; he writes passionately of love, and of kinship with nature and animal life; he voices the hope of a new era of fraternity and beauty.

In one of the most striking passages of "Towards Democracy" Carpenter gives a panoramic survey of England. With a master hand he paints the picture he sees before him. Rivers, mountains and cities all pass beneath his gaze:

"The beautiful grass stands tall in the meadows, mixed with sorrel and buttercups; the steamships move on across the sea, leaving trails of distant smoke. I see the tall white cliffs of Albion.

"I smell the smell of the new-mown grass, the waft of the thought of Death—the white fleeces of the clouds move on in the everlasting blue—with the dashing and the spray of waves below. . . .

"I see the sweet-breathed cottage homes and homesteads dotted for miles and miles and miles. I enter the wheelright's cottage by the angle of the river. The door stands open against the water, and catches its changing syllables all day long; roses twine, and the smell of the woodyard comes in wafts. . . .

"The oval-shaped manufacturing heart of England lies below me; at night the clouds flicker in the lurid glare; I hear the sob and gasp of pumps and the solid beat of steam and tilt-hammers; I see streams of pale lilac and saffron-tinted fire. I see the swarthy, Vulcan-reeking towns, the belching chimneys, the slums, the liquor shops, chapels, dancing saloons, running grounds, and blameless remote villa residences."

Finally comes the climax: "I see a land waiting for its own people to come and take possession of it."

Edward Carpenter writes as one stifled by the artificiality of modern life. In fiercest words he lays bare the shams and hypocrisies which he sees around him. He lashes "the insane greed of riches, of which poverty and its evils are but the necessary obverse and counterpart," and "smooth-faced Respectability, so luxurious, refined, learned, pious—yet all out of other men's labor." He laughs at "ideas of exclusiveness, and of being in the swim; of the drivel of aristocratic connections; of drawing-rooms and levees and the theory of animated clothes pegs generally; of helplessly living in houses with people who

feed you, dress you, clean you and despise you." He sees a nation that has far departed from the laws of nature and of healthy life; ever is he haunted by the vision of the world that might be and thoughts of "the free sufficing life—sweet comradeship, few needs and common pleasures." I propound a New Life to you," he exclaims, "that you should bring the peace and grace of Nature into your own daily life—being freed from vain striving."

In a poem entitled "After Civilization" Carpenter thus beautifully presents the idea of the unfolding of the new society:

"Slowly out of the ruins of the past—like a young fern-frond uncurling out of its own brown litter—

"Out of the litter of decaying society, out of the confused mass of broken-down creeds, customs, ideals;

"Out of distrust and unbelief and dishonesty, and fear, meanest of all (the stronger in the panic trampling the weaker underfoot);

"Out of the miserable rows of brick tenements with their cheap jack interiors, their glances of suspicion, and doors locked against each other;

"Out of the polite residences of congested idleness; out of the aimless life of wealth;

"Out of the dirty workshops of evil work, evilly done;

"I saw a New Life arise."

In his essays Edward Carpenter has written definitely of the economic structure of the ideal society, but in his poems he rather gives us hopes and aspirations. He speaks of the spirit of mutual service and dependence under Communism, in which each will do the work before him "doubting no more of his reward than the hand doubts, or the foot, to which the blood flows according to the use to which it is put." This conception of a social order based upon the idea "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is supported by references to the Law of Equality, which Carpenter interprets in this way:

"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.

"Seek not your own life—for that is death;

"But seek how you can best and most joyfully give your own life away—and every morning for ever fresh life shall come to you from over the hills."

In another poem he writes of "the outspread pinions of Equality, whereon arising Man shall at last lift himself over the Earth and launch forth to sail through Heaven." The stanzas

entitled "The Curse of Property" are a tremendous indictment of existing property claims, and leave no doubt as to the trend of Carpenter's communist teachings.

This truly remarkable book of poems strikes a note of intense realism. Edward Carpenter accents all the facts of life, "nothing blinked or concealed," he makes himself the mouthpiece of the "vast unfettered human heart" in its every manifestation. But he is also saturated with an equally intense idealism. He lives and writes in the present, but his hope is in the future.

Edward Carpenter has given practical expression to his ideals by taking part in the Socialist agitation of England. About the year 1883, just after the first English Socialist society had been founded, and while William Morris and H. M. Hyndman were carrying on a vigorous propaganda in London, Carpenter was drawn into the Socialist movement. It was with his money that "Justice," the first English Socialist paper, was started, and he both wrote and lectured on behalf of the Social Democratic Federation. When William Morris seceded from the Federation and founded the Socialist League, Edward Carpenter showed himself in sympathy with the new body, and contributed to Morris' revolutionary journal, "The Commonweal." He compiled and published during this period an interesting Socialist song book, with music, and shortly after some of his Socialist lectures and articles were issued under the title of "England's Ideal." In 1889 "Civilization, Its Causes and Cure," and other scientific and social essays were published in book form, and a year later he wrote a long account of his travels in India, which he called "From Adam's Peak to Elephanta." During recent years Carpenter has given much attention to sexual problems, and a book entitled "Love's Coming of Age" sums up his thoughts on love and marriage. Carpenter's last contributions to literature are a series of essays on art and its relation to society, published under the name "Angels' Wings," and a translation of "The Story of Eros and Psyche," from Homer's Iliad.

In the essay, "Civilization, Its Causes and Cure," we touch the heart of Edward Carpenter's life philosophy. To the majority of readers the title will seem a strange audacity—the more so since Carpenter looks upon civilization in no mere humorous sense, but quite soberly and seriously, as a disease. He instances its unhealthiness and retinue of doctors, its feverish spirit of unrest, and its miserable poverty; comparing these features with the normal life of the more developed savage races. Carpenter lays great stress on the moral and physical qualities which humanity has lost in its progress from barbarism to civilization, and while he is far from advocating a mere return to first principles, he shows quite clearly that civilization has not meant all gain. He also lays emphasis on the fact that the men

of to-day have almost wholly abandoned nature, and "disowned the very breasts that suckled them." "Man," he says, "deliberately turns his back upon the light of the sun, and hides himself away in boxes with breathing holes (which he calls houses), living ever more and more in darkness and asphyxia, and only coming forth perhaps once a day to blink at the bright god, or to run back again at the first breath of the free wind for fear of catching cold!" "He is the only animal," he adds, in another passage, "who, instead of adorning and beautifying makes nature hideous by his presence. The fox and the squirrel may make their homes in the wood and add to its beauty in so doing; but when Alderman Smith plants his villa there, the gods pack up their trunks and depart; they can bear it no longer. The bushmen can hide themselves and become indistinguishable on a slope of bare rock; they twine their naked little bodies together, and look like a heap of dead sticks; but when the chimney-pot hat and frock-coat appears, the birds fly screaming from the trees!"

Edward Carpenter lays the blame for modern conditions chiefly on the institution of private property, and its accompanying system of class government. Property, he claims, has divorced man (1) from nature, (2) from his true self, (3) from his fellows. At the same time he realizes that the development of modern society is working out its own downfall. The industrial tendency to-day is ever toward co-operation and communal ownership, as opposed to private competition, and as Carpenter claims, the only logical culmination appears to be communism—that is, public ownership of the means of life. He claims that such conditions would insure a secure and brotherly life for all, and that the human spirit, freed from the bonds of a sordid commercialism, would soar to heights undreamed of to-day. He believes that there would be an almost universal return to nature and simplicity. "Then," he says, "when our temples and common halls are not designed to glorify an individual architect or patron, but are built for the use of free men and women, to front the sky and the sea and the sun, to spring out of the earth, companionable with the trees and the rocks, not alien in spirit from the sunlit globe itself or the depth of the starry night—then, I say, their form and structure will quickly determine themselves, and men will have no difficulty in making them beautiful. In such new communal life near to nature—its fields, its farms, its workshops, its cities—we are fain to see far more humanity and sociability than ever before; an infinite helpfulness and sympathy, as between the children of a common mother."

Edward Carpenter has much in common with two of America's greatest sons, Henry D. Thoreau and Walt Whitman. He

shares with both the passionate nature—love, amounting almost to religion; with both he revolts from the cumbrous machinery of a complex civilization. In the same way that Thoreau retired to his hut by Walden, Carpenter spends his days at a farm in a beautiful Yorkshire dale, and here he lives a simple country life, working day by day on the soil and alternating manual with intellectual toil. Occasionally also he lectures throughout England. He has entered into relations of true fellowship with the laboring people around him, who come to him to discuss their daily affairs, their trials and their hopes. Edward Carpenter's personality is delightful. He is small and well-proportioned and his thoughtful face is one of singular beauty, with brown beard and expressive eyes.

"To meet Edward Carpenter," says one of his friends, "or to listen to one of his characteristic lectures on social questions, is to find oneself in touch with a man who is absolutely free from the fetters of conventionality. Here in the human world is that which makes you think of nature—a wave of the sea, an oak on the free hillside; it is nature become intelligent and human, or man become a part of nature and still man! He does not strike one as brilliant, or as learned, or as eloquent, but as something entirely natural and fresh and unconstrained. Some happy secret is his, and life is made beautiful and calm and full of joy therewith."

Perhaps Edward Carpenter told the world his "happy secret" when he wrote the following poem:

"Sweet secret of the open air—
That waits so long, and always there, unheeded.

Something uncaught, so free, so calm, large, confident—
The floating breeze, the far hills and broad sky,
And every little bird and tiny fly or flower
At home in the great whole, nor feeling lost at all or forsaken,
Save man—slight man!

He, Cain-like from the calm eyes of the Angels,
In houses hiding, in huge gas-lighted offices and dens, in ponderous churches,
Beset with darkness, cowers;
And like some hunted criminal torments his brain
For fresh means of escape, continually;
Builds thicker, higher walls, ramparts of stone and gold, piles
flesh and skins of slaughtered beasts,
"Twixt him and that he fears;
Fevers himself with plans, works harder and harder,
And wanders far and farther from the goal.

And still the great World waits by the door as ever,
The great World stretching endlessly on every hand, in deep
 on deep of fathomless content—
Where sing the morning-stars in joy together,
And all things are at home.”

Leonard D. Abbott.

The Congress of Italian Socialists

After two years of struggle against the reactionary policy of the dominant bourgeoisie and its government, in the country and in the Chamber, the Italian Socialists have met in Congress. The facts that have developed since the Congress of Bologna (September, 1897) have brought much trouble into the different organizations of the party, and many new elements, theoretical and practical, have come up for discussion and regulation. Absorbed in the political struggle, the comrades had abandoned, under pressure of circumstances, the tactics of absolute isolation, of no electoral alliance with other parties; they had neglected the economic organization and propaganda; they had substituted for the regular executive elected by the Congress a provisional executive administered by the parliamentary group. It thus became necessary to fill up gaps in the ideas and in the organization of the party. Despite the howls of the ultra-reactionary press, through the good sense of the government, which for once allowed the law to be observed, nearly 200 delegates met here, at Rome, in the "Eldorado" theater, and held discussions through the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th of September.

And first one point should be made clear: In spite of the ardent desire of our opponents to see the Socialist Party weakened and shattered by the division of its members; in spite of the differences of opinion on electoral tactics; in spite of the contrasts in temperament and in political and economic development between the South and the North—the most absolute unity in the principles of Socialism was manifested. In spite of the warmth of the discussions, particularly upon tactics, not a voice was raised to express a single doubt, a single hesitation regarding the theoretic foundations of the party. A wave of sincere and unanimous enthusiasm swept all before it when Comrade Ferri, after stating his views on the tactics of no compromise, said in a fine burst of eloquence that it might happen that his theory be rejected, but that after the vote there would be neither victor nor vanquished, that he would be the first to obey the decisions of the Congress, and that the Italian Socialists would have given once more this superb example of discipline and of unity to the adversaries who are watching us.

And he was beaten, and the hearts beat in unison all the same! With this preface, let us come to the work of the Congress. The finances of the party, however much disturbed by prosecutions or weakened by the economic level of our country, are nevertheless in a healthy state; the weekly press has more than

doubled since 1896 and numbers sixty papers, most of them very active, and putting out average editions of three or four thousand a week. The daily "Avanti" has improved its financial situation to the point of being able to dispense with the contributions of comrades to keep it going. The Congress, after a viva voce vote of approval for the work of the "Avanti" and of confidence in the editor, Bissolati," and in the management, expressed the wish that the paper be enlarged and improved in its telegraphic service as soon as possible; it decided that the paper be kept in Rome, and it authorized the comrades of Turin to change their weekly organ, "Il Grido del Popolo," into a daily as soon as they could, providing the management of the party did not think the "Avanti" would be endangered by diminished sales in Piedmont.

There were two very clear currents of thought in the matter of electoral tactics; one, represented by Ferri, was for a return to absolute isolation in the matter of electoral alliances. "The reaction has been beaten," said Ferri, "and we as a party are not strong enough to dispel the fear of warping our individuality in alliance with other parties. We should, therefore, continue on our way by ourselves and push the propaganda of the class struggle because the best way to defend liberty and to democratize the state is to make intelligent Socialists. Only in cases of necessity, where liberty is in extreme danger, ought we to ally ourselves with the other parties of the extreme left."

"But no," answered Modigliani and Treves, "the reaction is not altogether beaten, it is only professing to do by the application of the law what before it did noisily by arbitrary and evident violence; formerly it had strikers shot, to-day it supplies their places with soldiers detailed to act as harvesters. We must then press on to the democratization of the state, we must reinforce the parties of the extreme left (republican and radical) and to that end we must not shut the door to alliances, but we must leave the local federations free to decide for themselves, under the vigilant supervision of the party, which will correct any evident mistakes, at variance with the party's aim."

This second view prevailed by a majority of thirty-seven. As to the political organization of the party, all agreed that the national council must be abolished, being too costly in traveling expenses and too slow; and that the parliamentary group, as such, must be excluded from the management, because subjected to the control of the party.

* * *

In the case of the small proprietors who, coming as representatives from the North (Piedmont) and from the South (Abruzzes) are represented as being virtually wageworkers un-

der the form of proprietors, the Congress decided: We encourage the comrades from districts of small property holdings to continue their attempts to acquire material, so that a definite decision may be reached in the next Congresses on the question of the co-operatives for production and consumption, insurance and credit applied to agriculture and inspired by the following principles: (1) the co-ordination and development of agricultural production toward its collective organization, (2) preparation of franchises with a view to public use, (3) the moral elevation and political education of the masses of small proprietors into the Socialist consciousness and into resolute action for the improvement of their conditions of existence, (4) a concrete propaganda of collectivist principles.

Later Anna Kulichoff proposed, and the Congress adopted by acclamation, the elaboration on the part of the parliamentary group of a proposed law for the regulation of woman and child labor, with a plan for immediate agitation on the subject among the interested class. And before closing the discussion a resolution was adopted vigorously protesting against the use of the army by the government to replace strikers in the service of employers.

[In August, the grape-gatherers of Molinella at the harvest time, declared a strike, in order to obtain the wages agreed on two years ago between employers and workmen in an explicit schedule. The strikers demanded the election of a permanent commission of workmen and employers for the application of the schedule. The employers demanded soldiers to replace the grape-gatherers. The public authority sent them. The government, on being questioned in parliament, made a pretense of interfering and even of recognizing the sound arguments of the strikers. But while the hearings were prolonged, the soldiers were finishing the vintage, and when the last ripe grape was gathered, orders were given to remove the soldiers. Trickery finished what illegal and partial violence had begun. That is the last exploit of the royal army of Italy!]

As to the action of the socialists in the provincial and municipal governments, it was decided to enter upon these also if in the majority, but never to assume the responsibility of administration or to participate in it if in the minority; to maintain an active agitation for legislative enactments in favor of communal autonomy, and to work for the most necessary reforms to ameliorate the physical condition of the workers, to municipalize public services, etc.

* * * * *

A discussion was held on the temporary emigration of Italian workingmen to foreign countries in search of work. The con-

gress adopted a resolution affirming that the Italian socialist party has determined on a systematic following up of the currents of emigration, to incite the emigrants to enter into the economic organizations of the countries into which they go and to turn their energies into the cause of socialism. The International Bureau will keep up its correspondence with foreign colleagues to facilitate close relations between the local socialist organizations and our sections in foreign countries; the Italian socialists who go abroad are required to register in local sections; a member of the executive of the party is detailed to keep up the communication between the economic movement of the workers in Italy and the emigrants; in the municipal councils the socialists will maintain the institution of municipal bureau of emigration; in the parliament the socialists will demand the abolition of the passport taxes, the establishment of secretaryships for Italian emigrants in the bureaus of labor existing in France, Germany, Switzerland, etc.

The congress unanimously approved the work and the conduct of the parliamentary group during the struggle against the reaction and for liberty, but it censured the deputies De Marini and Borciani for participating in the official public funeral of King Humbert. The deputy De Marini wrote that he did not propose to submit to the judgment of the party, and he withdrew from the socialist parliamentary group. It was time!

Finally, after deciding to hold the next congress two years later, and after saluting the brave laborers of Molinella, the victims of reaction, and those waging the struggle in foreign lands, the congress closed its labors by singing the Hymn of the Toilers, having demonstrated by its action the truth of the refrain:

"If divided, we're but rabble,
Bound in union we are strong."

This congress, held twenty-six months after the rifle volleys of May, one month after the assassination of the king, demonstrated in a practical way to the reactionary classes the expansion of deep and fruitful social energy, which comes from the resistless impulses of present civilization reaching out toward a plane of civilization that is higher.

Alessandro Schiavi, in Le Mouvement Socialiste.

Philosophy of Imperialism

(Continued from October Number)

These two facts, then, of the declining rate of profit from capital, and the advance in the volume of profit which the capitalist class are receiving from their capital, become perfectly intelligible and reconcilable when considered with the further fact that the capitalization of capital is increasing.

Again: Consider the whole of our city and suburban and country real estate in bulk—our warehouses, offices, hotels, residences, mines, farms, etc., etc. The revenues drawn from and based upon the ownership of the same are steadily increasing. At the same time their selling price, capitalization or actual money value, is also increasing. Thus whilst these things of themselves are in actuality a gradually increasing source of profit to their owners, looked at from the point of view of the diminishing rate of interest on this increased capitalization, they seem to be yielding less profit.

Considered in their synthesis, or taken altogether, the foregoing group of three economic facts, tend to firmly establish our contention of the previous parts of this inquiry, viz., that the United States has about attained a point where the profitable home investment of capital is no longer possible. The profit of the capitalist class, instead of being devoted to the development of new enterprises, as heretofore, is now being used to buy up the existent enterprises. It is being used for the purchase, at a constantly increasing valuation, of the industrial and other undertakings now in operation. In other words, the profits of our great capitalists, of our capitalist class par excellence, is beginning to be turned to the expropriation or "freezing out" of the small capitalist. The immense profits of the former are absorbing the moderate capital of the latter. The contemporary profits of our trusts are used, not to build more mills and factories, but to buy up the small concerns outside the big combines, whereby their own mills and factories become more valuable. The first decade of the coming century will practically consummate the absorption of the small trader and independent manufacturer in this manner.

The present is an era of competition between big capital and little capital; between the capitalist class as we are beginning to understand and use the term in the present day, and the capitalist class as the same existed in history up to say a generation ago. The outcome of the struggle must result in a victory

for capital par excellence. The small capitalist will cease to be a capitalist; he will become a working man, a salaried official under the coming great industry, thus taking his place in the ranks of the working class.

The present competition between big capital and little capital, which is now so well under way, must result in the absolute absorption of the latter. This in its turn will eventually mean a phenomenal increase in the prosperity of the big capitalists, or a further addition to the profits of the trustified industries and combinations of various natures.

Now, when this stage of things comes around, what is the country—which will then mean, practically speaking, that fractional part of the community consisting of the trusts or money power—to do. Confined to the United States, after the large capitalists have eliminated the small capitalists, using simply legitimate methods of competition for this purpose, the capitalist class remaining will be compelled to devote their profits to the purchase of their own capital, or the existent means of producing wealth within the United States. In this way, as competition gets up to and only exists among the multi-millionaires, so to speak, the capitalization of the industries of the United States must rise to infinity; to a price absolutely prohibitory of their purchase. The rate of profit obtainable from an investment of capital, the percentage of interest that may be secured from money used in the purchase of the means of production, will consequently sink to zero. It is in this sense that we would be understood as saying that when the capitalist seemingly gets nothing will be the time when he will get all.

If the nation only be given an opportunity to expand, however, instead of the capitalist class using their profits to their own detriment; in place of devoting their surplus from the productions of the working class to competition among themselves, they will be furnished with a lucrative outlet for the same.

Should the reverse of this be the case, however, then under such a national policy of unwisdom, the smaller millionaires must be absorbed by the larger ones, just as the small millionaires are now assimilating the hundred thousand and fifty thousand dollar man. Under expansion, we may for a little while avert the threatened consolidation of big capital and the likely trustification of the trusts, which must otherwise develop into an immediate actuality.

There is consequently nothing more consistent and more logical, than that the capitalist class should so seek to adjust matters that they may, under as convenient auspices as may be possible, send their profits to foreign countries, where they can reinvest them so that they will be a source of further revenue. The intelligent expansionist knows this and has such end in view.

Restricted to our own country, our capitalist class cannot expect to obtain an appreciably greater amount of profit than they are now getting, no matter how they may adjust affairs. The working class of America, although they are the most intelligent and industrious working class in the world to-day or in recorded history, can only produce so much.

Out of the results of their production the capitalist class must necessarily allow the producing class a living wage. The profit of the capitalist is always limited by this physical necessity of the worker. We may keep on adding to the capital, or rather the capitalized value of the capital, of the United States to infinity; but the amount of capital (in the sense of actual things) which the working class can manipulate for the production of either wages or profit, in a finite quantity.

Without expansion the volume of profit which the capitalist class may obtain must tend to become stationary. At any rate, it can never exceed that amount which their working class, driven to the utmost of its capacity under the smallest living wages, can be made to produce. Without expansion, this profit must be used competitively in buying up the existent means of securing profit at home; it must be reinvested in the purchase of existent industrial enterprises at a constantly progressive capitalization. Without expansion, in place of the multiplicity of trusts with which we are now blessed, and whose numbers help in some measure to hold one another in check, the tendency must be to the more rapid consolidation of these trusts than would otherwise be the case. Instead of many trusts we shall have few; but these few will be of great power. And finally, even in our own day perhaps, we may witness the spectacle of one great and powerful leviathan whose unbridled despotism will rule the whole of the United States with a rod of iron.

Now, on the other hand, expansion will avert such a woeful calamity. At any rate it may enable us to say: After us the deluge. For given expansion, and the volume of profit which the capitalist class may obtain will increase. To the amount of profit produced by the American working class will be added the profit produced from the capital supplied to an annexed working class. Our capitalist class will be relieved from the necessity of uselessly expending their profits in competition between themselves in regularly buying up their own capital on a continually rising market for securities. The tendency for the rate of profit to decline in the United States will, for the time, be arrested.

The demand for expansion, then, is essentially a materialistic demand. It involves the question as to whether the revenue of the capitalist class of this country shall remain stationary or

increase. It does not rest, as simple and foolish people may suppose, on such a slender basis as the sentiment of human brotherhood. The benevolent assimilation of oppressed and degraded races, in order that they may feel the stimulus of our refined and humanizing Republican form of government, is not the real motive underlying imperialism at all. To think this argues a state of unsophisticated innocence which is childlike and bland. No! Our new policy is not based on sentiment but on business. To fully grasp this fact is to know that the United States government, which simply means the capitalist class of the United States, will rigorously continue to pursue, on every occasion which can be made available, the course of empire which it has already taken.

Nor is there anything new or wonderful in the clearly defined goal to which the foreign policy of the United States, a country hitherto without a foreign policy, is leading the commonwealth. There are historic instances innumerable of this peculiar recurrence of events in the life of nations. To mention no other country, England went through precisely the same experience over a century ago.

About this time there sprung up in this country a galaxy of inventors, who perfected the steam engine, the spinning jenny and machines for the weaving of yarn and cloth. With the aid of these wonderful appliances the working class of the British Isles were enabled to produce—profit; or an excess of value over what was necessary for their reasonable sustenance. In the early manufacturing days of Lancashire the profits of the master spinners amounted to thousands per cent.

The colonial possessions of the British Empire have formed the principal dumping ground of the profits of the capitalist class of Great Britain. When England became soaked to the point of absorption with capital; in proportion as the working class became supplied with the latest and most approved machines of production, the profits of the British capitalists were transported to her colonial possessions and there invested as capital.

History is again repeating itself. In common with all industrial nations, the United States, the youngest but most powerful among the nations, is beginning to experience the effects of a redundancy of profit and plethora of capital. The failure to find an outlet for the same must spell death to the capitalist class.

In any society there are at bottom two ways, and only two, by which a man may obtain a revenue. The one way is by the exertion of labor; the other way is from the ownership of things.

That part of any man's revenue which is based on his own

personal exertion of hand or brain we call wages of labor. That part of any man's revenue which is based on the ownership of things we call profit of capital.

Since these two revenue forms—wages of labor and profit of capital—constitute the only forms of economic revenue in civilized society, it necessarily follows that, other things being equal, as one of these forms increases in volume the other must decrease; that as the wages of labor go down the profits of capital must go up, or vice versa.

If labor be producing a gross quantum of wealth which we will call two x , and one x is distributed to this factor as a return to its exertion, then one x must be distributed as profit to capital. Should the productiveness of labor from any cause be increased to three x , then provided no greater sum of wealth is distributed in the form of wages than formerly, the profit accruing to capital must rise to two x . And if we could conceive the wages of labor as being forced down to nothing at all, then capital must take everything, or the volume of profit rise to three x .

Now, since the effectiveness of labor for the production of wealth is prodigiously increasing; and since, as we take it, the wages of labor are not increasing, the laborer failing to participate in the results of his increased productivity—it logically follows that profit must be increasing, or that the enhanced results of productive effort are being distributed in this revenue form to the owners of capital.

This is the relation of facts as between the two grand economic forms of revenue in the present time: Wages of labor are decreasing; profit of capital is increasing. The reason why, in spite of increase in productive power, wages of labor tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living, is that the present basis of the ownership of the means of producing wealth tends to absorb as profit all the results of production above the absolute necessities of the laborer.

Meanwhile, as we know, and as we have seen, contemporaneous with the absolute increase of the profit received from the ownership of capital, the interest of money—the common denominator in which the value of all capital is expressed—is declining. But, as we have further seen, capital at the same time constantly tends to be denominated in higher and higher terms of money. This higher denomination, or greater capitalization of capital, and the lower rate of interest thereon, is not only consistent with, but also explanatory of, the concomitant actual increase of profit. The positive increase in the volume of profit, which is so distinctly characteristic of the closing years of the present century in the United States, is but thinly disguised un-

der a diminishing rate of interest calculated on a higher valuation of capital.

The distinction between the working class, a distinct class whose whole revenue is drawn from the exertion of their labor power, and the capitalist class, a distinct class whose revenues are drawn exclusively from the ownership of capital, does not as yet clearly exist in fact.

The great middle stratum of society, or the class of small capitalists, is still a distinct factor in the social hierarchy. This middle class, or small capitalist class, is in a large measure a working class. Their income is a composite revenue made up of both profits of capital and wages of labor. The revenue of this class is based on the exertion of labor as well as on the ownership of capital.

Then again: The pure unadulterated capitalist, or the man of immense wealth, in his individual capacity may likewise be a workingman. This is perhaps nowhere so true as in the United States. But in his capacity of capitalist, the capitalist is never a working man. Even if he materially assists production, that part of his revenue which is based on the ownership of his capital is profit; it is only the residue which is wages.

The capitalist who labors, or, as the economists say, who makes himself useful is paid for this labor and utility independently. Whatever he may do, therefore, in the way of productive exertion, in his condition of capitalist, he is always a non-producer. The capitalist as capitalist is not a workingman. The revenue which he obtains in his capacity of non-producer—that part of his income which springs from the pure right of ownership in his capital—is called, in the language of the street, as also in our own expressive terminology, profit.

The capitalist who seeks to add to his income by working, and who consequently receives wages for his labor, by that act becomes a functionary who is paid twice. He receives both sources of revenue. This is the only difference between an idle capitalist and a laboring capitalist. From the exertion of his labor the capitalist may receive wages; but, at the same time, from his capital he never fails to receive profit. Profit is something that accrues to him in his function of capitalist, or as owner of the means of producing wealth.

Let me be clearly understood here. The revenue of any man must necessarily proceed, I say, from one of two founts—from the ownership of capital or from the exertion of labor. Capitalistic revenue (profit) and labor revenue (wages) practically constitute the only two forms of revenue in society. Apart from such uneconomic modes of obtaining a living as thieving, begging and gambling, the two channels, labor power and capital,

are the only channels by which, so to speak, any man can come into possession of a dollar.

The incomes of actual men may be made up from one or both sources. The same man may, at the same time, be receiving wages, or revenue based on the exercise of faculties which he possesses within himself, and be also steadily in receipt of profit, or revenue based on the ownership of things outside of himself.

We do not exactly designate, therefore, two particular classes of men, two distinct orders of the community, whose income is made up from each particular source exclusively. We do not necessarily associate either of these two particular sources of revenue with the individual.

At the same time, however, we would draw particular attention to this fact: That the tendency of industrial evolution is making for the clearly defined confrontation of society into two such distinct classes. If not ourselves, then our children, will be familiar with a class drawing no revenue but from the exertion of their labor, and another class drawing no revenue but from the ownership of their capital.

As the present time, and to a certain extent, both laborer and capitalist merge into one another by imperceptible gradations. But every day which passes is giving to the terms "capitalist class" and "working class" a definiteness of meaning which the use of such terminology hardly now conveys.

The small capitalist class, that immense body of the community which now adds to their wages by a profit from their limited capital, is a class that is doomed to extinction. Events have already progressed far in that direction. It is no longer necessary to be an economic student, possessed of a thorough grasp of the theory of social evolution, of the materialistic interpretation of history and the class struggle, to realize the perilous situation of the little business man. That his days are numbered is beginning to be a matter of commonplace knowledge. The combination of big capital under the name of the trust is sounding the death knell of the small proprietor. Since the trustification of capital is now under full sway, the final assimilation of the independent manufacturer and small trader into the ranks of the wage earners is a moral certainty which may be relied on to come around, not in a thousand years, but within measurable distance.

Social evolution is fast carrying us to a point where the capitalist will cease to be in any sense a member of the working class. The small capitalist, on the other hand, will be completely transmogrified into a working man. From now on we are destined to have no little capitalist class—that is, no capitalist class as this term was virtually understood up to within

recent years. All capitalists will cease to be working men, and all working men will cease to own any capital.

The coming century will witness the inauguration in the United States of America of just a plain capitalist class and a plain working class. This in itself will help to straighten out the so-called social problem.

The one class will derive the whole of its revenue from the ownership of capital, the necessity of any revenue from the exertion of labor becoming superfluous. Its revenue will be all profit. The other class will receive the whole of its revenue from the exertion of its labor power, and no part of its revenue will be drawn from the ownership of capital. The revenue of this class will be nothing but wages, and the same will be fixed by the former class at a subsistence minimum. It is to this clearly defined confrontation of a pure capitalist class as against a pure working class that the modern world is drifting. And the same will be attained in the United States of America prior to any other country.

As this economic alignment of classes comes around, the alignment of political parties will adjust themselves thereto. Instead of Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Populist and other parties such as we now have, there will simply be two political factions. Whatever their names may be, one of them will be essentially a capitalist party, fighting for the material interests, and for the retention of political sovereignty in the hands of the capitalist class. The other will be a working class or labor party, whose fundamental principle will be the transfer of political power from the capitalist class to their own class. Party lines will be drawn tight. Every man will vote his ticket straight. To the one party will be attracted all the capitalist forces; round the standard of the other will rally every working man who is true to his class.

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Let us anticipate United States history by a few years. We will suppose the course of events to take the direction we have laid down; that the capitalist class proper have succeeded in eradicating those thorns in their side in the shape of the little capitalists; that a clear line of demarcation exists between the capitalist class and the working class; that no man can form any misconception as to which of these two classes he really belongs.

Further, as such a time comes around, the means of production and transportation, must exist in such quantities that the capitalist class can give full employment under the most favorable conditions of production to the working class. At such a stage the means of producing wealth, with which the working

class will produce their subsistence wage and the profit of the capitalist class, will consist of the most perfected tools, machine, and instruments of trade that science up to the time has invented.

In order to reduce the statement of the following demonstration to its simplest terms, let us suppose the United States to be an isolated community, representing the human race, which scattered over the face of the earth is really isolated. In fact, the difference between such a community and the human race being merely a numerical one, the economical results must be absolutely the same in each case.

On this hypothesis, then, we again propose to show the dire distress to which the capitalist class of the United States must be reduced by confining our country to her present territorial limits.

We will assume that the gross revenue of the community is two billion dollars per annum; or that the revenues of the capitalist class and the revenue of the working class are together equal to this sum.

The whole of this gross sum of revenue is produced by the labor of the working class, using, of course, which fact we must not forget, the capital of the capitalist class.

Now let us further assume that of this gross revenue of two billion dollars which the labor of the working class thus produces every year, one billion is appropriated in the form of profit by the capitalist class as the legitimate income accruing to this class by virtue of their ownership of capital, i. e., the land, tools, and all facilities of production. And that one billion, or one-half of what the labor of the working class produces, is distributed to this class as wages, or as their legitimate return for the exertion of producing two billions.

The assumption is that the working class is producing a total revenue of two billion dollars, or a quantity of goods up to the value of this amount yearly, for the production of which the capitalist class allow in the form of wages, one-half of the goods produced, or one billion dollars. This sum will necessarily represent a minimum below which it is not possible for labor to so live as to continue its function of production in the most effective manner. To suppose other than this would be to suppose a lack of business acumen on the part of our capitalist class. So the hypothesis is, that the capitalist class, there being no way by which things may be otherwise regulated, can obtain as profit but one-half of what the working class produce.

If the working class of a country produce two billion dollars worth of goods per annum, and they receive only one billion dollars as wages, the capitalist class retaining the residue as profit, it is clear there can be a home market for little more than

one-half of the goods produced. For the capitalist class, at least the American capitalist class, is not a consuming class; at any rate, our capitalists are only recently learning to consume in any but a small proportion to their profits.

For the sake of simplicity, therefore, disregarding the limited consumption of the capitalist class altogether, the wages of the producer not being sufficient by one-half to purchase what he produces, there must practically be an over-production (or under consumption) of one billion dollars' worth of goods every year. The working class, which class is the consuming class, is mathematically unable to buy, at any time, any more of the goods they produce than their wages amount to.

On the supposition that the United States constitutes a world in itself, the possibility is absent of the capitalist class shipping their profit (or the billion dollars' worth of goods which the working class produce, but which they cannot afford to consume), out of the country and transmuted the same into capital in foreign lands, where the goods will continue to be a source of profit.

One of the results of this limitation might be the periodical return of what we call commercial crises or financial panics. This is the situation. The country is full of goods which cannot be sold; there is absolutely no market for the profit of the capitalist class. One-half of the industries of the country must consequently be closed down. Production must be curtailed until the surplus of goods can be disposed of. When this is done the wheels of commerce and industry will work smoothly once more; or at least until such time as there occurs another glut of production.

Shorn of the attendant intricacies and practical entanglements, this is substantially what occurs when the whole civilized world experiences a commercial jar or shock, which viewed from one standpoint has been caused by an over production of goods, and looked at from another aspect is due to the fact that there has not been enough goods consumed. Prior to such periods of international crises, the working class of the world have been producing too many goods for the capitalist class of the world, which of course their wages cannot buy. Consequently a portion of the working class must cease production until such time as supply and demand, or production and consumption, is made once more to equate. In a little while the same round is gone over again.

The above is one way by which the equilibrium of production and consumption in the United States might be periodically restored, as the same periodically got out of balance. But there is one other alternative to the periodical recurrence of commercial crises of this sort.

Instead of continually having one-half of their capital remain idle, as they must in the above circumstances; and instead of keeping the whole of the working class only half employed, or only half of the working class fully employed, and being under the necessity of allowing the whole of the working class a subsistence the whole of the time, the aim of the capitalist class should be to keep their subject class in full employment all the time.

This latter course would be a practical one were it not for the profit which the working class would thus make for their masters. For in this event the capitalist class would regularly be in receipt of one billion dollars of annual profit. Now unless we are able to expand this profit is useless; it becomes a burden; it could only be used by the capitalists in their own exploitation. This idea has been touched upon before in the course of this investigation; but we are now prepared to give the matter a more detailed examination.

How do we measure the value, that is the selling price or cash worth of capital?

By the amount of profit which it yields capitalized at the current rate of interest.

This is to say that the selling value, or capitalization, of any piece of property at any time, is the amount of the gross revenue which labor produces minus the wages paid for producing the same, multiplied by a term varying with the ruling rate of interest.

Thus a railroad which yields a net profit of one million dollars a year, when interest is three per cent, is worth thirty-three million dollars.

With interest at three per cent all capital, all property which yields its owner a revenue, is worth thirty-three times the amount of the annual profit which it yields; or as we say in regard to landed capital its value is thirty-three years purchase.

The selling price of any piece of capital is primarily determined by the amount of the annual profit which it yields; by the amount of that part of the revenue annually derived therefrom which is based on ownership pure and simple, whether the same be in the form of landed capital, which has been produced irrespective of human agency; or whether in the form of industrial capital—that is in the form of capital proper, the capital of the text books—which has cost labor to produce the same; or whether, which is universally the case; the property yielding the revenue is a composite of these two elements, is immaterial. A piece of capital yielding an annual net profit of \$2,000, all other things being equal, will always sell for twice the amount of another piece of capital yielding only \$1,000. When the rate of interest is three per cent the selling value of two such proper-

ties would be \$66,000 and \$33,000 respectively; which means, that in thirty-three years the purchaser would recover in full the amount originally paid for the property.

Retaining still the hypothesis laid down in the preceding section, let us assume the rate of interest to be three per cent. Now since the annual profit which the capitalist class is receiving from their capital is one billion dollars, the actual worth or capitalized value of their capital will be thirty-three billions.

Now, being unable to invest their profit from this capital outside the United States, and since they cannot invest the same in the United States (the country being supplied with a sufficiency of capital, and the working class incapable of manipulating any more unless we suppose an addition to their dexterity) the capitalist class must necessarily take this profit and reinvest it in existing enterprises by buying up the same at a continually increasing capitalization. In other words, after the big capitalist has absorbed the small capitalist, and provided our country is withheld from an opportunity to expand, the big capitalist will perforce be compelled to undertake the feat of swallowing himself.

Thus, taking any individual member of the capitalist class, when he can no longer get three per cent from the capitalization of his annual profits, he will be willing to accept two per cent. But he will only be able to do this by investing his money in some of the existent undertakings, in order to get control of which he will be under the necessity of offering for the same a greater price than their then worth.

What the capitalist class will do with the profits from their capital then, will be to compete among themselves for the ownership of the existing means of production which are producing this profit, thus continually placing a higher capitalized value on the same. This is a condition of things which we have already shown in a previous portion of our treatise to be now in its incipient stages.

As a result of this competitive rivalry between the members of the capitalist class for the ownership of the means which produce their profit, a quantum of capital yielding an annual return of say \$1,000, and heretofore consequently worth \$33,000 will come to possess a capitalized value of \$50,000. An investment of \$100, in place of yielding as previously \$3 per annum will now only yield \$2. The rate of interest will have declined from three to two per cent.

Whilst the amount of profit necessarily remains the same, and whilst the amount of actual capital remains the same, the rate of interest has spontaneously declined to two per cent and the capitalization of the capital spontaneously risen to fifty

billions. In this way would the equilibrium be constantly maintained.

Again: Competition must continue. The further competition for the ownership of the existent means of production (the volume of which is necessarily limited by the capacity of the working class to use them) may increase the selling price of a quantum of capital representative of a net return of \$1,000 per annum to say \$100,000. In this case the general level of interest would have declined to one per cent, and the capitalized value of the means of production utilized by the community risen to one hundred billions.

It is clear that in this way, if the process meets with no interruption, the capitalization of capital may so increase that the worth of the means of production may rise to infinity. This would be consummated by a gradual decline of the rate of interest from one per cent to nothing at all. Thus:

When interest falls to	The capitalized value of the capital of the community would rise to
$\frac{1}{2}$ Per cent	200 Billions.
$\frac{1}{4}$ Per cent	400
$\frac{1}{8}$ Per cent	800
1-16 Per cent	1,600
1-32 Per cent	3,200
and so on.	

Perhaps the simplest and therefore most graphic description of the outcome to which the unavoidable but suicidal policy of our capitalists must irretrievably carry their class, may be imagined by supposing the United States a vast and pure agricultural nation.

Let the imagination picture the United States as reflecting on a magnificent scale the social conditions which may still be found existing in miniature throughout many of the provincial districts of the old world. Allow us to suppose a practically stationary condition of social, economic and material progress, such as for centuries was characteristic of the greater part of Europe; and that the country, as there and then, is owned in comparatively small parcels by an old time landed aristocracy.

In such a community, land—agricultural land—is actually speaking the only form of capital; and farm rent is the only form of capitalistic revenue. There is no profit save the rent of farming land. The landed aristocracy, whose land is their capital, and whose farm rent is the profit on their capital, constitute the capitalist class at such a stage of human progress; the body of the population, which is engaged in agricultural pursuits sedulously producing their own livelihood plus the said farm rent, constitutes the working class.

Now if such a landed gentry, in place of consuming their rents, as history proves they have managed so to do in one way or another, should become possessed of the diabolical notion (which same idea has so far demented our capitalist class and is fast leading them to the brink of their own destruction) to save their revenues, what is to become of such a gentry? They would very soon dig their own graves by such a foolish procedure.

Should the landed proprietors restrict their sumptuary expenditures to their actual needs, or to a level with those of their tenants, then since their savings could only be invested productively in the purchase of the existing farms, it is clear that the selling value or capitalization of the same must increase.

A piece of land yielding a given revenue net, would not only double or treble in value, but its selling worth would tend to rise to infinity. Since industry and manufacture is something unknown, these landed capitalists in this event must necessarily utilize their rent rolls to compete among themselves for the ownership of their own broad acres. As a consequence the ownership of the land must tend to consolidate into the hands of a few great proprietors; the rate of interest on money fall to nothing and the capitalization of land increase to infinitude.

Bernard de Mandeville was right and his Fable of the Bees may be taken seriously. In the "private vices" of the rich, or the unproductive consumption of their revenues, lies their only salvation. To practice "public benefits," or to attempt to save their revenues, can only consummate their—well the very opposite. Rather than save one penny of his rents, it were better that the proprietor should put a dagger to his heart.

The foregoing is essentially what must occur with the capital and with the capitalist class of a commercial and industrial state whose capitalists instead of spending their profit seek ever to reinvest it.

Up to the present era of the world's history there has more or less been incorporated in the business transactions of mankind a certain modicum of sentiment, kindness, and a feeling of good fellowship and great heartedness. This is but to say that business competition, pure and unalloyed, has never yet existed. Custom and that inertia in human nature which tends to the perpetuation of whatever is, has ever entered as a modifying force against the full effects of a pure competitive regime.

But when the evolution of industry and commerce has reached a certain stage, old time business conventionalities and the barriers of antiquated custom must inevitably be broken down. Having passed through the somewhat sentimental stage, all business transactions must come to be conducted on a plain matter of fact basis of competition. To buy in the cheapest

and to sell in the dearest market must pass from a dead maxim of a few political economists into a living fact dominating all our lives. With the total eradication of sentiment from the business world; as there comes to be recognized but one law, the law of competition, or the right of the strongest, then of the capitalist class the powerful must survive and the weak must perish.

With one important exception, the nations of the world are traveling at snail's pace towards this point in the evolutionary development of their business methods. This exception, of course, is the United States. Here business has in very truth come to mean business. In this country competition recognizes no sentimental limitations; and neither convention nor law exercises any restrictions on the lengths to which great wealth may harass and plunder and rob the small capitalist in the fair field of competition. Continuing on present lines it can be but a little while ere the whole of the capital of this country must become vested under the control of a few industrial oligarchs.

Indeed, so far has this trend of affairs progressed that we have already in this country an extraordinary aggregation of a few great men—a solid great capitalist phalanx—who wittingly or unwittingly are bound to exclusively arrogate to themselves the ownership of all capital, of all means of producing wealth, thus restricting the membership of their class within narrower and narrower limits, and so continuously swelling the membership of the working class with whom they have no community of interest.

This coterie, our men of action and brain in the domain of commerce, industry and finance—men who are doing, not dreaming—are simply fulfilling the dreams of the dreamers. They are assisting to make a reality of the visions of those possessed alone of the grand thaumaturgic power of thought. The true idealist looks upon the combination of the big capitalistic interests as the instrument which is to bring about the embodiment of his ideals. He sees that these men are simply bending the course of history in its right direction. He consequently wishes their labors Godspeed, and since the same is inevitable that they may absorb the little capitalists as quickly and as noiselessly as may be.

The logical outcome of our present competitive system, considered in connection with our present unconditional private ownership of capital, must be to finally abolish competition. The result must inevitably be an absolute refusal, on the part of a few successful surviving members of the capitalistic class, to dispose of their capital or means of production at any price. So long as capital continues to be sold for a price, no matter how extravagantly high, the purchase money will return some

interest, some fractional part of one per cent. It may take a million dollars to buy an annuity of one dollar. But this is the point I wish to bring out, that the competition of the capitalist class among themselves for the ownership of the means of production must eventually raise their capitalization to a point prohibitory of purchase; and so come to carry with them the actual ownership of the working class in a state of villenage. The insatiable desire of the capitalist class to reinvest their profits must result in forcing the price of the means of producing wealth up to a point where their exchange will cease to exist.

To use a figure capital will congeal; it will solidify. The ownership of the means of production will become vested in an hereditary class, when as a result, society will become torpid and retrogression set in.

There must come a point in the natural development of institutions when capital must cease to have a value. It will become so valuable as to be invaluable. The tendency for the capitalization of capital to advance; the inclination for the means of production to rise in price, must set in force a counter tendency to take away their price. In the process of the evolutionary progression on its present lines, capital must inevitably develop into a close monopolistic power which is beyond price. The private ownership of capital, on its present basis, since it is such an invaluable and priceless inheritance, conveying as it does the potentiality of obtaining a revenue to infinity without working for it, must finally result in a tight monopoly of proprietors. The latterday capitalist class as represented by the members of a threatened final and only trust must refuse to sell their inheritance, or any part of the same, under any condition of sale or purchase.

Reduced to its simplest expression, the foregoing is the explanation of the observed tendency at the present time of profits to decline to a minimum, or of the progressive depreciation in the rate of interest.

Capital is not yielding any less profit, any less revenue in return to its ownership, than at any former period. That it yields a smaller percentage of increase, a lower rate of interest, is true. But the smaller ratio of profit more than maintains the volume of profit, since the decreasing rate of interest is constantly calculated on a progressively increasing capitalization. To grasp this fact is to understand how lower interest on capital means a continuous increase in the revenue of the capitalist class.

The development of capitalism in its later stages, and the final logical outcome of the same, as we have traced the process, is of course, inherent in the present economic system. What we have said is not peculiar to any one country. The only

difference in this respect is, that a commercial and manufacturing community, cut off from communication with the rest of the world, must experience the inconveniences arising from the final developments of the present economy, sooner than it otherwise would. But the redundancy of profit, or the final bankruptcy of the capitalist class, is a condition which sooner or later, must overtake the whole world. We cannot conceive the human race as being ever in a position to expand beyond this planet.

In proportion as this condition is internationally attained; that is to say, as in the course of social evolution the universal dominancy of capital over labor becomes perfected; as every workingman is threatened to be placed under bond to a capitalist master, the constitution of society will undergo a radical transformation. As ownership in the means of production develops into an absolute monopoly of a numerically constantly decreasing class; and as all outside this class will stand in a position of subserviency to this superior caste, the present relations of capitalist class and working class will cease to exist.

As to the process of the congelation and consolidation of capital comes to assume important proportions, threatening to envelop society in a shroud of industrial and commercial torpor, forces will spontaneously evolve themselves that will bring about a disintegration of the existing order, and inaugurate a new era of social advance.

When the evils of the present system become sufficiently bad, the same will cure themselves. The perfection of the precipitation of capital into the hands of a few, which is now in progress, will necessarily be followed by radical change. With the absolute rule of the capitalist class will be brought around the absolute rule of the laborers with hand and brain. The dominancy of the working class. When the present cycle has run its course it will be followed by a new; but not until then.

The economic evolution, however, is working itself out so fast in the United States in recent years, that we are not far distant from a turning point in our national development, which will involve an absolute rearrangement of the relations existing between the two old time economic orders—the capitalist class and the working class.

The knowledge of this fact is beginning to dawn on the intelligence of the workers of America. It will not be much longer possible to rouse the electorate on unimportant proposals of change. Faith is beginning to be lost in the idea of compromise with the capitalist; economic nostrums of crack-brained sociologists are losing their force. The working man of America is waiting for something real; something substantial. He already knows that only something heroic will serve him.

He is ceasing to think of patching things up; he is looking forward to having them revolutionized.

The revolutionary demand—i. e. the demand of the laborer for the whole of the produce of his labor—is not, as yet, distinctly voiced in the United States. But its spirit is amongst us. The desire for radical change is engraven on the hearts of the American working class. Tomorrow it will be on their ballots.

What will be the shape that this revolutionary demand will finally assume; how the transition to the new order of things which is certain to be substituted for the old may be ultimately effected; whether the future constitution of society is to be a democratic collectivism, that is the communization of the means of production, which is the object the socialist movement at present puts before itself as an ideal; or whether we are to have a democratic individualism, which is a term I would use to designate a condition of society based on the present private ownership of capital with this difference over now, that the profit accruing from such private ownership will be socialized—a condition of society whose private property ceases to yield a private revenue—are profounder questions than it is possible to discuss in this paper.

But this we may take for certain, that one way or another, that is to say through one of the above only two logical alternatives, the private appropriation of capitalistic revenue or the robbery of the working class by the capitalistic class, must cease.

Our argument is ended. All I have endeavored to make clear in this fragment is this: That from the point of view of the capitalist class expansion or imperialism is a stern necessity; it is something which must be. That from the point of view of the working class expansion is, or rather ought to be, something absolutely devoid of charm; something not worth talking about. Our new foreign policy has no concern, one way or the other, with the material interests of this class. The one thing that alone primarily concerns the present well being and future welfare of the workers of America is the condition of things at home, or the manner in which their exploitation is being aggravated by the rapid but inevitable growth of capitalism in this country. Imperialism is simply a clever device which, whilst furnishing a market in which the capitalist may dispose of the surplus produce of the American worker, is calculated to divert his attention from the consideration of momentous home problems.

The Monthly Rent

"They sheared the lamb twelve times a year,
To get some money to buy some beer;
The lamb thought this was extremely queer.
Poor little snow-white lamb."—*Old Song.*

"God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," said the Deacon.

"I will shut the gate to the field so as to keep him warm," said the Philanthropist.

"If you give me the tags of wool," said the Charity Clipper, "I'll let the poor creature have half."

"The lambs we have always with us," said the Wool-Broker.

"Lambs must always be shorn," said the Business Man, "hand me the shears."

"We should leave him enough wool to make him a coat," said the Profit-Sharer.

"His condition is improving," said the Land-Owner, "for his fleece will be longer next year."

"We should prohibit cutting his flesh when we shear," said the Legislator.

"But I intend," said the Radical, "to stop this shearing."

The others united to throw him out, then they divided the wool.
Bolton Hall.

Some Questions at the Paris Congress

[The following report from Candidate Job Harriman, the Social Democratic candidate for Vice President and delegate to the Paris Congress, arrived after the article on the Congress published elsewhere was already in print. As it covers many new points and brings the readers in personal touch with the Congress, it is given herewith.—Ed.]



HE steps taken by the late International Socialist Congress at Paris will cause it to be remembered as one of the most important of all the congresses yet held. Only those who understand and are in touch with the world-wide socialist movement can fully appreciate the meaning of the steps just taken.

Delegations from many nations, representing powerful organizations, were gathered at this congress, and though the nations from which they came are vexed with conflicting industrial, commercial and political interests, and are oftentimes thereby plunged into war, yet these delegations emerged from this sea of trouble and stood shoulder to shoulder, bound together by the interests of the working class and the single purpose of abolishing the industrial system that oppresses them.

Nothing could be more impressive than this marvelous solidarity of the working class, the greatest power in all the world, especially when this solidarity and power is looked upon as the prophet of liberty, equality and fraternity. No power can resist it nor even divide it, nor yet palsy the hope and the courage that inspires it. No aspiration could be more worthy, no achievement more resplendent with honor and glory. Thus the congress entered upon its work with that intense earnestness only to be found among men of firmest convictions that their cause is just and their victory certain.

Only questions of general policy and of international interest were considered by this congress. There being no difference as to economic principles, it only remained for them to agree upon such tactics as were consistent with their principles and best calculated to maintain harmony in the organizations. Among other important declarations the congress declared for the abolition of the standing army, and against the present prevailing colonial policy under military force; and against a universal strike, at least in the immediate future, and that a universal minimum wage was impracticable at present; and for the international organization of the marine workers with equal pay for the same service; and that socialists should go hand in hand with the Trades Union movement; and against a socialist alliance with bourgeois parties, except in such cases where the

organized party by a majority vote declares to the contrary; and the congress also organized an international bureau, providing for the election of two secretaries from each nation to constitute the board.

Space will only permit a summary of the reasons offered in support of the most important of these declarations. Further reference will only be made to the three declarations last mentioned. First as to the Trades' Union Policy. The reason reference is herein made to the resolution is not because the position taken differs from that of previous congresses, but of its special bearing on the American movement.

The resolution declares that socialists "should go as far as possible hand in hand with the trades unions." It was shown that trades unions and corporations alike are the logical result of the wages system; that unions are the methods of warfare employed by the working class, while corporations are the methods of warfare employed by the capitalist class; that in these respective organizations is to be found the class interest and class struggle in their normal condition under capitalism; that the interest of these two classes was necessarily permanently opposed inasmuch as the working class was necessarily the prey of the capitalist class; that for this reason the trades union furnished the logical organized base of the socialist movement; that their interests as individuals and as unions would cause them to accept our principles and add the ballot to their present weapons, the strike and boycott, in their battle with the capitalist class; that the charge of corruption made against the trades union leaders is not a sufficient reason for fighting the union nor yet for organizing a new union; for since the union was developed by the capitalist system it is apparent that the dishonest leader is only a barnacle which always appears with the concentration of power and whose power for evil can be taken from him only by education of the craft as to their real interests; that the union being an institution developed by the capitalist system it must continue its existence as long as the cause which produces it remains; that the dishonest leader will also appear as long as power is at his disposal, and power will always be at his disposal until the rank and file are educated as to their real interests and how to obtain them. Hence it is apparent that a fight against the union is futile, and the logical and necessary course to take is for all socialists to join and "go hand in hand with their unions" in their economic struggles, using every opportunity to spread the knowledge of socialism not only among the members of the unions, but also among the entire working class.

The question over which the principal battle of the conven-

tion was fought was, "Shall a socialist accept a position in the ministry of a capitalist government?"

It was shown that militant socialism is only a negative of capitalism, and that it is only a negation to the degree that the working class have become fully conscious of their class interests. Being a negation of capitalism all the power that socialists get in any capitalist government must be taken by sheer force of numbers. Hence it is consistent for any socialist to accept any office to which he has been elected by his party, for an office thus taken has been wrenched from the power of the enemy. But the contrary is true in the case of an appointive office. No capitalist government will appoint a socialist in order that the socialist may inaugurate a system, either in part or in whole, which is antagonistic to the capitalist state. Hence the only purpose which a capitalist government could have in appointing a socialist ministry would be to secure the support of the power or party which the socialist represents. If the socialist should accept such an appointment both he and his party would thereby cease to be a negation of the capitalist state and would become an ally. Since it is the power of the socialist movement, and not the individual minister, from which the capitalist government seeks support, it was argued that in all cases it was only a question of using that power to support any capitalist ministry whenever it was possible to preserve rights already secured or to establish new rights, and that by such a method no obligations would be assumed by the socialist movement on account of capitalist misgovernment. To these principles they were all agreed. But it was pointed out that in exceptional cases and at times of great crises circumstances in some countries had arisen where alliances were imperative, and had been made; that while these alliances were dangerous and must be temporary and were not looked upon as the normal beginning of the conquest of power by the working class yet, when such crises arise the question of the alliance should be referred to the party and they should be permitted to act as the majority thought best; that the alliance should be discontinued at the will of the majority, and that all appointees, if any, should relinquish their office at the command of the majority of the party.

It was argued that whenever the majority of a party were convinced that a crisis had arisen which either endangered established rights or made it possible to secure new advantages that they would act as they saw fit, national or international resolutions notwithstanding. And that if the international congress laid down a positive rule, and the majority of the party in any country should decide to act to the contrary, that the minority, encouraged by the decision of the international congress, would

feel justified in withdrawing, and thus produce a split in the local movement.

On the other hand it was argued that if the privilege was granted, even though condemned, that there would always be those in the movement who are greedy for power, and they would seek to split the movement, taking a minority of the new membership with them who could be led to believe that advantages could be gained by a socialist accepting such a position; that this faction would then favor the accepting of such a position. And thus they argued that the very act that was intended to cement the movement would be the rock upon which it would split.

This latter view, however, was considered by the congress as unsound, inasmuch as experience in those countries where temporary alliances had been formed with bourgeois parties in emergencies had developed a contrary tendency.

Hence the Kantsky resolution was adopted which, though it pointed out the danger of a socialist accepting a position in a capitalist government, yet it provided that the majority of the organized party in the country where such crises arise shall be the final arbiter.

It is a notable fact that the vote showed that the delegations from those countries where the movement was powerful and for that reason had been forced into practical affairs, were unanimous for the Kantsky resolution, except France and Italy, which were divided, while the delegates from those countries where the movement was yet small were almost all unanimously against it. This fact shows the lines along which the movement is developing and at the same time puts us on our guard against the dangers that inevitably arise.

This ministerial question formed the main battle-ground of the congress. It was here that the gladiators clenched and struggled with all their power. It was a contest of giants long to be remembered. As they forged their argument with facts and deductions they were greeted with great and prolonged applause, yet with order and decorum. At last after two days of brilliant work when the resolution was adopted, the enthusiasm subsided, and the apparently irreconcilable forces were harmonious, all pledging their support thereto as they moved on to the consideration of the next resolution. Thus one after another of the questions of international interest were taken up.

Of all impressions made by the congress the overpowering one was the tremendous and irresistible solidarity of the movement. Nothing could be more apparent than the fact that the men of each country possessed the same keen interest in the conditions of the working class of other countries as they did in the workers of their own locality,

It was this national and international conception of the interests of the working class that gave birth to the organization of an International Bureau. This, the most important act of the convention, was greeted with applause on its first reading and adopted without discussion. In the old international we had secretaries in the various nations calling for any army. The international was born of a theory and died without power. But it was the prophecy of that which has come, the difference being that the present international is born of a great movement. Behind it stands the great international army of the working class. By this board an international library will be gathered from all nations as well as information as to methods of propaganda employed in the various nations, not only in the political but in the economic organizations as well as in the various co-operative and commercial enterprises constructed by and for the movement. This information will be sent to the various countries on demand and thus the international movement will gradually form into one compact organization, and the small movement in the far away countries will gain strength and courage by this close relationship.

Hitherto we have been conducting an educational propaganda and every convert was only so much more new material gathered together for the final structure. But henceforth we will not be merely gatherers of stones and carriers of water, for this congress, by organizing the international board, laid the cornerstone of the co-operative commonwealth, and hereafter we will add to our former labors that of the architect and the builder. The day is not far distant when the working class will cease to "dream they dwelt in marble halls," but will really move into the gilded palaces fashioned by their own handy-

work.

Job Harriman.

Socialism in Sweden

A tailor named Aug. Palm who had studied Socialism in Germany first introduced its principles into Sweden in 1881. He met with much ridicule, but succeeded, however, in getting a few followers and began publishing a paper, the "Folkviljan" (The People's Will). He was soon forced to give up the paper but kept on agitating and, after a hard struggle, started a Socialist organization which grew rapidly and, in 1883, turned into a trade union movement.

After some internal differences among the leaders a new paper, the "Nya Samfundet" (The New Society) was started and edited by Akerberg and Sharkey, but was issued only a few times.

In the meantime one of the most energetic of the Socialist workers left Stockholm and, going to Malmoe in the southern Arbetet (The Work) and at the part of the country, started the same time Branling became editor of the "Socialdemocraten."

The Socialist trade unions spread all over the country and two more papers were published, "Folkelsröst" (The People's Voice) and "Proletair."

In 1889 the trade unions held their first convention and adopted the German Socialist Program.

The Socialist movement of Sweden is now composed of these trade unions. About this time the Folkelsröst and Proletair discontinued the Socialdemocraten and Arbetet became daily papers. At the second convention in 1891 a debate took place between the Anarchists and Socialists in which the latter of the Marx school were victorious.

In 1892 a new weekly paper, the Ny Tid (New Time) appeared. This circulates through Gottenburg and the western part of Sweden and since 1899 has been a daily.

Three conventions have been held since 1891, the membership during this time increasing from 10,000 to 50,000 paying members.

In a political way the organization has not been able to do anything because it has not yet obtained the suffrage. A property qualification of 800 kr income a year exists and since the producing class are all below this mark they have no political rights.

They have forced, however, some of the storekeepers to vote for the Socialists and have thus succeeded in electing Hjalmar Branling to the Riksdag (Parliament).

The organizations are at present preparing for a general strike to obtain universal suffrage.

Anton Anderson,
Editor Ny Tid.



BOOK REVIEWS



The Poverty of Philosophy, by Karl Marx, with an introduction by Frederick Engels. Translated from the French by H. Quelch. The Twentieth Century Press, London. Cloth 213 pp. 2-6.

It has long been felt that it was to some degree a disgrace to the English-speaking socialists that so few of the classics of socialism have been translated into that language. Only a small fraction of the writings of Marx are as yet accessible save in French or German and many of the criticisms of "Marxism" lose their point when the whole of the works criticised are seen.

This is especially true of the "labor value theory," which has so often been criticised because it did not recognize the complexity of social relations. Here we have Marx criticising Proudhon for this very error and himself discussing nearly every feature he is commonly accused of overlooking. Here as in *Capital*, one is continually impressed with the wealth of knowledge displayed and the tremendous research necessary to the preparation of the work.

The work is a reply to Proudhon's "*La Philosophie de la Misere*," *The Philosophy of Poverty*, and is an exposure and attack upon the Utopian labor exchange idea of that writer. Proudhon had grasped in an indefinite way the underlying idea of labor value and like those other utopians who have in the same indefinite way grasped the idea of the co-operative commonwealth, he sought to make it the basis of a scheme of a system of "labor exchange," by means of which each one would receive what he produced. That this idea still lingers on is seen by the dozens of similar schemes that pop up each year in this country and is an excellent illustration of how error will persist no matter how thoroughly it may be exploded in some quarters.

Marx shows the impossibility of all such schemes in their application as well as the insufficient analysis of social conditions upon which they are based. He also gives the lie by anticipation to those later critics who have within the last few months accused him of having stolen some of the ideas in "*Capital*" from the early English Utopian socialists. In this present work, written in 1846-7, long before *Capital* was begun, he takes up these previous writers and gives long extracts from their works and shows their weaknesses and wherein he differs from them.

The fact is that instead of Marx having robbed them of any glory they deserved, the probability is their names would have been long ago forgotten had he not embalmed them in his works.

Incidentally he gives many new points of view on the socialist philosophy and in the chapter on the "Metaphysics of Political Economy" he explains the relation of the materialistic conception of history to Hegelianism in the most thorough form it has ever been presented in English. There are some portions of this that remind one of the terse powerful language of the Manifesto. The following is especially so good and contains so much of the heart of socialist philosophy that it is worthy of being presented to our readers as a whole.

"The economists have a singular manner of proceeding. There are for them only two kinds of institutions, those of art and those of nature. Feudal institutions are artificial institutions, those of the bourgeoisie are natural institutions. In this they resemble the theologians, who also establish two kinds of religion. Every religion but their own is an invention of men, while their own religion is an emanation from God. In saying that existing conditions—the conditions of bourgeois production—are natural, the economists give it to be understood that these are the relations in which wealth is created and the productive forces are developed conformably to the laws of nature. Thus these relations are themselves natural laws, independent of the influence of time. They are eternal laws which must always govern society. Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any. There has been history, since there have been feudal institutions, and in these feudal institutions were found conditions of production entirely different to those of bourgeois society, which the economists wish to have accepted as being natural and therefore eternal.

"Feudalism also had its proletariat—serfdom, which enclosed all the germs of the bourgeoisie. Feudal production also had two antagonistic elements, which were equally designated by the names of good side and bad side of feudalism, without regard being had to the fact that it is always the evil which finishes by overcoming the good side. It is the bad side that produces the movement which makes history, by constituting the struggle. If at the epoch of the reign of feudalism the economists, enthusiastic over the virtues of chivalry, the delightful harmony between rights and duties, the patriarchal life of the towns, the prosperous state of domestic industry in the country, of the development of industry in the country, of the development of industry organized in corporation, guilds and fellowships, in fine of all which constitutes the beautiful side of feudalism, had proposed to themselves the problem of eliminating all which cast a shadow upon this lovely

picture—serfdom, privilege, anarchy—what would have been the result? All the elements which constituted the struggle would have been annihilated, and the development of the bourgeoisie would have been stifled in the germ. They would have set themselves the absurd problem of eliminating history.

“When the bourgeoisie had overcome it, it was no longer a question of either the good or the bad side of feudalism. The productive forces which were developed by the bourgeoisie under feudalism had not been acquired by the bourgeoisie itself. All the old economic forms, the civil relations corresponding to them, the political state which was the official expression of the old civil society, were all broken down.

“Thus, in order to fairly judge feudal production, it is necessary to consider it as a system of production based on antagonism. It is necessary to show how wealth was produced within this antagonism, how the productive forces were developed at the same time as the antagonism of classes, how one of the classes, the bad side, the inconvenience of society, continued always to grow until the material conditions necessary to its emancipation had arrived at maturity. Is it not sufficient to say that the mode of production, the relations in which the productive forces are developed, are nothing less than eternal laws, but that they correspond to a determined development of men and of their productive forces, and that any change arising in the productive forces of men necessarily effects a change in their conditions of production? As it is above all important not to be deprived of the fruits of civilization, of acquired productive forces, it is necessary to break the traditional forms in which they have been produced. From the moment this happens the revolutionary class becomes conservative.

“The bourgeoisie commences with a proletariat which is itself a remnant of feudal times. In the course of its historical development, the bourgeoisie necessarily develops its antagonistic character, which at its first appearance was found to be more or less disguised, and existed only in a latent state. In proportion as the bourgeoisie develops, it develops in its bosom a new proletariat, a modern proletariat: it develops a struggle between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class, a struggle which, before it is felt, perceived, appreciated, comprehended, avowed and loudly proclaimed by the two sides, only manifests itself previously by partial and momentary conflicts, by subversive acts. On the other hand, if all the members of the modern bourgeoisie have an identity of interest, inasmuch as they form a class opposed by another class, they have also conflicting, antagonistic interests, inasmuch as they find themselves opposed by each other. This opposition of interest flows from the economic conditions of their bourgeois life. From day

to day it becomes more clear that the relations of production in which the bourgeoisie exists have not a single, a simple character, but a double character, a character of duplicity; that in the same relations in which wealth is produced, poverty is produced also; that in the same relations in which there is a development of productive forces, there is a productive force of repression; that these relations produce bourgeois wealth, that is to say the wealth of the bourgeois class, only in continually annihilating the wealth of integral members of that class and in producing an every-growing proletariat.

"The more this antagonistic character comes to light the more the economists, the scientific representatives of bourgeois production, become excited with their own theories, and different schools are formed.

"We have the fatalist economists, who in their theory are as indifferent to what they call the inconveniences of bourgeois production, as the bourgeois themselves are, in actual practice, to the sufferings of the proletarians who assist them to acquire riches. In this fatalist school there are classicists and romanticists. The classicists, like Adam Smith and Ricardo, represent a bourgeoisie which, still struggling with the relics of feudal society, labors only to purify economic relations from the feudal blemishes, to augment the productive forces, and to give to industry and to commerce a fresh scope. The proletariat participating in this struggle, absorbed in this feverish labor, has only passing accidental sufferings to endure, and itself regards them as such. Economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo, who are the historians of this epoch, have no other mission than to demonstrate how wealth is acquired in the relations of bourgeois production, to formulate these relations in categories, in laws, and to demonstrate how far these laws, these categories, are, for the production of wealth, superior to the laws and categories of feudal society. Poverty in their eyes is only the pain which accompanies all child-birth, in nature as well as in industry.

"The romanticists appertain to our epoch, where the bourgeoisie is in direct antagonism to the proletariat; where poverty is engendered in as great abundance as wealth. The economists then pose as satisfied fatalists who, from their lofty position, throw a glance of superb disdain on the active men who manufacture wealth. They copy all the developments given by their predecessors, and the indifference which with those was naïveté becomes for these others mere coquetry.

"Afterwards comes the humanitarian school, which takes to heart the evil side of the existing relations of production. This school seeks, as an acquittal for its conscience, to palliate, however little, existing contrasts; it sincerely deplores the distress of the proletariat, the unrestricted competition between the

bourgeoisie themselves; it advises the workers to be sober and industrious, and to have but few children; it recommends the bourgeoisie to put thoughtful earnestness into the work of production. The whole theory of this school rests upon interminable distinctions between theory and practice, between principles and results, between the idea and the application, between the content and the form, between the essence and the reality, between right and fact, between the good and the evil side.

"The philanthropic school is the humanitarian school perfected. It denies the necessity of antagonism; it would make all men bourgeois; it would realize the theory in so far as it is distinguished from practice and encloses no antagonism. It goes without saying that, in theory, it is easy to make abstraction of the contradictions that are met with each instant in reality. This theory would become then idealized reality. The philanthropists thus wish to conserve the categories which express bourgeois relations, without having the antagonism which is inseparable from these relations. They fancy they are seriously combatting the bourgeois system, and they are more bourgeois than the others.

"As the economists are the scientific representatives of the bourgeois class, so the Socialists and Communists are the theorists of the proletarian class. So long as the proletariat is not sufficiently developed to constitute itself as a class, so long as, in consequence, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not acquired a political character, and while the productive forces are not sufficiently developed in the bosom of the bourgeoisie itself to allow a perception of the material conditions necessary to the emancipation of the proletariat and the formation of a new society, so long these theorists are only utopians who, to obviate the distress of the oppressed classes, improve systems and run after a regenerative science. But as history develops and with it the struggle of the proletariat becomes more clearly defined, they have no longer any need to seek for such a science in their own minds, they have only to give an account of what passes before their eyes and to make of that their medium. So long as they seek science and only make systems, so long as they are at the beginning of the struggle, they see in poverty only poverty, without seeing therein the revolutionary subversive side which will overturn the old society. From that moment science, produced by the historical movement and linking itself thereto in full knowledge of the facts of the case, has ceased to be doctrinaire and has become revolutionary."



EDITORIAL



While we feel that no apologies are necessary for the character of the REVIEW up to the present time, and while we believe ourselves justified in saying that it has been superior to that of any similar publication in the English language—and, indeed, we have received hundreds of letters from all parts of the world-wide socialist movement confirming this statement—still we have had many plans for its improvement, and had intended at an early date to lay those plans before our readers and ask their co-operation in carrying them out. While in this frame of mind and wondering how to formulate these hopes and aspirations in suitable language, a letter was received from Comrade Algernon Lee, editor of "The People," saying just what we wished to say, and more too, and we give it herewith with no further introduction, it being only fair to the writer to say that it was sent as a personal communication with no thought of publication.

Dear Comrade:

I have had it in mind for some little time to make a few suggestions in regard to the REVIEW, and now is as good a time as any.

With the way in which the REVIEW covers the field it has taken I am very well satisfied. My criticism is that the scope of the work, thus far, is not all that could be desired. My idea of a Socialist review is that it should be broad, not (or not only) in the sense of being open for the expression of varying opinions on matters of Socialist theory and policy, but—what seems to me much more important—in the sense of being open for the expression of progressive or revolutionary thought and feeling in other lines as well. There are several reasons why we need a review of this character in America.

The socialist movement is thus far, if not narrow, yet rather shallow. Socialism, being a revolutionary movement, touches every phase of our social life. It has its connections with science, with ethics, with art and literature, with education. Socialists, therefore, should be interested in and informed upon all these matters. Too many of our comrades (I think you will not suspect me of being a reformer or a faddist because I say these things) suppose that all science is shut up within the covers of "Capital," that it settles all questions of ethics to say that morality is the resultant of economic conditions, that they as Socialists have nothing to do with art, literature and education. It is true that Marx made an enormous contribution to the world's scientific thought on economics and history; but there still remain subjects for scientific thought, even within these fields. It is true that morality is a resultant, in the last analysis, of economic relations; but there are today burning ethical questions which demand discussion in the very light of that broad and rather vague generalization. It is true that art and literature are today, on the whole, the possessions of the capitalist class; all the more reason why we should try to cultivate an art

and literature of our own. It is true that the present system of education is dominated by capitalist interests; all the more reason why we should help to make the education of the future. Most Socialists seem not to realize these facts. There is, in my belief, grave danger that the evolution of our society will outrun the Socialist movement, leaving it in doctrinaire isolation from the spirit of the times. We are so much given to repeating formulas, so little inclined or equipped to test and apply them. Therefore, for our own general culture as Socialists, we need a review dealing in an adequate way, from the Socialist standpoint, with the varied elements which make up our complex social life.

Again, there is a great body of nascent revolutionary thought in our present-day American society, wholly disconnected with or even alienated from the Socialist movement, to which it rightly belongs and to which it would lend great strength. My observation is that most college people are very stupid. Yet in every great college in the land, I believe, we could find people, both in the faculty and in the student body, who are cutting loose from their old moorings but who have neither sail to propel them nor rudder to guide. It is only by chance, combined with quite unusual personal keenness and depth, that any of these people ever get into the Socialist movement. Most of them drift, either till they go down in intellectual shipwreck or until they are picked up and towed back to the old dock. Lafargue is quite right in what he says about the present status of the intellectuals. But are we not to blame—partly at least? Or, rather, for blaming is in such matters a foolish proceeding, is it not our interest and duty, seeing these things, to set them right? Can we not do something to show these drifting intellectuals where they belong? I think we can. And I think a Socialist review is exactly the means to do it.

Men come to the same conclusions by different courses. I know good Socialists who became such, not through reading Marx, but through reading Spencer—and thinking. Also I know men who are not Socialists and know nothing about Socialism, who have, nevertheless, the Socialist Weltanschauung, and came to it in some cases through the study of science and the appreciation of art in one form or another, in other cases simply through the experience of daily life. I am convinced that there are very many such people who have only to see the close connection between the position they have, so to say, accidentally reached and that which the Socialists reach logically, to accept the Socialist philosophy and become even active workers in the cause.

The existing magazines give no opening for the expression of revolutionary thought outside of pure science. It is the part of a Socialist review to give such an opening. I believe the review would then interest many readers who now, after a glance at its table of contents, pass it over as merely a political publication.

The Socialist, of all men, should say: "*Homo sum et nihil humani mihi alienum pato.*" The relation of "manual training" to general culture and to the present and future interests of labor, the methods of teaching history, economics, psychology and ethics in our schools and colleges, the relations of the sexes observed in life and as reflected in various social movements and in literature, the different ethical codes of different social classes, the relations of different races living in one society, the internal organization of workingmen's societies and of various capitalist institutions, the modification of legal and political theories in accordance with changing economic or other conditions, the religious tendencies of the present day, the often unconscious expression of changing life-conceptions in contemporary literature—these at once suggest themselves to me as a few of the subjects that can get no fair hearing in our established magazines, that, too often take, in consequence, a faddist form, but that, if adequately treated, would

greatly clarify, broaden, and strengthen the Socialist movement and bring to it many valuable recruits. Fraternally,

A. Lee.

It has always been our idea that the REVIEW should be an organ of the whole broad revolutionary movement that is to-day entering into every department of human life. We hope soon to see the day when the most important of these phases can have their separate departments and editors in the REVIEW. Until this can be attained we wish that the whole magazine may be an expression and a synthesis of these various phases of the one great movement. We shall hope to secure expression of those new tendencies in science, art, literature, education and music, which are known in the world of economics and politics as socialism. The revolutionary movement in medical science that is finding its greatest field in prevention rather than in cure, and meets its greatest obstacle in capitalism, will be discussed. The new tendency in education that has freedom, not compulsion, as its watchword and that is to-day being throttled by industrial slavery, must find a voice. The demand that the "hired hand" shall again become the creating artisan, and that the product shall be a thing of beauty and an expression of the creative instinct of the maker as well as a source of pleasure to the worker, which Morris and Ruskin sought to impress upon the world, and which is ranged in everlasting warfare with the whole competitive system, has many able representatives in America and England and some of these have already agreed to use the REVIEW at an early date as a means of making their contribution to the common fight. The movement in literature that seeks to free the mind from the control of capitalism by substituting a healthy "realism" for the corrupting productions of competition will also be represented as a correlative movement with the great economic revolt to which the name of socialism is commonly narrowed.

Let this not be misunderstood. This does not in any sense mean a "broadening" policy in the sense of compromise with capitalism, but, on the contrary, means simply the bringing up of hitherto divergent forces to concentrate the fire of all on the one point.

If hitherto the columns of the REVIEW have been almost wholly given up to the political-economic movement, it is because, first, we have felt that it was the most important, as the one through which the others must gain their ends; second, because these other fields were so slightly developed that it is difficult to secure contributors capable of presenting them in the light of socialist philosophy; third, because the first numbers of the REVIEW being published in the midst of a presidential campaign, the political side was naturally of paramount interest;

and finally the editor has not yet been in a position to give anything near the time to the editorial work which such a policy would require. But this last defect will soon be remedied and the other reasons are passing away.

If such a policy is to be carried out and is to be the success that it deserves it will require the active co-operation of all the working socialists of this country. If our readers will do their part to increase the circulation of the REVIEW so that it may be placed upon a sound financial basis, all these things will soon follow. The success thus far has been all that could be expected. Our circulation and news-stand sales are increasing at a rapid rate. With a little extra exertion by each present reader all these proposed improvements can be realized in the next few months, and America and the American socialist movement can have a magazine that will lead the world of socialist literature. It is for you, our readers, to decide. What will you do about it?

We wish to here repeat again that the appearance of a signed article in these columns does not in any sense mean that the opinions set forth meet with the editorial sanction. This is especially true of two articles lately published. It is our opinion that there is no such fatalism in social development as is presumed in the article on the Philosophy of Imperialism, neither do we think that the trust problem will be solved in any such way as is implied in the concluding paragraphs of the article in the October number on Trusts and Socialism. Those of our readers who are familiar with German literature will recognize in the first article the tendency of what is known by the German Socialists as the "New Utopianism," which looks to see Socialism come by force of fate, while the second article is an expression of "Bernsteinism." But in our opinion both articles present valuable and interesting phases of the problem discussed, and should pave the way to a better understanding of Socialist philosophy.

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Owing, as we suppose, to the fact of being constantly engaged in active campaign work, Com. M. S. Hayes did not send in the matter for the "World of Labor" department in time for this issue. However his communications will appear promptly henceforth, and if this number is a little hurried we can promise our readers a feast for December. Articles have been promised for this number by Emile Vanderveld of Belgium, Kris Hardie of England (who will discuss the recent elections, at which he became an M. P.), Prof. George D. Herron, Jean Lonjust, and others.

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A Plea for the Unity of American Socialists *

THERE has never come to socialism so plain an opportunity as that now offered by the American political situation. We have reached the psychological moment when socialists may define the issues of life and death for the nation. A united and harmonious socialistic movement may now make clear to all the people the lines of conflict between capitalism and socialism; between despotism and liberty. These lines of conflict may be made so definite that no party of compromise or tinkering can enter the political field. Now is the time of socialist salvation, if we are great enough to respond to the greatness of our opportunity.

Nothing outside of socialism can defeat it; capitalism cannot defeat socialism, any more than it can defeat the law of gravity, or obstruct the progress of the seasons. It lies not in the power of capitalistic governments, or capitalistic laws, or capitalistic standing armies, or capitalistic religions, to withstand the socialist evolution and freedom of society. A united and harmonious socialist movement has the push of all the centuries behind it, and the human future for its own. But socialists themselves, by their want of noble unity and concerted action, may put off the co-operative commonwealth and prolong the suffering of the world's disinherited for a generation, or a century. And only by a factional and divided socialist movement can socialism be defeated.

Let us look at our political situation, that we may see what we have to prepare for. The break-up of the Democratic party, and its reorganization upon strictly capitalistic lines, is inevitable. The party will be captured by what is called the

* Address delivered at mass-meeting of Chicago Socialists, Nov. 18, and stenographically reported for the International Socialist Review.

old-line Democracy, represented by such men as Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Whitney and Mr. Hill. It will become merely an opposition capitalistic party, to alternate with the Republican or constructive capitalistic party in the possession of power. It will then make no sort of difference to capitalists, or to the working class either, whether the Republican or the Democratic party be in control of government; for capitalism will be in possession of both parties. The perpetuity of the capitalistic system depends upon its having two political parties, about equally matched, to play off against each other, and to shuttle-cock the Proletaire between blind issues. American political campaigns have long been a sort of Punch and Judy show; and it has been all one to the working man, whether he was looking at Republican Punch or Democratic Judy. The strings of both parties were in capitalists' hands. As evidence of this, you will only need to read the recent editorials of representative Republican newspapers, expressing most anxious solicitude as to the reorganization and purity of the Democratic party, with wise propositions as to its necessity for the development and protection of our institutions.

Now what will happen as the result of this organization of the Democratic party upon openly capitalistic lines? A very large portion of Democratic voters supported Mr. Bryan, not because they wanted him, but as a political makeshift. He was really wanted by neither the conservative nor the radical Democracy. His negative position made him unacceptable to old-line Democrats, and his want of economic knowledge or definite purpose made him unacceptable to the more radical and discontented Democrats. The capitalistic reorganization of the Democratic party means the breaking away of this large element of radical and discontented Democracy. With it will merge a no inconsiderable element of the Republican party, which voted for Mr. McKinley, not because it wanted him, but because it rightly saw only confusion in turning to Mr. Bryan. The danger of all this reshifting is the possible formation of a radical or new Democratic party, with semi-socialistic propositions and tendencies, to gather up and fuse this untaught and undisciplined American discontent, which probably represents one-third the nation's voters. This new radical party will certainly appear, and possess the situation, unless socialists lay aside all factional differences and enter the national political field with a unity and dignified action that shall win this discontent and discipline it for intelligent and constructive effort on the basis of the international socialists' program. And, mind you, the agents of capitalism will secretly encourage this semi-socialistic party, in order to withstand the appearance of socialism as a definite and organized proposition to the American people.

The present tory degradation of England is chiefly due to the tinkering, or so-called socialistic tendencies, of the liberal party. While English socialists were divided among themselves, the liberal party deluded the people with factory acts, municipal water-works, and the like. It was this English liberalism, under the leadership of that prince of fakirs, Mr. Gladstone, that wrought the present moral and political prostitution of England.

Meanwhile, during our reshifting process, the Republican party will be making steady encroachments upon liberty of speech and of suffrage. In more than one state, legislation has already been proposed that has no other motive than the elimination of the socialist ticket from the official ballot. The courts of injustice and the subsidized public press, as well as an ignorant and hireling pulpit, will be turned against that freedom of agitation and action which socialism needs for its progress.

And international preparations against socialism will increase. Behind the pomp and strut, the lies and treaties, of international diplomacy is the subtle and far-seeing purpose to unite the world-powers against the international socialist revolution. Diplomacy is to-day but the mere shadow cast by the vested interests of the great banking houses. And it is against the dreaded triumph of socialism that these banking houses are organizing the world's diplomacy. Not long ago, Kaiser Wilhelm frankly and brutally declared socialism to be the coming enemy against which the civilized world should arm itself. And he has had a ridiculous picture painted where-with to pamphleteer his warning to Europe. Lord Salisbury has recently said that it is time for the nations to come to a mutual understanding, or else the dregs of civilization would overwhelm it in the near future. Lord Salisbury's dregs of civilization are the Proletaire, no matter how else he may define his meaning. International understanding has already gone far enough to make sure that the menace of socialism in one nation means the co-operation of all the great world-powers against it. We had just as well understand that American socialism will not only have to meet American capitalism, but will have to be prepared to meet all Europe at the same time; for American capitalism will have armed Europe as its allies. For not a throne in Europe would stand a year after the triumph of socialism in America.

Comrades, do we see the greatness of our opportunity? Are we great enough to unitedly take up the responsibility which that opportunity puts upon us? I wish we might feel something of the stupendous and century-reaching consequences of what we may decide in this meeting to-night. Who knows but Chicago socialists may be deciding the fate of the socialist

movement for a generation, not only for America, but for the world? If we strive with each other upon questions of detail, or upon questions of place and power, then the new radical party of which I have been speaking will possess the field, and socialism as a distinct issue will be postponed for a generation. And we will perish in the wilderness because we are not worthy of our opportunity. But if we present a solidly united and harmonious comradeship, with an uncompromising socialist program, then in four years from now we shall have grown strong enough to hold the balance of power in the national political situation. We are able to present this program and harmony, if we will. But, in order to match our opportunity, socialism must pass out of the sectarian stage, out of the stage of mere sectional propaganda, into lines of action that shall win American sympathy, and nobly awaken American labor to that class-consciousness without which we are helpless. We have come to the moment in which a harmonious and disciplined socialist movement may lead the untaught peoples into the co-operative commonwealth.

Unity and harmony of action depend upon the widest liberty of opinion and detail. We make socialism the betrayer of the people who are crying for liberty of life, if we win them to our program only to menace them at every turn by sheer authority, and drive them from one jealous faction to another, each faction claiming authoritative powers. The principle of authority, of the rule of a single dogma or center of authority, belongs to the capitalistic system and not to socialism. Mere authority is a brute principle at best. And it is upon this brute system of authority that the capitalistic system depends. Liberty of thought and action, under the capitalistic system, means loss of position, daily bread, and even life itself. Socialism cannot make progress by the capitalistic principle of authority upon which the church stands; the principle upon which the old political parties and governments stand; the principle upon which capitalistic and ecclesiastical education stands. Sheer authority, brute dogmatism, political bossism, factional strife, have no place among socialists. In so far as we practice these we are traitors one to another, and capitalistic in spirit.

The international socialist program is broad enough for the widest variety of opinion as to detail, and as to the working out of principle. If socialism is to emancipate the world, it must stand for that liberty which the systems and institutions of the past have denied. We must remember that Marx' ideal was that of a perpetually fluid and endlessly growing civilization, in which every element of life may find free and full expression. The elemental meaning of socialism is the liberty of each man to take a free look at life, to see truth for himself, and to speak

his own mind about what he sees, without let or menace from any source. Socialism is under bonds to see that each man makes his full contribution to the common thought and common life. If we are socialists in spirit as well as in name, we shall not only hear one another as comrades, but we shall gladly welcome every comrade into the full expression of thought and feeling, and give due and reverent consideration to even the weakest and most seemingly stupid among us. We must not only not restrain, but we must encourage and sacredly nourish the utmost individuality of life and thought in each comrade. We are true comrades in so far as we convince every man in the ranks, and every toiler in the street or in the mine, that he has an inestimable worth, and that he has an invaluable contribution to make to the human whole. If we have so little faith in the elemental meaning of socialism that we must resort to ecclesiastical and capitalistic tactics in order to gain our ends, then we will fail, and we ought to fail. And the blood of the world's disinherited will be upon our heads and not at the door of capitalism.

The American nation began with eighteenth century ideas of liberty. It began nobly. But by the time the American revolution had reached the constitutional period, it already distrusted the liberty that was its inspiration. The Hamiltonian constitution of the United States was devised as an instrument for preventing the people from governing themselves. It has most perfectly succeeded in that for which it was devised. The ideals of Thomas Jefferson, of whom the Democratic party is grotesquely ignorant, had small place in the crystallization of our institutions. The old American passion for liberty has thus met with sad and baffling disappointments. Only one disappointment in history equals it; and that is, the monstrous perversion of Jesus by Christianity. The nineteenth century has just gone out in a train of disappointments, beaten hopes, broken ideals, betrayed faiths and doubted doubts.

Now socialism comes to our American life as the realization of the liberty that has met with sore disappointment; as the fulfillment of the genius and truth of democracy. Socialism points out the economic basis upon which democracy must stand in order to achieve liberty. It proclaims all liberty to rest back upon economic liberty, and all individuality to be rooted in economic unity. It affirms that there can be no liberty save through association; no true commonwealth save a co-operative commonwealth. It makes clear that democracy in the state is but a tantalism and a fiction, unless it be realized through democracy in production and distribution. It witnesses that liberty, order and progress depend now upon the ownership by the people of the means and sources of production. It offers history as the proof that there can be no indi-

vidual liberty or social harmony in a competitive struggle which makes every man's life a pitched battle with civilization for economic sustenance. It declares that liberty to be a mockery which means merely the survival of the strong and the cunning through the devouring of the weak, or through the devouring of those who are too noble to strike down their brothers.

Socialism must work out, in its propaganda, the needed synthesis between unity of program and individual liberty of thought and action. We must plant ourselves upon a socialistic propaganda that is democratic in spirit, and that shall respond to the cry of the human soul for emancipation. And this does not mean compromise; for it is comradeship and tolerance among ourselves that remove all danger of compromise, or of parleying with the capitalistic enemy.

The rank and file of attached socialists, and several hundred thousand unattached socialists, are asking that we present to them an uncompromising and yet harmonious organization that shall command their moral enthusiasm; their noble support and joyful sacrifices. We must give what these ask of us, or perish as a present-day movement. If we stand for the unity of human interests, we must prove our faith and sincerity by uniting. If we stand for brotherhood, we must act like brothers, and not like the so-called Christians who call one another brother and then proceed to devour one another. If we stand for the co-operative commonwealth, then in God's name let us begin to co-operate among ourselves. Let us give trust, and we shall receive trust. Let us show confidence in one another, and we shall receive confidence. Divided by strife and suspicion, we fail, and are faithless to the world's disinherited who stretch forth to us worn hands of entreaty. United by patience, by good-will and brave comradeship, we shall conquer the world, and make it a fit place for free men and comrades to live in. And the stars themselves cannot fight against us.

As a socialist, I believe I can be true to my comrades only by taking the position that I will let no man under the skies make me his personal enemy. At the same time, I will let no man take from me one jot or tittle of the philosophy and principle upon which socialism bases itself.

Socialists are not asking that old leaders get out of the way; for they recognize the long hardships which these leaders have undergone, and their noble pioneer service in the great cause. The socialist ranks are only asking that their leaders learn to work together and lead harmoniously. For the multitudes who really want socialism cannot bear to have their hopes, and the master-opportunity of socialism, wrecked by factional strifes, which are not only senseless and meaningless, but

wicked. I cannot believe that these strifes will continue. And I do not believe that they represent the real hearts and minds of those who have engaged in them. We have only to witness this meeting to-night, which has impressed me with its moral earnestness more than with anything else. I have not seen a sign nor heard a syllable of strife for advantage in the work of this day; in the committee-room and on the floor I have seen nothing but an honest and earnest desire for the good of socialism. I believe that the deep feeling of responsibility and unity which pervades us at this hour really represents the spirit and future of American socialism. If we here unite in one body and organism of purpose and action, then we shall compel the unity of socialists throughout the United States. And a united and harmonious socialist movement in America means a great new fire of hope kindled upon every socialist altar in Europe.

Socialism needs no religion imposed upon it from without, and the less it has of such the safer will be its course. But it does need to be shot through with that spiritual passion without which, as Hegel says, no great movement ever prevails. And socialism has within itself the germs of that passion; it has the seed of a new religion. Socialism has power to become its own religion. Essentially, socialism is a religion—the religion of life and brotherhood for which the world has long waited. It has in it that purpose which can command the idealistic motive that lies deep in even the most matter of fact man. Hundreds of thousands of young men and women are crying out for some cause in which they can invest their lives; some cause that shall afford them altars of exalted and self-denying service. They see the gods and their temples burning to ashes, and they ask for something that shall take the place of these in supplying the most elemental need of the human soul. Socialism can supply that need. It comes to the common life as the religion of a free and happy earth; the religion of comradeship, and mutual hope and brotherhood. Let socialists be true to the deeper meanings of the class struggle, and they may gather into the service of socialism the great fund of religious purpose and passion which is now heart-sick, unattached and wasted. And this religious passion, quicker than anything else, will waken the working class to the consciousness of its worth and destiny, and of the struggle and solidarity by which the emancipation of life and labor must come.

Let me close with the proposition with which I began: that only a factional and divided socialist movement can defeat socialism. There is no power in capitalism, nor in the universe, that can prevent the consummation of a united and harmonious socialist movement in the co-operative common-

wealth. There has never come to the world of labor, nor to the international socialist movement, nor to the long struggle of man for liberty, an opportunity like unto that which the American political and religious situation now presents. The American people, led by the politicians to continued economic slaughter, are finding themselves in the economic condition of the proletaire, whose soul and body have been so long the grist of the capitalist mill, that he has had no opportunity to become class-conscious, or aspire to better things. Vast intellectual and religious resources are offering themselves to the socialist cause. Now is the opportunity of socialism to gather the disappointed American democracy, and the freely-offered brain and heart of the younger men and women of the educated class, into the service of inspiring and disciplining American labor for the coming struggle and the coming liberty. That opportunity means a responsibility that shall match it. For opportunity never calls a people, or a class, to responsibility without the people or the class being potentially able to respond. The way in which we meet this responsibility and opportunity can be nothing less than a divine judgment upon our lives and upon our cause. The call which comes to Chicago socialists to-night makes this the solemn and stupendous moment of every comrade's life, and ought to make heroes and Titans of us all. If we look our opportunity nobly in the face, and turn from our differences to our task with a spirit that shall melt all strifes and fuse all efforts, then in four years from now we shall find lined up against the capitalist system an invincible army of socialist comrades, filled with the joy of battle and the certainty of victory.

America is the stage on which international socialist revolution may first be dramatized. The curtain is rung up, and we are called upon the stage. In God's name, and in the name of the world's disinherited, let us play our parts nobly and acquit ourselves like men.

Prof. George D. Herron.

Decadence of Personal Property in Europe

THE characteristic types of personal property, instruments of labor for the proprietor, not instruments for the exploitation of labor, which still persist in the present capitalistic societies, are: the peasant proprietor, the artisan, and, to the extent that he retains property in his stock of goods, the small merchant.

The peasant proprietor, utilizing directly his own labor, assisted by the members of his family, reproduces among us, more or less adapted to the modern environment, the isolated domestic economy of the rural community of the middle ages.

The artisan, proprietor of his tools, and himself selling what he produces, is in our present city life the successor of the trade guilds of the communal epoch.

As for the little retailer, the middleman who multiplies to-day in almost all branches of production, we have seen him appear only since the moment when the progress of the division of labor and the extension of the markets has made way for his intervention in exchanges.

It is since 1830, says Degreef, that retail trade and wholesale trade have especially developed. The population active in trade arose in 1846 to the number of 103,696, a figure which by 1856 was to rise to 156,803,—that is to say that the increase of the number of middle-men during that period was more rapid than the growth of population; while the latter increased by less than 1 per cent a year, the number of merchants grew at the annual rate of about 5 per cent.

We see then that the development of capitalism and industrial concentration may have for a counterpart the multiplication of small enterprises in other branches, and notably in commercial pursuits. But we shall have to investigate in what proportion these little enterprises really constitute the personal property of those who exploit them.

I.—THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

It is necessarily in agriculture, the least differentiated of the great industries, that we find oftenest the archaic forms of property and of production. Such are the "commons," belonging to the communes, but appropriated to the individual enjoyment of the inhabitants; the "latifundia," of feudal origin, the domains of the prince which have become domains of the

state, and finally, that most perfect form of personal appropriation, "peasant proprietorship," exploited in direct production by the cultivator, aided by members of his family, and producing almost everything required for the needs of his household.*

It is needless to say that in our countries where capitalistic production predominates, those conditions of life where they persist are already profoundly altered; to find them intact with their purely sexual division of labor, it is necessary to go to the Slavic communities of eastern Europe.

The Bukowinian peasant, says Karl Bucher, usually efficient by himself, when he builds a house does the work of a carpenter, a roofer and other artisans, while his wife busies herself with weaving the partitions, plastering them with clay and stopping the chinks with moss, with beating down the earth which is to serve them for a floor, as well as many other labors of the same kind. From the sowing of textile plants or the care of sheep, up to the completion of his bedding or of his clothing, the peasant of Bukowina produces everything, even his dyes, which he extracts from the plants he cultivates, and his tools, naturally very primitive, which are necessary to him. And in general it is the same with his food. Cultivating laboriously his field of maize, he reduces, with the aid of a hand-mill, the grains into meal, which is his principal food; he constructs for himself the simple tools, dishes and utensils for his house-keeping, or at least there is in the village some self-taught mechanic who can do it. He generally leaves to the Bohemians, who live scattered over the country, only the manufacture of iron.

In this stage of evolution, exchange, money, capital, all the categories which bourgeois economy assumes to be eternal, reduce themselves to nothing,—they can be dispensed with.

But, beginning from the moment when labor is divided, or the acts of production are separated, one after the other, from the domestic economy, to be transferred to social production, peasant proprietorship, where it is not actually suppressed as in certain districts of England, by brutal and bloody confiscations, none the less is radically transformed.

The development of industry, in the cities, does away with domestic industry, the baking of bread, wood-working, the use of the spinning-wheel, hand weaving, for the needs of the family; or at least it specializes them and transforms them into those home industries, miserably paid, which still vegetate in the lofty valleys of mountainous regions and in certain parts of the level country.

The extension of cultivation, necessitated by the increasing

*For precise information regarding peasant proprietorship, see chapter I. of the book by A. Souchan, "La Propriete Paysanne" (Paris, Larose, 1899.)

demand for food products in proportion to the increase of urban and industrial population, carries with it the abolition of common pasturage and woodland, the sale or the division of "commons," and the consequent suppression of the customary rights so precious to peasant proprietors.

"The communal heaths," said in 1847 the deputies from the province of Luxembourg in the Belgian Chamber, "are the most assured possessions of the poorer inhabitants. They make it possible for them to keep some heads of cattle on the common pasturage, furnish them with bedding for the cattle and thatching for their cottages, and moreover, in certain places a supply of firewood which aids them in procuring the bread needed for the subsistence of their families."

Deprived of their "commons"—except in certain regions where uncultivated fields are still numerous—obliged to have money, to buy what the work of the home no longer produced, to pay the ever-increasing government charges, to pay the hired help which replaces their sons, taken from the home by the factory or the army,—the peasant proprietors, reduced to the exclusive function of cultivators, are obliged to produce exchange values, to keep their personal expenses down to the minimum, to eat lard and oleomargarine from America while they sell their butter, their calves, their cattle, their pork, either at the market in the next village or to merchants who too often exploit them and keep them in debt.

Finally, when the development of international relations, the perfecting of means of transport, the invasion of cereals and other products from beyond the sea, expose agriculture to all the fluctuations of the world market, the cultivators find themselves obliged to improve their tillage, to amend their technique, to transform their culture which no longer pays into a culture that is still profitable.

The aspect of the fields is being modified. Wheat loses its ancient preponderance; it is giving place in large measure to market gardens, dairies and the raising of fat cattle. Pasturage is being transformed into artificial meadows. The soil is furrowed with drainage and irrigation ditches.

Meanwhile, for industrialism and agriculture alike there is need of capital, and most of the peasant proprietors have none. So, many of them have been obliged to contract heavy burdens of debt, to pledge their goods, or to give up laboring on their own account and become tenant farmers.

It is this which in great part explains the notable falling off of peasant proprietorship in Belgium since the agricultural crisis, and especially in the interval between the census of 1880 and that of 1895.

In 1880, out of every hundred hectares (247.1 acres) of land under ordinary culture, 66 were worked by tenants as against

34 by owners. In 1895 the proportion worked by owners had declined to 31 as against 69.*

It is also important to note that direct working, peasant proprietorship, retains its importance only in the poorest regions, in the heaths of Campine, the higher marshes of Ardenes, the woodland cantons of the Entre Sambre and Meuse. On the contrary, capitalist proprietorship, the exploitation by tenant farmers, prevails almost without exception in the richest regions, so that a conservative writer, M. de Lavallee Poussin, could say: "The development of peasant proprietorship proceeds in inverse ratio to the selling value of the ground. Where the land is high priced, tenantry is the dominant system; few proprietors cultivate their patrimony themselves and most of the peasants are tenant farmers. The reverse is the case where the land has little value, and the more that value declines the more does direct working tend to become the exclusive system."†

Thus all the causes which tend to increase the value of land, —the increase of population, the growth of cities, the extension of industrial centers, the progress of intensive cultivation,—tend equally to cause a divorce between property and labor, to replace direct working and personal property by indirect working and capitalist property.

"A necessary consequence of private property in land, under a system of capitalist production, is the separation of the cultivator-proprietor into two persons, the proprietor and the farmer (entrepreneur)." —Marx. Now, from the moment when this separation is produced, the exploitation of the laborer begins.

It matters little, from this point of view, whether large or small farming predominates. In districts of capitalist agriculture, in the strict sense of the word, characterized by the distinction between farm proprietors, farm operators and farm laborers, the exploitation of labor is even, as a general rule, less excessive than in the districts of small farming, where the farmer is in reality nothing but a piece-work laborer, reduced to the lowest conditions of existence.

It will suffice us to cite, on this point, the unquestioned tes-

*In Germany, out of 5,276,844 holdings, there are 15.7% rented, 63.6% worked by the owners, and 20.7% partly rented and partly worked direct, but "The proportion of lands rented out by contract to those worked by the proprietor himself seems to be actually increasing." —(Blondel, *Etudes sur les Populations Rurales de l'Allemagne*, Paris: Larose, 1897.) In France, according to the investigation of 1892, out of a total of 5,618,317 holdings, there are 4,190,725 worked directly and 1,427,523 indirectly. The general proportion of cultivation by owners to cultivation by tenants is in the ratio of three to one. In England, according to Schaeffle, there are six times as many holdings worked by tenant farmers as by proprietors. (Kern und Zeitfragen, p. 93. Berlin, 1895.) Thus the proportion of direct working is much larger in Germany and France, where the farmers still include half the population, than in England and Belgium, where the industrial and commercial populations form the great majority.

†"La Propriete Paysanne" (*Revue Sociale Catholique*, Feb., 1898; p. 100.)

timony of Paul Leroy Beaulieu: "The parceling out of estates into very small farms, whether it be in countries with a dense population like Flanders and the 'Terra de Lavoro' (land of labor) in the kingdom of Naples, or in a starving population like Ireland, may be favorable to the proprietors, but it is not without social inconveniences, sometimes also economic disadvantages. The desperate competition of the small farmers forces up rents in normal times to very high figures; the proprietor, thus finding an easy income and one which in prosperous times tends to increase, stops cultivating land himself. In this particular case, the high rents rest upon the distress and the low standard of living of the tenants. It is this that certain English writers have called "competitive land-rents." *

Supposing then, as Sering forces himself to assert, in his critique of Kautsky's recent book,† that the progress of intensive culture generally results in multiplying the small and moderate holdings—a matter we shall discuss later—still would it not result that the exploitation of the agricultural laborers must be less intense and less unjustifiable? And up to this point, the conclusion we have reached is the decadence, more or less rapid, more or less complete, of peasant proprietorship, wherever the capitalist system is developing.

Again, even when they persist and where they escape being mortgaged, the family goods, robbed of their primitive characteristics, deprived of their autonomy, incorporated into the vast organism of production for exchange, are subjected to the sovereignty of grain merchants, millers, sugar manufacturers and other great barons of the agricultural industries.

Moreover, in proportion as population increases, and especially in countries where inheritance is equal—when the "zwei kindersystem" does not come in with its demoralizing consequences—the holdings, always more divided, always more impaired or encumbered by the claims of collateral heirs, become so slender that they no longer suffice to make a living for their proprietors.

The reader may remember the imprecations of the old Clousier, the justice of the peace in Balzac's "Cure de Village," against the title of succession of the civil code,—“that pestle whose perpetual motion distributes the land, individualizes fortunes by taking away their necessary stability, and which, always decomposing and never recomposing, will end by destroying France.” It contributes, at least, in a large measure,

*Leroy Beaulieu: "Traite Theorique et Pratique d'Economie Politique." II., p. 24. (Paris, Guillaumin, 1896.)

†Sering: "Die Agrarfrage und der Sozialismus," pp. 322 et seq.

to destroying peasant proprietorship, whether it be to the profit of capitalist proprietorship or of ownership in petty parcels.*

In the first case, the peasants are replaced by tenant farmers.

In the second, they find themselves obliged to seek other means of livelihood, which are at first incidental, but eventually become their main dependence.†

Some, and it is necessarily a small minority, start on some small commercial pursuit,—they become retailers, tavern-keepers, dealers in cows or poultry or manure.

Others, uprooted from their native soil, abandon to their wives or to their relatives the cultivation of their parcel of ground, and go abroad in the summer to work in the harvest field, or at gathering beet-roots, or at making bricks, or any such work, so when autumn comes they bring back a few hundred francs to live on through the winter. Others again, while they keep a patch of land, which they generally have prepared by the nearest farmer instead of working it with a spade as formerly, themselves become wage-workers, industrial or agricultural.

In Belgium notably, thanks to the closeness of the centers of population and to the institution of "workingmen's trains," which carry them at a rate ten times less than that for ordinary travelers, there are daily more than a hundred thousand country people, among whom are many petty proprietors or sons of proprietors, who go by rail to work in factories or coal mines, and often at surprising distances from their homes.‡

Some time ago, for example, the writer was at Ossche, a peaceful Flemish village northwest of Brussels, some forty miles distant by rail. Observing among the peasants who had gathered in the public square, attracted by the socialists' shouts, some whose faces were scarred by powder-burns, so characteristic of miners, I asked them whether they had formerly worked in the "black country." "We work there yet," they replied. "We go every morning from Ossche to North Brussels, from North Brussels to South Brussels by the belt line, from South Brussels to Charleroy, and we return home every evening by the same route."

According to information furnished by the department of railways, there are in the district of Brussels, and especially in East Flanders, thousands of workingmen who are in practically the same condition: ten hours at work, two hours of

*We should regard it as a remedy worse than the disease to replace equality of shares by any system of inheritance which should favor one of the children at the expense of the others, and which might consolidate the peasant proprietorship in favor of the privileged heir, but only by hastening the proletarianization of the heirs sacrificed.

†According to the industrial census of the German Empire, June 14, 1896, out of each hundred agricultural holdings there are 40.85 which are occupied by people exercising as their main dependence some nonagricultural profession.

‡Vandervelde, "Les Villes Tentaculaires" (*Revue d'Economie Politique*, April, 1890.)

railroad travel going, two hours of railroad travel returning, and often a long walk besides. We may well ask with apprehension what human element can remain in such lives, wholly absorbed in the struggle for bread. And yet in spite of all some of these very men, unconscious types of Prometheus, are carrying back to their homes the spark snatched from socialist altars and are kindling, even in the obscurest country places, the great flame of hope in a better future.

Emile Vandervelde (translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

(Concluded next month.)



Some Ethical Problems



UCH has recently been said about "approaching socialism from the ethical side," and as to whether the changed conditions and relations that would arise from the application of socialist principles would or would not be "moral." A growing class of pseudo-scientific literature refers frequently to the "ethics of industry," and characterizes the relations between individual employers and their workmen as being "unethical." It is offered as a "moral" indictment against present society that it is "wrong" that the working class is not better housed and that it does not receive a larger proportion of the things it produces.

Unfortunately these ethical terms in the general conversation and writings of to-day have been so misused that they have been deprived of almost all definite meaning. When the terms of any science have been thus perverted the serious investigator finds himself confronted with a very dangerous confusion at the outset of his work. Numerous questions confront him. What constitutes a moral system? What is the standard by which an act or relation is judged as moral or immoral? In this article there is not the space to review even briefly the various standards of right and wrong that have been expounded in different systems or the "ends" that have been viewed as constituting the "ultimate good." For a future time likewise must be reserved the proof of what will in this paper be accepted as the "final object" of ethics.

In each and every stage of society the test of the fitness of any system of ethics lies in the proof that it does or does not conform to those conditions which make for the progress of the race. By progress is here meant an increasing control by man over the forces of nature; a greater ability to make them serve his comfort and perform his tasks; in short a growing mastery over his environment. This greater control is equivalent to a higher development of the human race. Up to this test every system of morality has been obliged to come or disappear. I am not here considering the various ideal systems that have arisen in the minds of philosophers, and have been formulated as utopias toward which their authors vainly hoped to elevate society. Neither do I refer to those idealogical creations of the human mind that have sought to analyze, classify and arrange the motives, ends and impulses of human activity, and which have come to be known in philosophy under the various names of intuitional, utilitarian, eudomistic, evolution-

ary, etc. Reference is here had to those codes of ethics actually existing in different stages of social development.

All such systems of morals as pointed out by Spencer, Loria and others are changing both in time and place. There has never yet been a permanent or a universal code of ethics. Like every other social institution they have been a product of the changes in material surroundings, geographical locations and different methods of gaining a livelihood that have marked different ages and peoples. That any system of ethics prevailed at a certain period argued that it was produced by an underlying economic development which at that time was making for human advance. In the earlier stages of barbarism, community of goods was in general accordance with social progress and ordinarily prevailed. Gradually the institution of private property displaced this, and with it came a code of ethics that was suitable in every way to further and support the rights of individual owners of property. The societies first making this change were better able to compete, that is, more fitted to survive, in the new economic environment than those retaining the communal organization belonging to an earlier environment.

Further, as has been frequently pointed out, the practice of killing those captured in battle was regarded as right at a time when tribes which conquered, if they were to retain their conquests, had no other way of disposing of their enemies. But as soon as these nomads settled to agricultural pursuits they found it profitable to utilize their prisoners for cultivating the land, and an ethical system arose under which slavery was "right." In states where the slave passed directly into a wage-earner, the institution of slavery was viewed as "wrong" by public opinion only when modern industry found it more profitable to hire men and women by the day and leave them to shift for themselves at those times when a profit could not be made off their labor, than to house and clothe the slave through the year. Again, as shown by Wundt, the Reformation, which was an outgrowth of the great economic transformation of the time, found the ethics of the Christianity of the day unable to meet the needs of the new conditions, and a fundamental change took place.

Since then every ethical belief is in a state of change, according as the conditions that produce it change, the question arises as to the meaning of the phrase "approaching socialism from the ethical side."

We are able to answer this only by means of an examination of the system of ethics prevailing at the present time. The present code of morality has been directly formed by the great rise of modern industry acting upon earlier ethical prac-

tices and transforming them to meet the new requirements arising from the rights of private property.

One of the best illustrations of this position is seen in the study of early German history. The German barons, fortified in their castles, descended upon companies of travelers or weaker neighbors and committed all sorts of violence and robbery, until they are known in history by their most characteristic trait, as the "robber barons." But an industrial change took place in society. The modern system of trade and industry appeared and the just arising capitalism saw its existence threatened by these barons who fell upon the trains of merchandise. As this trading class grew rapidly stronger and more wealthy, "public opinion," which hitherto in no way condemned these robberies, began to be formed by this new class in its own favor, and the robber barons found themselves compelled to give up their practice because of the economic change which had given rise to new moral beliefs.

Now there will be few to deny that the industrial system of capitalism has meant the advance of society as a whole. Applying any standard of judgment which has ever been applied to social organisms, it cannot be disputed that the whole system of capitalism, based on private property, competition, wage-slavery and the exploitation of the producer, belongs to a higher stage than the system of feudalism which it supplanted. Had the domestic system continued to prevail or had each laborer received the full return of his work from the beginning of capitalist production the present form of compulsory cooperation in production and consequent division of labor probably would not have taken place. Neither have we reason to believe that the perfection of machinery and the growth of great industry would have advanced so rapidly. No one can say what the condition of society would have been had it taken other lines of development. We are not here concerned with conjectures as to how advance might have taken place, either more perfectly or with less suffering to the race. We can only deal with the fact that society has progressed through capitalism to a position far ahead of the seventeenth or eighteenth century; that Thorold Rogers notwithstanding, the laboring population have to-day a greater amount of the things that constitute life. More fundamental still the actual control exercised over material environment is infinitely greater than under any other stage of society ever existing.

Capitalism had a direct function to perform for the advance of society. To-day the question arises, is not this function performed? Will it not prove an injury to social progress if capitalism is longer continued? The socialist answers, Yes. The interests of the class that profit by capitalism are no longer in

accord with social progress, and if further advance is to be made this functionless class must be dispensed with.

To return to the ethical beliefs that have had their origin in capitalism and that in turn were necessary during this period if capitalism was to continue. If capitalism meant advance socially, then the beliefs that, arising from it, reacted upon it and helped to maintain it, were a fit code of morals for the time. As pointed out by Leslie Stephens in his *Science of Ethics*, normally the most efficient society survives, and we may judge from the fact of its survival that it developed the conditions on which its efficiency depended.

In the light of these positions what is then meant by "approaching socialism from the ethical standpoint?" Which ethical standpoint is meant,—that of feudalism, capitalism or socialism? Is it simply meant that the ethics of socialism will be different from and hence not in accord with those of capitalism? If so, this is rather too axiomatic a truth to be worthy of much elaboration. Or is it meant that the ethics of capitalism are violated by that system, as for example, when the principle of private property is violated by competition and exploitation? If so, this again is simply to say, in a very roundabout way, the long recognized fact that capitalism is full of contradictions,—that it is "its own grave-digger."

Again it is often said that the present economic system is not "right" or that it is "immoral," or that some other system would be "better" or more "moral." By this it is usually meant that since men are poorly housed, clothed and fed, therefore a system that would remove these things would be "right." This is not the real justification of socialism, or the reason that it may be spoken of as "right." Back of this lies the fact that socialism will mean the progress of society. If it could be shown that this suffering were necessary, as has been sometimes claimed, to eliminate the unfit and secure social progress, then this would be a proof, according to the position accepted in this article, that socialism is "immoral." This point has been argued out by so many, including Enrico Ferri, that it will not be discussed here and it will be taken for granted that this suffering is not essential to social advance.

That socialism will work for social progress is the test by which it must be judged on the economic side. This is the only test of its "rightness" or "wrongness" on the "moral" side. On this ground we can meet our capitalist opponent.

Capitalism to-day must answer to the charge of clogging the wheels of progress. The class which benefits from its continuance must prove that it is any longer of social service or produces what it receives. The socialist is able to show that it does not do this and that it is this fact that is sapping the social organization, notwithstanding Prof. J. B. Clark's recent elab-

orate attempt in his "Distribution of Wealth" to show that each factor in production at the present time receives but its own.

As a corollary to the above positions the "ethical socialist" frequently speaks of the individual employer as a "robber." But each employer is but a part of the system. No single employer can lessen exploitation and continue to exist. It is the system as a whole that must be judged. The social student who hesitates long over the "morality" of the actions of individual employers is frequently thereby hindered from appreciating the full "wrongness" of the capitalist system. "He cannot see the woods for the trees."

ETHICAL SURVIVALS.

Before touching upon the more purely theoretical part of ethics it would seem well to consider somewhat fully the different elements going to make up any given system of ethics. It is a commonplace to the socialist reader to be told that morality in common with all other social institutions and systems of thought has its foundations in the economic conditions and relations of men in society.

In the early tribal times we find accounts of the killing of the aged and the exposure of female infants. The existence of the tribe depended on maintaining a large number of able warriors, and since the aged and females could not assist in this principal occupation, but only pressed upon the scanty means of subsistence, they were disposed of. When war was no longer the chief means of existence and food became more certain and plentiful this practice died out and became "wrong."

But no given system of morality springs directly from the immediate economic stage in the midst of which it has its being. Each economic system gives rise to certain ethical beliefs and customs which are not completely destroyed by succeeding economic changes unless these latter are wholly antagonistic to their predecessors. These customs and beliefs survive after the conditions from which they arose have passed, and themselves influence new moral acts. Hence each new system is not a thing apart from all previous ones. So that certain ethical practices belonging to a primitive time may still survive and constitute a part of the morality of to-day. In treating of courage, for instance, Leslie Stephens points out that the estimate of that virtue once fixed has survived after the early conditions that produced it have long disappeared.

Present ethics are really composed of those practices arising from present environment and the survivals coming down from earlier economic environments. The use of these two terms, roughly corresponding to the biological terms heredity and environment, does not assume a dualistic philosophy. It is simply a recognition of the existence of the time element in en-

vironment. No system of economic conditions and relations has ever had a clear field upon which to operate. No social stage has ever been *tabula rasa* upon which to write a new system of ethics. Customs and practices, originating in earlier times, become a part of the environment of to-day; persistence of type being only past environment making itself felt in the present.

For clearness sake, it is well here to define what is meant by environment. Not only does this include all existing means of economic production and distribution, but also all legal, political, educational and cultural institutions handed down from previous economic organizations. Since civilization began a most important factor, founded on material differences, has arisen in environment,—divergent social classes.

By survivals is not here meant anything in the sense in which Herbert Spencer speaks of certain tendencies to act in certain directions becoming hereditary, but rather the persistence of ethical beliefs after the economic cause from which they first arose has been removed.

Such for example is the idea of patriotism, the outgrowth of a past age. Starting in the tribal impulse arising from the need of united defense against surrounding foes, it took various forms in the Greek cities and in the Roman Empire; sank almost out of sight during the Middle Ages, to be revived with well nigh wholly new ends and objects during the time of the building up of powerful nations. The state, as the representative of the interests of the newly arising capitalist class, was the point around which all else centered. The constant struggle between capitalist nations demanded large armies and these could be best secured by preaching the virtues of "patriotism." Although the conditions that made patriotism an essential to social progress have long gone, it lingers on, is taught in our schools and praised in our pulpits, for the benefit, as ever, of a ruling class, to whom alone it is advantageous.

No example can be given that will show more clearly the existence of these "survivals" than that of prostitution and illegitimacy. The younger and more beautiful women among the early slaves were forced to become the physical creatures of their masters, who recognized no sacredness of person among their chattels. The lord of the middle ages demanded of his vassals, as his right, the person of their daughters or wives. It has always been the women of a class economically lower that have thus been compelled to submit to this degradation. To-day even a superficial study of prostitution shows the same condition. It is the women of the laboring class who are forced, not because they are less "moral" than the women of other classes, but because of economic pressure, to sell their bodies to the men of the ruling class.

An examination of illegitimacy shows that with few exceptions the mother of such a child is of a poorer economic class than the father. Many men and women who would shrink in horror if one should suggest that their daughter take the place, see nothing wrong in legalizing a house to be filled with daughters of laborers. While here and there capitalist reformers have talked upon the need for an identical standard of morality for the two sexes, no bourgeois "moralist" has yet been bold enough to suggest an equal standard of sexual "morality" for all economic classes.

"Private property" offers a choice illustration of the point under discussion. At one period there was a justification for the individual ownership of property. When each workman took the raw material and made his tools, and then with these tools manufactured cloth or shoes or tilled the ground, each thing that he produced was to a great extent the product of his individual work. To-day this method no longer exists. All things are produced collectively, and still there survives the idea of the "sacredness of private property." It is to-day the corner stone upon which rests the whole superstructure of capitalist society and class rule. Private property for the laborer is but a farce, since the class that preaches most of the virtues of private property is the one that takes from the producing class all that it produces except a scanty subsistence. This fact that "survivals" make up a part of present environment and so help to determine ethical beliefs has been overlooked by those who have thought of environment only in the sense of the immediate present, while on the other hand the great majority of moral teachers have entirely ignored the whole economic basis of morality.

To turn next to the present environment, as thus constituted, we find that one of the principal elements that has entered into it since the beginning of the so-called age of civilization is the economic class distinctions that have arisen from the ownership of private property. As pointed out by Marx and Engels the whole history of civilization has been the history of the rise and fall of classes. The interests of each dominating class while it existed made for social progress. Each class fulfilled its function, became useless and disappeared from power. Further, a most significant fact, different ideals of right and wrong have at all times prevailed for the ruling and subservient classes.

We can trace this in the idea of freedom. Plato early recognized freedom as a right, but to him it meant only the freedom of the ruling class. The slave was necessary in his theory in order that the intellectual class might have leisure. This same term freedom came down to the Middle Ages, but again it applied only to the lords and nobles; for the serf and villain there

was nothing of freedom. So to-day we speak much of free men, and many in the United States pride themselves that they are such. For only an infinitely small part of the race, though, does such a thing exist to-day. Freedom to-day means freedom of opportunity, but to how many of the laboring class or their children is there a remnant of such? Unable to attend the schools, develop their physical manhood or artistic sense, forced to toil merely for subsistence, they are as closely bound by the system in which they live as was the serf or slave.

This double system of ethics is most plainly seen in the history of the rise and fall of classes. One of the main things which has been instrumental in insuring the enslavement of the subservient class, be they slaves, serfs or wage-earners, has been the action of a code of morals formulated in the interest of the ruling class. Under chattel slavery this moral code was enforced largely through fear. This fear took two forms,—fear of a “ruling power” on the one hand and of the master on the other. Later, when the slave changed to the serf, Christianity did valiant service in enforcing a moral code enslaving the worker by preaching its doctrines of humility, affected contempt for worldly goods and lavish promises of rewards after death.

The serf, freed from the land and armed with the new inventions, demanded a still stronger restraint to retain him in wage slavery. The laborer, politically free, was still bound economically. This restraint took on a psychological form,—the laborer’s body was ruled through his mind. The ruling class, controlling press, lecture-room, school and pulpit, was able to form public opinion and infuse into the laboring class those ideas which would insure their continued submissiveness. The mind can but arrange, classify and act upon those things that the senses bring to it. He who controls the sensory channels determines what thoughts the brain shall think. If the capitalist class is able to decide what shall be printed in the press, what shall be taught in the schools and what shall be spoken from the platforms, it is able to a very large degree to decide what the great mass of the people, and especially the laborers, whose minds are more confined than those of the wealthy classes, shall think. That they have used these channels to inculcate lessons teaching principles of interest to the capitalist class no observer can deny. Everywhere they have preached the lesson of frugality, the “virtue” of economy, the “sacredness of private property” and the existence of “equal opportunity to rise” with consequent deification of the “self-made man.”

THE ETHICAL MOTIVE.

We come now finally to the much-disputed question of the part played by ethical motives in deciding upon certain courses

of action. Ethics is not the outgrowth of some particular "moral sense" implanted in men by a Divine power, as a certain school of ethical thought would lead us to believe. We have not in ethics to deal with some indefinite "free" quantity that cannot be reckoned upon. Ethics can become nothing of a science while we admit that the will or impulses of man are not amenable to some laws.

In the field of biology it has been shown that from the lowest organisms to the highest, if any stimulant is applied that affects its nervous system painfully the organism seeks to withdraw from the irritating substance. Those forms of life that responded most quickly survived, and those that did not respond so quickly were soonest destroyed.

This tendency to avoid pain became fixed in the organism and in time we may say it grew to be an hereditary tendency, as only those who avoided pain were left to carry on the species. As pointed out by Rolph in his "Biological Problems," any such tendency is merely a certain inherited pre-disposition acquired during thousands of years, which makes it easier to act in certain directions.

Moved to action by this motive arising from painful or pleasurable feelings, that is by self-interest, man's intellect acts but the part of a discriminating guide. Hence those tribes of men following most closely the principle of self-interest have been the ones best able to cope with and overcome other tribes and accommodate themselves to their environment.

In every case the self-interest of the individual has been merged in that of the tribe, clan, or later the class to which he belonged. Those individuals who recognized that their interests were inseparably bound up with those of their class performed acts that, while serving their own interests, at the same time were in line with the progress of their class. This is the basis of the socialist term "class consciousness." The socialist sees that he can further his own interest only by working for that of his class.

It is here that we meet the fact that society with its present organization of classes has made possible the following of self-interest by but one class. In a recent article in the *Journal of Sociology* by W. W. Willoughby on "The Ethics of the Competitive Process," the author endeavors to show that the interest of the individual need not necessarily be antagonistic to that of society. He criticises the statement of Kidd that in every conceivable state the individual and society must be in antagonism. He points out that with certain adjustments the individual will be able to do the best for himself while furthering social progress. But he does not see that this is unthinkable of all the individuals of society while it remains under class divisions. There has been no antagonism between the

self-interest of the ruling class and society so long as that class was the one which carried on social development. The antagonism has been between the social organization and the self-interest of the subservient class. While a social organization depends on the existence of two classes, one following its self-interest, the other a code of morals serving to maintain it in subservience, there can be no reconciliation of the interests of all the individuals composing society with the interests of the social whole. This is conceivable only in a society of individuals to whom equal economic opportunity is assured.

Again it is here that our conception of self-interest must differ at two essential points from that of Hobbes and other early English writers. Beginning with Locke and extending through Bentham and James Mill, we find the idea of self-interest predominating. But these assumed the infallibility of the individual, when the individual's interests were concerned, and likewise took for granted that every one had an equal opportunity to exercise his self-interest. In no way did they perceive the existence of social classes and the consequent inability of the laboring class to follow its own interests. Their idea of self-interest was individualistic and was based on the principle of free competition.

On the psychological side modern psychical research also leads us to differ with these writers. Their "ego" was confined to the narrow bounds of the person of the individual. Prof. James has given us a definition of the "me" that materially changes the face of the question. According to James, "A man's 'me' is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife, children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works."

With the brute and the lower savages the "self" includes, with some exceptions, the offspring. The gorilla and the human mother seek to protect their young. A dualistic philosophy would speak of this as an example of altruism, or as a separate 'race instinct.' But we see in this no separate motive or instinct. Starting from the basis that the "ego" includes more than the individual, this is also seen to be self-interest. With the wider development of civilization the individual widens and is more intricately bound up with social relations.

Many ethical writers have indicated a belief that society will develop into a condition where a "higher" form of ethics will be possible. Patten speaks of passing from a "pain to a pleasure economy." Loria writes of a "final ethics." J. S. Mill recognized that utilitarianism was unworkable in present society, but laid all his emphasis upon the possibility of intellectual advance, none upon economic changes. Spencer and Ward describe "absolute ethics" in distinction from present "relative

ethics," and speak of present ethics as being "pathological." As society develops into higher forms its ethics will in that sense become "higher." But I would hesitate to speak of them as at any time "final" or absolute," or to describe them at any period as "pathological."

Without passing wholly into the field of conjecture we can, from the principles on which socialism rests, draw conclusions as to some of its probable effects upon "ethical beliefs." The socialist philosophy emphasizes the certainty of the abolition of class distinctions founded on material differences and presupposes a society of economic equals. In every stage of society since the establishment of the institution of private property there have existed two codes of ethics. The ruling class has followed as a motive its self-interest, restrained only by the fear of rebellion on the part of the class of slaves, serfs or wage-earners. The subservient class, on the other hand, has been lulled into acquiescence in its enslavement through the persistent inculcation of the "virtues" of self-sacrifice, humility, reverence, docility, frugality and patriotism. The abolition under socialism of these warring class interests would necessarily carry with it the abolition of these contradictory codes of ethics.

In a socialist society, where all are equally able to exercise their self-interest, it will be asked what safeguard is there that each individual will not follow this to the detriment of himself and society? In the first place there will be the power on the part of those injured to retaliate, a power of which the laboring class in our present society is deprived. Further, the individual who follows this motive in ways detrimental to himself or society will be the first to be extinguished in the race. Selection, here as elsewhere, will weed out the harmful and "morally weak," for the "morally weak" will be composed of those who thus retard social progress.

The ancient problem of philosophers, the reconciliation of the individual and the race, ever discussed and never answered, because of their blindness to the fact of class antagonisms, will at last be solved by the abolition of these antagonisms in the co-operative commonwealth.

May Wood Simons.

How Much Work Is Necessary?

LABOR COST OF PRODUCTION.



THE statistical work embodied in the XIIIth Annual Report of the United States Department of Labor* has, so far, been treated in a wholly non-critical manner and largely through mere quotations such as were given in the daily papers.* Besides, only one of its features was considered,—that of the opportunity it offered for a comparison between different stages of the productive efficiency of labor. That is, the productivity of the highly developed methods of to-day was compared with the primitive methods of a previous industrial stage. While any thorough treatment of the subject matter of the report would demand a discussion of this comparative phase, yet the very source from which the information is secured could not fail but throw doubts upon the conclusions, and so this discussion will be confined to other phases of the subject.

In taking this position, that portion of the work is neglected which was the sole object of the inquiry by the department. As is known, this inquiry was called forth by a joint resolution of Congress under the provisions of which “the Commissioner of Labor was directed to investigate and make report upon the effect of the use of machinery upon labor and the cost of production, the relative productive power of hand and machine labor, the cost of manual and machine power as they are used in the productive industries, and the effect upon wages of the use of machinery operated by women and children; and further, whether changes in the creative cost of products are due to a lack or to a surplus of labor or to the introduction of power machinery.”

The department itself expressly admits that the results of the inquiry do not bear upon all the points specified in the resolution of Congress. In fact it does not touch the two last-mentioned requirements. In explaining this omission, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in a rather diplomatically hoodwinking way, offers the following information:

“Wages have never been steady; during periods of depression there is usually a decrease, not only in rates but in earnings. This phase of the subject therefore (?) involves too

*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1898. Hand and Machine Labor. 3 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1899. To receive copy gratis apply to the Commissioner, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., U. S. of America.

much speculation for a thoroughly statistical presentation; the statistical method can be used for or against the use of machinery because of its effect on wages." (Preface, p. 5.)

Yes, the statistical method can be used or misused for any given purpose, and in the case under consideration it is somewhat difficult not to find a misuse definitely suggested in the prefatory remarks just a few lines after the above cited passage. Here the Commissioner says:

"It is evident from an examination of the statistics presented in this report, and especially from a study of the text analysis, that there has been a larger increase in the number of persons required for the production of the articles considered, in order to meet present demands, than would have been necessary to meet the limited demands under the hand-labor system."

Now, what is there behind the wood-pile of this phraseology? Certainly, no statistics are needed to prove that a larger number of persons is required to meet the increased demands of our time than has been necessary to meet the limited demands of past decades. But, does Mr. Wright mean to assert that the increase of persons employed in the production of the articles in question was *relatively* larger than the increase in the demand for those things? Of course, this is not what the Commissioner wants to say; nor is there any evidence to this effect in the statistics and analysis published by him.

It is natural with the system of modern or capitalist production and especially with the method of division and sub-division of labor, that in a factory hundreds or thousands of workers are employed in making certain articles with machine power where formerly a dozen or a smaller number of men were making similar articles by hand. The whole problem concerning the influence of machinery upon the condition of the laborer hinges on a question to which the report before us has no answer at all. That question is, does the increase in the demand for the products of labor keep pace with the increase in the number of laborers displaced by the introduction of new machinery? It would take the space of a separate paper to establish the actual impossibility of this equalization, which is with many writers a much-favored lullaby for discontented adult children of the wage-working class. Moreover, in entering into an examination of the comparisons made by the department with respect to the labor cost under different industrial methods, we meet statements of alleged facts that in a startling manner challenge contradiction, but would require for an effectually conclusive and convincing refutation an effort of no lesser magnitude than that of a counter-inquiry about the elementary facts from which the results claimed by the department have been derived.

Fortunately the usefulness of this publication of the Depart-

ment of Labor is not limited to the comparisons made therein between different periods or methods in the industrial development. There is much other material of value in it. Taking the work in its entirety we believe it is a product of diligent and careful labor, and of skillful labor, too, although it may be true that the subject requires a good deal of insight into the exceedingly complicated nature of the capitalist system of production, far more perhaps than was at the disposal of the Department. However that may be, in the two volumes before us we are offered an opportunity for an inquiry of our own. To this end we have to confine ourselves to the use of those statements, given in the report, that refer to the labor cost under the *machine* methods alone, taking these item by item, and assuming that, in consequence of the ultra-capitalistic character of our government, of which the Department of Labor is a branch, all the possible errors contained in the figures tend in one direction only, that is, in that of magnifying the wage account in the cost of production. With this general warning stated in advance, and with proper objections reserved for special cases, we will now submit some of the official figures to an extended calculation with a view of eliciting the ratio of the elements of time and money in the cost of labor. Whatever results we may attain will serve as a contribution to the solution of a very interesting problem of the theory as well as a help in the practical agitation of socialism. It will contribute some items for the construction of the proper answer to a question that may be formulated in these terms:

Proceeding from the present state of mechanical productive power, how much time of daily labor would be needed under socialism to create all the means of a comfortable standard of life, wholesome recreation and the highest possible culture for all the members of the commonwealth?

Here, the reader will notice, we approach a subject that, under the hands of the well-known Austrian reformer, Dr. Hertzka, yielded a result as summarized in the proposition that about two and one-half hours of daily work devoted to, and performed according to the directions of, the commonwealth would be all that is necessary to produce wealth in abundance for everybody. The result of Dr. Hertzka's work may, with or without cause, have been viewed with suspicion among socialists as being made up of mere hallucinations, or a result of rainbow chasing. It is different with our undertaking in that, we now are going to use for a similar calculation the results of an inquiry made under the auspices of a capitalist government. Our sources of fundamental information in this respect are simply unimpeachable; they stand far above any suspicion of a socialist tendency.

And now, having such an unobjectionable witness on hand, let us see what we can draw out of him.

LABOR COST IN AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES.

On a separate page of this issue the reader will find a statistical table giving the first of the results we have obtained in our inquiry upon the question under consideration. Some explanations may not be out of place before we enter into comments upon the subject matter itself.

From the Thirteenth Report of the Commissioner of Labor as stated above, only that part is here considered wherein the creative power of labor employed under the modern method of production is represented by itemized statements. In other words, it is the "machine method" (to use this term for brevity's sake) that chiefly engages our attention, while the results concerning the older or "hand" labor method will be touched only in some incidental remarks, wherever such appears desirable for rendering the discussion more intelligible and fruitful.

In this discussion it is of principal importance to agree upon the meaning of the term "labor cost." Taken in the sense of the Marxian school of scientific political economy, the conception of labor includes all socially useful exertion, directly or indirectly applied to the end of wealth production; and cost of labor is the name accepted for the aggregate amount of wages (or salaries) paid for the total of labor that was employed in the accomplishment of a given amount of work at a special stage of the working process. This item of expenditure is to be understood as a component part of what we call the cost of production, the latter term including some more elements, such as the cost of raw materials, the charge for depreciation of buildings, tools, machinery, etc., and the cost of auxiliary materials necessary for the attainment of the industrial result in question.

It must now be noted that in this paper the term, labor cost, will be used in two different meanings, and wherever distinction is required to avoid misapprehension, proper qualification will be made.

If we use the term *without* applying any qualification, it refers to labor cost as described in the above general definition. In this sense the labor cost of wheat bread is the total amount of wages paid for a given quantity of the article on that special stage of the working process that is represented by the bakery establishment. The labor in question is here essentially confined to the transformation of flour into bread, and the labor employed on earlier stages of the working process, as in the flour mill and on the wheat farm, is not included in the consid-

eration. In this instance it is the *specific* labor cost of wheat bread to which reference is had. However, there will be other cases where we are to consider the grand total of wages paid for the labor that was employed in the creation of a given article on all the different stages through which the original raw material has passed in the working process. Wherever this is the case, all the items of specific cost in these different stages must be included in the computation, and the sum total resulting from such addition is in our terminology the *aggregate* labor cost. Thus, if we wish to determine the aggregate labor cost of one pound of wheat bread, a proportional part of the specific labor cost of both, flour and wheat, must also be considered and reckoned up with the specific labor cost of bread.

The whole problem of these computations is a great deal easier and simpler with respect to exclusively agricultural products where, with the exception of seed grain, no raw material enters into production.

The department, in the introduction to its report, states "that none of the administrative or clerical forces of establishments are covered by these unit presentations," and further says, "what has been aimed at has been to secure the required facts about the actual making of an article and to neglect entirely officials managing the business and clerks attending to the accounts." This, in our opinion, is not quite in conformity with the requirements of a scientific treatment of the subject. A certain proportion of the labor performed by directors or managers and superintendents, also book-keepers and clerks, is necessary for purely regulating and administrative work and is on principle admissible for recognition as a component part of the labor cost. On the other hand, we must also recognize that the principle just indicated will debar from the necessity of consideration the lion's share of the eight minutes' daily work performed by corporation presidents and other highly salaried officials, that is, all of it that is applied merely to efforts of throat cutting and wage cutting in the competitive and class war of our time,—advertising of their goods, bribing legislators, and all other specifically capitalistic wasting and spoliating occupations. Rejecting all such work, which is for society neither useful nor necessary, the remainder, if there is something left properly chargeable to the account of labor cost, will cut but an infinitesimally small figure.

We now come to another point regarding the range of meaning covered by the term, labor cost, and there the position taken by the department seems to us perfectly right. To use the language of the report (introduction, page 19), this includes "foremen and others who do not devote themselves exclusively to the production of the unit under consideration.

but who, at the same time, are in charge of other branches of work, producing other units or articles, and engineers and firemen furnishing power not only for the making of the unit under consideration, but also for the manufacture, perhaps of many units." These foremen and others, the department says, "have received special attention, and in each case the greatest effort has been made to determine exactly the amount of time and labor cost chargeable to them in the production of the particular unit about which the department was making inquiry."

In the department's report as well as in our extended computations and comments, the factor of labor cost is regarded under two aspects, namely, as expressed in money and in time. Indeed, the drawing of comparisons between the money side and the time side of this economic factor, the cost of labor necessary for the production of wealth is the aim and end of the work before the reader.

It need hardly be said that the department carefully refrained from touching the comparative feature just indicated.

From the domain of agriculture the department has selected twenty-seven articles to serve as units for its inquiry. Among these there are some that in name, description and quantity appear as if being identical with another unit, while in fact we have there different items. In order to facilitate for the reader the survey of the tabulated matter, this duplication is discarded wherever it can be done without injuring the value of the results.

From the two corn units of the department, 8 and 9, the former can be omitted, as it includes the operation of cutting into fodder the stalks, husks and blades, this being an operation which does not properly belong to the production of corn for the market, but should rather be regarded as a means accessory to the raising of cattle or to other branches of animal production. A similar consideration recommends the setting aside of the second of the two hay units, 12, wherein the operation of baling the hay is not taken in, although such is in general required for making the product a marketable commodity. The duplicated units for apple trees, 1 and 2; carrots, 6 and 7, and wheat, 26 and 27, have been disposed of by averaging the parallel figures in each of the three cases, and therefore they appear in our table as single units.

HOW MANY MINUTES FOR ONE CENT?

Looking at the table presented in this paper, the reader will observe that one line is devoted to each item of this tale in figures; furthermore that each item refers to one of the articles selected by the Department from the field of agriculture and is taken to constitute, by a given quantity, that which is

The Labor Cost in Money and in Time
AGRICULTURE.

TWENTY-TWO OUT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR'S TWENTY-SEVEN UNITS CONSIDERED AND USED FOR AN EXTENDED INQUIRY BY THE AUTHOR.

UNIT	THE DEPARTMENT'S FIGURES.				THE AUTHOR'S REDUCED FIGURES.				UNIT	
	NAME	QUANTITY	LABOR COST.		Quantity	LABOR COST.		Ratio of Time in Money and Money in Time.		
			IN TIME			IN MONEY				
			Hrs	Mins.		\$	Cents			1 cent Minutes	1 Min. Cents
SMALL GRAINS										
8	Barley.....	30 bush.	42.8		1 bush.	5.4965	0	2.0066	2.7045	0.8668
13	Oats.....	40 bush.	5.8	\$ 0.6080	1 bush.	10.6450	0	2.0830	3.0830	0.8281
17	Rice.....	2640 lbs.	3 5	1.0732	1 bush.	0	0.3873	0	0.0381	0.0381
18	Wheat.....	20 bush.	10 2	2.4948	1 bush.	0	0.0400	0	10.0169	1.7673
20 &	Eye.....	20 bush.	19 2	0.6016	1 bush.	0	9.4850	0	3.4463	0.8658
27	Wheat.....	20 bush.	58.3	0.7180	1 bush.	0	40.5166	0	6.1119	0.1513
ROOT CROPS										
4	Beets (a).....	300 bush.	35.0	18.8698	1 bush.	0	15.8838	0	82.6940	5.9011
6 &	Carrots (b).....	30 tons	28.0	23.1687	1 ton	8	53.6154	0	8.9811	0.0027
7	Carrots (b).....	30 tons	3.0	23.5567	1 bush.	0	41.8267	0	6.1220	0.1668
14	Onions.....	250 bush.	22.6	21.4363	1 bush.	0	5.0054	0	1.2727	0.7452
25	Turnips.....	350 bush.	50.0		1 bush.	0	28.1000	21	10.9400	0.9088
MISCELLANEOUS										
1 &	Apple Trees (c).....	10000	4.0	143.9100	1	0	92.6650	0	3.7825	0.0000
2	Apple Trees (c).....	10000	24.0	111.6384	1 ton	168	7.8200	0	28.5400	0.1666
5	Broom Corn.....	1 ton	20.0	1.5190	1 bush.	0	16.9000	1	5.7601	0.1480
9	Corn, Yellow.....	40 bush.	7.8	1.5190	1 bush.	0	9.7698	0	7.1707	0.9999
10	Cotton, Seed.....	1000 lbs.	42.0	7.9700	1 ton	15	84.6500	0	3.3564	0.2906
11	Hay, Timothy, Baled.....	1 ton	34.0	1.2894	1 bush.	2	10.1278	0	2.4184	0.0985
15	Peas, Field.....	30 bush.	45	4.7684	1 quart	1	9.7898	0	3.5956	0.1087
16	Potatoes.....	220 bush.	88.0	3.8000	1 bush.	1	34.6500	0	3.4184	0.1487
21	Sweet Potatoes.....	105 bush.	7.0	3.6462	1 bush.	1	16.9284	0	1.1744	0.1666
21	Sweet Potatoes.....	4000 qts.	7.0	93.4253	1 bush.	0	53.9466	0	8.2696	0.1531
19	Strawberries.....	20 tons	21.2	11.3189	1 ton	9	10.1588	0	7.0091	0.1487
20	Sugarcane.....	20 tons	88.0	80.2344	1 pound	0	10.1164	0	6.0418	0.1666
23	Tobacco, Leaf.....	1250 lbs.	10.5	25.1190	1 bush.	0	10.1164	0	8.2696	0.1531
23	Tobacco, Sp. s. 1. (d).....	1500 lbs.	54.6	12.3894	1 bush.	0	53.9466	0	8.2696	0.1531
24	Tomatoes.....	150 bush.	52.5		1 bush.	0	53.9466	0	8.2696	0.1531

(a) Blood turnip beets. (b) Long orange carrots. (c) Apple trees, 38 months, from grafts. (d) Tobacco, Spanish, seed leaf.

here called a unit. We have there, for instance, the unit 3, for barley, 30 bushels (1 acre); again, the unit 17, for rice, 2,640 pounds, and the unit 19, for strawberries, 4,000 quarts. Now, these unit quantities as adopted by the Department may be well taken, if considered only from the commercial standpoint. It is different for the wage-earning producer and proletarian consumer. To let him know what the labor cost is in one bushel of barley, or in one pound of rice, or one quart of strawberries means not only to bring the whole matter nearer home to him for a practical understanding, but comparisons between the different labor cost items are facilitated by such reduction of the quantity.

We may now be interested to learn how much labor cost there is contained in one bushel of barley, one pound of rice, and other items of daily use. The department's table informs us that there is a labor cost equal to 2 hours 42.8 minutes time, or \$0.6020 money represented in 30 bushels of barley, and that 17 hours 2.5 minutes time or \$1.0071 money are likewise expended in the production of 2,640 pounds of rice. Alongside with this information derived from our official source we give our reduced figures telling the reader that in 1 pound of rice the labor cost amounts to 0.3873 minutes or 0.0381 cents. Having once reached this stage in our presentation, it is almost a matter of course for us that we now would like to know how many minutes the laborers in this special branch of industry are made to work for 1 cent.

How many minutes for 1 cent? Information contributed by ourselves answers this question.

The answer is, 10.1653 minutes.

To one cent 10 and about one-sixth of a minute, this is the ratio of the specific labor cost in time to that in money on the rice plantation.

In the series of our own ratio presentations there occurs one case where the statement challenges objection. This refers to unit 18, rye. Here the ratio of time to money presents itself in such strikingly low a figure as 0.5689 minutes to one cent. If there is a fault, and it is pretty sure there is one, it is not ours. The error must lie in some of the fundamental figures that we had to use in our computation, and however sorry we may be for it, we cannot, in this instance, go behind the records. The figures of only about half a minute to one cent, if taken as the ratio of time to money in this case, would imply an assertion not less astounding than this, that the wages paid in the production of rye are so high as 1.7578 cents for a minute's work, which is equivalent to \$1.05 for one hour, or over \$12 per work day of twelve hours. Certainly, there must be something wrong, either in the original information received by the department or in its computations, and we

must decline to accept the results obtained in this case. Therefore the ratio figures regarding the rye unit, although inserted in our table, have been eliminated in the process of taking the average of the ratio column.

Exactly six, or only a fraction of a minute less or more, is the ratio for the following ten items: Unit 15, peas, 5.7601 minutes; units 6 and 7, carrots, 5.9911 minutes; unit 16, potatoes, 5.9999; unit 9, corn, 6.0 minutes; unit 10, seed cotton, 6.0; unit 14, onions, 6.0027; unit 23, Spanish leaf tobacco, 6.0418; unit 24, tomatoes, 6.5313 minutes; unit 4, beets, 6.6119; unit 25, turnips, 6.7432 minutes to 1 cent.

Seven or more minutes to 1 cent is the ratio of time to money in five items; these are:

Unit 22, leaf tobacco, 7.0091 minutes; unit 11, hay, 7.0405 minutes; unit 21, sweet potatoes, 9.7326 minutes; unit 20, sugar cane, 10.1538 minutes; unit 17, rice, 10.1653 minutes to 1 cent.

Ratios of less than five minutes to 1 cent are shown in but five items, namely, those of broom corn, strawberries, oats, apple trees, and barley. Of course, these comparatively low rates inversely taken would indicate rates of wages of a commensurately high standing. In some of these cases, however, the fundamental results of the Department seem doubtful, which is especially notable in the case of the barley item where the time rate of 2.7045 minutes to 1 cent would mean a wage rate of 0.3698 cent per 1 minute, or 22 and nearly one-fifth of a cent per hour. But the possible amount of the error may be of minor significance, and therefore we did not feel justified in excluding these latter items from their range in computing the average.

The average ratio of time to money is for the twenty-two items considered 5.9179 minutes to 1 cent.

This is the last of our general results in regard to agriculture. Herein the actual relation of time to money in the specific labor cost, as ascertained for each of those agricultural products, has found a common expression as near exactness as could possibly be made from the official statistics.

A TYPICAL CASE—WHEAT.

The Amount of the Aggregate Labor Cost Established by Calculation and by Estimate.

For this purpose we take the case of wheat production, as actually carried on in the far Western region by using the best and most efficient agricultural machines and implements of to-day, and taking as a basis for the computations to be made the conditions on a 5,000-acre farm. The Department of Labor has taken just the same course in that part of its inquiry where the labor cost of products made under the "ma-

chine method" is considered; the wheat units (26 and 27) having been made in the year 1895-96 on a "bonanza farm" where they used a six-gang-plow, each gang having four plows, each plow cutting ten inches, with a seeder and harrow attached to each gang, and all operated by a traction engine. Of course, also the steam harvester was employed there, a machine that, after the cutting, threshes the grain in the field. Based on an example like this, the rate of the specific labor cost, according to our own calculations, represents to a rather satisfactory degree the scale of efficiency reached in modern wheat production, although some newer improvements have become known since 1896.

These remarks will suffice to introduce the following table which exhibits the result of the effort made to ascertain the aggregate labor cost in the case of wheat, in part by using figures contained in the report of the Department of Labor, and in part by estimates founded on other reliable information and statistics.

WHEAT—SPECIFIC LABOR COST RAISED TO AGGREGATE LABOR COST.

(By computations made on the basis of a farm comprising 5,000 acres and yielding an average crop of 20 bushels per acre, or 100,000 per year.)

NOTE—1. Where the sign * is attached to figures, these represent results of estimates.

2. The factor of motor power, steam or animal, is included in the specific labor cost of wheat.

SPECIFIC LABOR COST OF		1 bushel, Cents.	1 bushel, Minutes.
1	Wheat.....	8.45	9.48
2	Seed Grain, one-twelfth of a bushel.....	0.29	0.79
3	Loading—transferring grain from storage bins to steamship....	0.25	0.54
4	Unloading—transferring grain from canal boat to storage bins.	0.14	0.30
5	Railroad freight, 1000 miles; per ton per mile, 0.1 cent; 40 bushels to one ton.....	2.50	10.00*
6	Fertilizer.....	1.00*	4.00*
7	Depreciation of machinery, implements, etc.....	2.00*	8.00*
8	Superintendence, bookkeeping, clerical labor, etc.....	6.00*	12.00*
9	Cost other than specified.....	1.00*	5.00*
AGGREGATE LABOR COST OF WHEAT.....		16.68	50.06

As the reader will see, the time rate of the aggregate labor cost of wheat presents itself by the figures of fifty and a very small fraction of one minute.

If we now, in order to have round figures for the concluding review which is to follow, add so much as ten minutes and a quarter to the rate obtained, then there can certainly be no doubt that the final result is considerably in excess of the actual conditions in existence in up-to-date wheat production. One hour per one bushel, as we now take it for argument's sake, means a proposition that may pass only on the ground of being decidedly disadvantageous to the argument we are going to submit.

Well, let us now take it, that the time cost of one bushel of wheat is as high as one hour per bushel. What does that mean?

For socialist society exportation will be a matter of decidedly secondary consideration; first of all, the new commonwealth will care for *home* production. There is no shadow of contention about that. Now, the quantity needed for home consumption is about 350,000,000 bushels a year. Furthermore, it is here to be noted that the number of persons actually engaged in the production of this quantity of wheat,—small farm owners, members of their families, and laborers, all included—varies at present in the neighborhood of 1,000,000, and some times exceeds this number. Let us now proceed from these facts.

Henceforth, and with no better means of labor than are already in use on the large farms in our Western states, socialism could accomplish, by an arrangement in the disposition of farm land, and an organization of work in agriculture, the production of the entire amount of wheat needed for home consumption, 350,000,000 bushels, in a like or lesser number of hours.

This is the *first* of our concluding propositions. Of course, it stands or falls with the work of our calculations. We challenge contradiction from the professorial body-guard of capitalism.

Secondly—The task of furnishing 350,000,000 bushels of wheat in the like number of hours will employ 1,000,000 persons, that is, as the reader will remember, exactly the same number as employed at present under capitalistic domination—and these laboring forces will be needed for not more than eighty-seven days a year, at a work day of four hours only.

Thirdly—Since eighty-seven days constitute but about the fourth part of the year, we may take it that three-quarters of the year these 1,000,000 persons, are not yet disposed of, and hence are free for employment in other necessary and useful occupations, subject to the direction of the commonwealth. In fact, the strength of the working force required for covering the national demand for wheat, on the basis of the present population, can be expressed in any one of the following ways:

- (a) As 1,000,000 persons working 87 days, 4 hours each, or,
- (b) As 250,000 persons working 4 hours all the year through; of course, Sundays and holidays excepted, or,
- (c) Again as 1,000,000 persons working 1 hour a day on every work day of the year.

The last of these three expressions for one and the same actual condition is the most simple and strikingly illustrative.

We are now going to extend this inquiry to the province of

the manufacturing industries, presenting the conditions in question as found in a few of the most typical and characteristic branches.

One million persons one hour a day for wheat production! This means that one hour's work per day of 50,000,000 adult and able-bodied persons of this nation is sufficient to perform all the work reasonably required, to satisfy the national demand for all the products or services available from agriculture and manufacture, transportation and distribution, and also of science and art,—in one word, of all kinds of occupations that are to furnish the means for sustaining, elevating and refining life?

The gigantic apparatus of capitalist economy has reached a stage where it is perfectly ripe for socialization. The *economic* conditions preliminarily required are on hand for establishing heaven on earth for all mankind. It is but a *political* provision that is yet to be supplied. This is especially true in our own country. *One hour workday* will be not only a possibility but a sure feasibility as the normal quantity of work required from every man and woman, if able to do some work.

Taking only the means of labor as applied at the present stage of economic evolution, wherever enterprises are carried on in the manner of progressive capitalism, and two, or two and a half hours a day work of our nation's whole working force would create wealth for all in abundance.

As individual property, machinery is to-day a curse to the great majority; so as common property it will become a blessing to the entire human family.



Women in Belgium

August number of The International Socialist I see mentioned the fact that the Belgian women include women in their demand for universal suffrage, and this in spite of the ignorance that still exists among Belgian women "and which is so great as almost to pass belief on the part of American readers."

One may say that till last year there was no women's movement existent in Belgium. There has been—there are still—several "bourgeois" societies composed of women, desiring, in principle, to alleviate the sufferings of their sex. These societies hold reunions from time to time, at which those women who know anything about social questions are literally swamped by the mass of those whose incompetence and ignorance defy description. They have no fixed program, and although there can be no doubt that amongst them there are noble-minded women, only too desirous of doing something useful, they have accomplished nothing, or next to nothing, and their time is flittered away in personal dissensions.

The socialist party—as one united body—is, comparatively speaking, a very young party (the "Parti Ouvrier" was founded in 1885), all its energies have been concentrated in the amelioration of the life of the working man, in obtaining for him a better economic and political standing. Indirectly, evidently, this has been a distinct advantage to the working women too—the affiliation of the working family to one of the socialist co-operatives meaning cheaper bread, cheaper coal, etc., and every member of a co-operative having a share in the profits. But it is only now that the "Parti Ouvrier," being established on a very firm basis, now that it polls the maximum number of votes possible with the present electioneering system, now that its trade unions, its mutual societies, its co-operatives have greatly developed that the more far-seeing socialists have begun to understand that one of the great features of future prosperity will be the embodiment of women in the socialist movement.

To understand this one must first of all keep in mind that Belgium is a Catholic country, that the Roman Catholic religion is one of the great factors in national life. There is no sort of compulsory education, schools conducted by nuns and by priests being in the majority, especially in the rural districts. This means that a very large proportion of the population is kept in the most dire ignorance; that superstition and bigotry are inculcated into the minds of the young. The

men escape this baneful influence when their work takes them into one of the industrial centers, but the women attached to the place of their birth know no other influence. They are pleased to be exploited by their employers because "women have always had lower salaries than men" and if they are worked to death and almost starved in this world, they will be rewarded in the next. These are the sort of fallacies expounded to them by the priests. Of course all this again reacts on the man, the husband, the father. Say a workman lives with his family in a rural district and goes to work all day long in one of the industrial centers. (This is the rule in Belgium, where distances are comparatively short and where workmen's trains are numerous and very cheap). He has been converted to socialism by his fellow workmen. He has become a member of a socialist trades union; he attends socialist lectures, meetings, etc. His wife, of course, gets to know this. She is terrified, having been told by the priests that the socialists are devils. She consults her spiritual adviser, who threatens both her husband and herself with all the tortures of hell should the husband persist in his "iniquitous ways." What is a wretched, bigoted creature to do? Either her tears and her imprecations produce the desired effect—the man wavers—he is making his wife miserable—there may be some truth in what the priest says; or else if he is intelligent and has already become a conscious socialist his family life is more or less at an end. His wife is left at home to her ignorance and her superstition, whereas the husband makes use of all the advantages that a socialist *milieu* offers to its members.

The same division takes place among the children. The girls remain under the clerical influence and follow their mother. The boys, if they become industrial workers, are certain to be socialists. In parts of the country, the Flemish provinces, two purely agricultural districts, both men and women are completely (or almost completely; for even in that stronghold of clericalism socialist scouts have penetrated) under the priests' thumbs.

As I have said before, socialists are beginning to see that for the advance of socialism in Belgium it has become all important that the immense reactionary body formed by the women should be gained. What is done by the men in socialist assemblies is undone by the women at home. In the large factory towns where both men and women are employed in the mills and consequently where both sexes are found in the socialist organizations, the movement is strong. Where the women are under clerical influence, the socialist movement has the greatest difficulty in implanting itself. It is certain that it is only through socialism that women can obtain redress of their many grievances. Of what use are legislative measures

if the whole condition of women is based on injustice, if they are considered as inferior beings? It is the whole economic situation of women in society as it is to-day which must be modified. The woman's movement must therefore be a socialist one. Woman must be by the side of man in the class war, and must not be like an enemy in the opposite camp. In another way, too, socialism can release women from the clerical domination by giving them an ideal.

It is almost impossible to make a very poor and very ignorant woman understand the advantages accruing to herself from an economic change. But it is not difficult to raise her enthusiasm for an ideal of justice. Every one has in him the thirst for an ideal. The poor women I am speaking of are told of the delights of a hypothetical world to come. The incense and the images in their places of worship appeal to the higher side of their nature. How much more should all the hidden possibilities in them vibrate when they are told of the delights which doing their duty to their fellow-men and to themselves can bring in this world and when they are made acquainted with the noble and beautiful life which will come to all in a socialistic state,—the socialists' heaven, and one that will be realized, not one that is only promised and of whose possibility and existence there are absolutely no proofs. In the days of early Christianity women and men suffered the most cruel tortures, not for any immediate advantage, but for an ideal. In our time socialists are banished and imprisoned for having preached their ideal. When women have once been brought to understand the new ideal no power on earth will ever be able to drive it out of their hearts and minds. This is what the Belgian socialist party understand. About two years ago a woman's league was formed at the *Maison du Peuple* chiefly owing to the indefatigable energy of a noble woman, *Mlle. Gatti de Gamond*, who, after having for twenty-five years directed a large girls' school, supported partly by the government and partly by the city of Brussels, now devotes her life to the woman's cause. She has just finished a tract on female suffrage which will be published by the *Parti Ouvrier*. She has commenced to give lectures throughout the country and her natural ability and logical frame of thought have done wonders for the cause. During the forthcoming campaign for universal suffrage all the principal orators of the socialist party have promised to explain at every meeting the necessity for woman suffrage, and so although it may be a very long time before women will be electors in Belgium, yet the movement in their favor will cause them to awaken from their lethargy and to understand that resignation is not a virtue, but that it is their duty to join the socialist movement with their husbands and brothers.

Civilization

Do you think it will go on forever?
The foul city spreading its ugly suburbs like an ink-blot over
the fresh green woods and meadows,
Its buildings climbing up to ten, twenty, thirty shapeless
stories,
Its lurid smoke smothering the blue sky;
The mad rushing hither and thither, by steam and electricity,
as of insects on a stagnant pool, ever faster and faster;
Forests falling in a day to fill the world with waste paper,
Presses turning out aimless books and magazines and news-
papers by the ton,
Factory chimneys poisoning the west wind with unnamed
stenches,
Dark pollution from chemical works and sewers silently suck-
ing up the limpid purity of our streams,
Squalid brick-yards eating like leprosy into the banks of the
river,
Coal mines belching forth black vomit over whole counties,
The endless labor of digging gold and silver out of their natural
deposits under the distant mountain and heaping them up
in unnatural and equally useless deposits under our side-
walks,
The raging whirl of machinery forever whirling its tasteless,
shoddy, adulterated products into the laps of the idle,
Stalwart country folk, lured into overcrowded slums, to be
bleached and stifled and enervated in the slavery of dull
toil,
The army of tramps and unemployed swelling, suicides multi-
plying, starvation widening, in the wake of steam-yachts
and multi-millionaires,
Prisons, poor-houses, insane asylums, hospitals and armories
growing bigger and bigger;
And yet in all this wild, material maelstrom scarcely a glimmer
of art or beauty or dignity or repose or self-respect.
Do you think it can go on forever?
Do you think it ought to go on forever?

Ernest Crosby,

Author of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable."



BOOK REVIEWS



The Trust. William M. Collier. The Baker Taylor Company.
Cloth, 338 pp., \$1.25.

It is seldom that a greater mixture of good and bad, false and true, are to be found in a single book. The first portion of the work is one of the best contributions yet made to the study of the "trust problem." He clearly recognizes and points out the fact that trusts are a natural outgrowth of competition, and sees the great economies which they furnish in production. His paragraph showing how the circle of the market has gradually enlarged side by side with the increased size of the industrial unit is one of the best statements of these facts yet printed, as the following quotation will show:

Page 44. "There has always been a tendency for industrial organizations to increase in size. It is more marked to-day, because invention and discovery have enlarged the field of business, strengthened the competitors and intensified the competition. The vastly improved means of travel, communication and transportation tend to build up trusts since they tend to increase competition. When the market was limited by the circle whose radius was the stage-route, competition was bounded by that circle. Outside of it a maker, although his cost of production was greater, could nevertheless find a market and could sell his goods. The great expense of transportation by these primitive methods, when added to the cost of production, often made it necessary for the cheap producer to charge in the relatively distant market a price in excess of that charged by some producer in that remote locality whose cost of actual production was much greater. But transportation has now become so much improved that each producer is the active competitor of all others. When shoes were made by hand and the stage was the means of transportation and communication, my local shoe cobbler could charge me much more than a cobbler in Syracuse twenty-five miles away. To-day if my cobbler were to charge overmuch, I could buy from many stores in my own city of Auburn, N. Y., shoes made at Lynn, Mass., or Brockton, Mass., or at many other places hundreds of miles away. Fifty years ago my local cobbler had hardly

a competitor. To-day he competes with all the great shoe factories throughout the entire country. To-day, to tell the truth, my local cobbler is out of business as a cobbler. The factory-made shoes were better and cheaper and we took our trade from him."

He has gathered some interesting and convincing material showing the presence of the trust movement in other countries, points out in an extremely clear manner the savings of concentration and ridicules the movement to re-employ useless laborers.

Then he forgets all that he has ever said before and begins to talk about "fair competition," "natural monopolies," and to suggest "remedies" for what he has just shown was inevitable and desirable. He suggests the tariff as a means of assistance in solving a "problem" he has just shown to be international, declares that "we can manufacture twice as much as we can consume," and in short talks all the ridiculous bourgeois rot that has been current for the last twenty years. It is a book that is well worth any one's time to read if the proper parts are skipped.

Plutocracy's Statistics. By H. L. Bliss. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Paper, 32pp, ten cents.

Mr. Bliss has become well known through his merciless criticisms and exposures of the "official statistics" issued under the supervision of Carroll D. Wright. In this work he exposes the fallacy that child labor is decreasing or wages increasing and also shows the fallacy of the government statistics on prices. The pamphlet makes very interesting reading for those who are accustomed to accept the government stamp as a guaranty of accuracy on things statistical.

Nequa, The Problem of the Ages, by Jack Adams. Equity Publishing Company, Topeka, Kan. Paper, 387 pp., fifty cents.

Here is a utopia that is far above the average of its kind, both in literary form and educational matter. Taken as a whole the book is probably as good a guess as has yet been made concerning the nature of the coming society. The story is not simply a vehicle to carry an overload of sermons but has a real interest in itself that holds attention to the end.

The Evolution of Immortality. By "Rosicruciae." Eulian Publishing Company, Salem, Mass.

This is an expression of that general indefinite "psychial" idea that is showing itself in such a multitude of forms at the

present time. For those who are interested in such things this book perhaps contains matter of importance. It is at least difficult to disprove the claims of those who keep so completely outside the realm of the "knowable" and it is no less difficult to intelligently criticise.

The Glorious House of Savoy, by Francis Sceusa. Co-operative Printing Works, Sydney, New South Wales. Paper, 24 pp.

A scathing arraignment of the Italian outrages which led up to the assassination of King Humbert.

The following books were received too late for extended reviews, but will be noticed at length later:

"Plain Talk in Psalm and Fable," by Ernest Crosby; Small, Maynard & Co.

"China's Only Hope," by Chang Chi Tung; Fleming H. Revell Company.

"Newest England," by Henry Demarest Lloyd; Doubleday, Page & Co.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

No surer sign of the growing strength of socialism is seen than in its increasing influence in the field of periodical literature. It will be the aim of this department to give each week a very brief resume of the articles appearing in current periodicals that are of especial interest to socialists, either because of the point of view, the subject matter or the manner of treatment.

The *Cosmopolitan* has an article on "What Communities Lose by the Competitive System" that easily takes first rank this month as being the most valuable article from a socialist standpoint in American magazines. The article is one that received a prize of two hundred dollars in a competitive contest for the best article on that subject. It is a careful and elaborate study of the subject and contains a wealth of detailed material of greatest value to socialist writers and speakers and all who wish to be well informed on the current phases of socialism.

The *International Monthly*, although but little over a year old, has taken front rank among the impartial scientific periodicals published in this country. The November issue has

among other interesting articles a discussion of "Ruskin, Art and Truth" by John LaFarge which serves in no small degree to explain from the artist's point of view the weakness of Ruskin's entire philosophy. The impossibility of "absolute truth" or its expression is shown and it is not hard to draw from this article analogous conclusions as to the explanation of the defects in Ruskin's economic philosophy. Other articles of interest are "Modern Sociology" by Franklin H. Giddings, and "The Pacific Coast: A Psychological Study," by Josiah Royce.

The Quarterly Journal of Economics furnishes an excellent example of the bankruptcy of brains to which the bourgeois economists of America are reduced. Its 166 pages contain little that may be given a more dignified title than "intellectual gymnastics" save its bibliography and book reviews. Prof. J. W. Jenks' discussion of "Trusts" is a reiteration of platitudes that he has repeated on a half-dozen previous occasions. One might pardon these calisthenics if they even succeeded in gaining clear concepts of the subjects discussed, but where, as in the example under consideration, the first forty-five pages are filled with technical contortions over "Recent Discussion of the Capital Concept" by Frank H. Fetter, and then in the same number an article is admitted, "Enterprise and Profit" by Frederick B. Hawley, who (p. 78) speaks of the laborer's overalls and dinner-pail being capital, a depth of driveling inanity is reached that speaks eloquently of the fearful decadence of capitalist economic thought.

The Annales de l' Institut des Sciences Sociales contains one of a most notable contribution to socialist and sociological literature in Prof. Guillaume DeGreef's "Essais sur la Monnaie, le Credit et les Banques." It is practically an economic history of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth century from the socialist point of view. It would be well worth translating into English and it is hoped that some one may be found to do the work.

L'Humanite Nouvelle, for November, contains an article on "En Marche vers la Reaction" that gives an extremely interesting view of present French politics. Kropotkine's autobiography is also running through the current numbers of this periodical.

❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

It will be the aim of this department to so present the news of the socialist movement in each country that the possessor of a file of The Review will have a condensed connected history of the socialist movement of the world. Owing to the stupendous amount of work and extensive facilities necessary for the proper accomplishment of this end we have not thought it wise to attempt such a department before, and even now we feel that only a beginning has been made which will require very much improvement in future numbers.

ENGLAND.

As almost all of our readers know by this time the English elections like those of America have been a victory for the large capitalists against the small ones. The Liberals have been overwhelmingly defeated and the ground thus cleared for a strong, clear, revolutionary socialist movement.

By holding the election just before a new list of electors was compiled the Conservatives succeeded in disfranchising more Englishmen than the Boers ever disfranchised outlanders. This fell somewhat heavy on the socialists as there is always a larger percentage of the younger voters in the socialist ranks than those of greater age. The socialists were also handicapped by other features of the election law, which by a property qualification disfranchised many thousands of laborers. Still more important is the provision of the law that compels the candidates or the parties they represent to bear the election expenses, including the expenses for polling, counting and returning the vote. Just how heavy a burden this is seen from the fact that in the sixteen districts in which the socialists had candidates these expenses varied from \$550 to \$1,650, with a total of over \$15,000. This had to be shared among the candidates or parties according to the number of contestants for the seat, so that the socialist had always to bear from one-half to one-third of these sums before they could have a cent for agitation purposes. This also compelled them to refrain from nominat-

ing candidates in any districts where they were not exceptionally strong, and it thus came about that no record could be secured of the socialist vote in 553 out of 669 districts.

Hence the English comrades are to be congratulated that in these sixteen districts they succeed in casting 50,624 votes and electing one member (Keir Hardie) to Parliament. As the total vote polled was only 3,482,234, it will be seen that socialism has secured a pretty strong hold in England, notwithstanding the many difficulties it has had to contend with.

In the London borough and town council elections the socialists made some important gains and elected a number of officers. Unfortunate Will Thorne was defeated for re-election by a vote of 1,082 to 1,007.

* * *

FRANCE.

The French socialist parties seem to be again split by internal dissensions. Notwithstanding the recent attempt at a unity convention, those who have been most determined in their opposition to the entrance of Millerand into the cabinet have issued a call for a new "socialist unity" which shall exclude the "ministerialists." This division seems to have spread even into the parliamentary group, which until now has always acted as a unit, whatever quarrels might be existing outside. This was shown at the opening of the Chamber of Deputies, where Viviani made a speech indorsing the course of Millerand and was immediately followed by Vaillant with a notice that his division would no longer support the ministry.

In this contest both sides claim to have been indorsed by the International Congress. The organ of the Parti Ouvrier, or "Guesdists," *Le Socialiste*, declares that "not only the Kautsky resolution, in spite of its conciliating expressions, is wholly a condemnation of their ministerial policy, but the resolutions concerning alliances with bourgeois parties, colonial politics, so-called 'municipal socialism,' universal peace, general strike, constitute a defeat for them." On the other hand the "ministerialists" supported these resolutions (or some of them at least) and claim them as an endorsement of their position. Kautsky himself, in a recent article in the *Neul Zeit*, declares himself very decidedly against Millerand and his tactics.

Le Mouvement Socialiste, which claims to take a purely neutral ground as a scientific review, but which is sometimes accused by the "Parti Ouvrier" as inclining toward the "ministerialists," after denouncing the extremists of both sides, says:

"At this moment it is neither Guesde nor Millerand who represents the central tendencies (les tendances moyennes) of

French socialism. If reference is had to the general direction taken by the autonomous federations, which are perhaps the only ones who in the present crisis have acted spontaneously and freely, it is seen that the mass of our movement has held itself equally distant from sectarian dogmatism and corrupt empiricism. . . . In the chaos of our debates it is natural that these extreme tendencies should seem to have divided French socialism under the names they have respectively taken. But this is only an appearance. The militants of the provinces, speaking generally, do not expect a socialist society to come all at once by some act of Providence as the revolutionism of Guesde would preach to them. But they know equally well that if the social transformation they seek may only be obtained at the price of a long and carefully planned work of organization and preparation, it is necessary to guard against all weakening or deviation in the course of this practical action. For the rest, once that socialist unity is realized, these two tendencies, now exaggerated because they are in opposition, will become counterpoises; and losing the grotesque form they now have, will draw closer to the general position of the great mass. This is why unity ought to be realized at any cost with the least possible delay; unity of organization will create unity of tendencies."

The Bulletin de L'Office de Travail gives a resume of strikes in France during the last year. From this it appears that in the month of September last there were 76 different strikes. In 67 of these the number of strikers engaged was known and reached a total of 14,230. In the entire year of 1899 there were 740 strikes, including 176,826, and the total days lost were 3,350,734. Furthermore for the ten years from 1890 to 1899 inclusive there have been 4,210 strikes, involving 924,486 strikers and a loss of 15,021,184 days work.

* * *

HOLLAND.

The following report is based largely on an article in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* by W. H. Vliegen.

Capitalism developed very early in Holland, and with it came the beginnings of socialism, but the labor movement actually first took form with the International. After the dissolution of the International the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond* (General Federation of Netherland Laborers) was formed with many Social Democrats in its ranks, but it soon ceased to be socialist, and its president is now a Liberal mem-

ber of the legislative chamber and most of its members are radical politicians and opponents of socialism.

July 7, 1878, the socialist members of this organization founded the first Social Democratic Association, with a tailor, H. Gerhard, as its principal member. Shortly afterwards Domela Nieuwenhuis, a Lutheran minister at The Hague, joined the party and founded the first socialist paper,—*Recht voor Allen*. He was a man of independent wealth and an orator and writer of ability and soon became the foremost socialist propagandist.

The party took up the agitation for universal suffrage and apparently grew with great rapidity. But many of its new members were not socialists, but advocates of violence and anarchy. These began to incite the laborers, who did not yet understand socialism, and the whole movement culminated in a police riot and ridiculous fiasco July 26, 1886. A long period of reaction followed. Domela Nieuwenhuis was imprisoned and all socialist activity suppressed.

Some time afterwards the electorate was somewhat extended and Nieuwenhuis was elected to Parliament. While here he made almost no reference to socialism, but busied himself with the merest palliative reforms. This led to a strong opposition to him, not only in Holland, but throughout the international socialist movement. The result was that in a short time he came out in opposition to all parliamentary action and declared himself for the universal strike and violent revolution.

Then followed a long, painful and disgraceful fight between the socialists and the anarchists under Nieuwenhuis. In August 1894 the Socialdemocratische Arbeiderpartij was organized, and little by little the forces of anarchy began to fade away until in 1898 the fifty-two anarchist sections had dwindled to ten, while the socialist forces had grown to a powerful army.

Finally during last June, anarchy having been practically crushed out of existence, the remnant of what was once the anarchist organization joined the socialists, forming one powerful united movement. Since then they have gained a number of local victories. They now have a majority on the municipal councils of Utrecht, Gronigen and Haarlem. The party has once more taken up the long-discarded struggle for universal suffrage and now look forward to an early victory.

* * *

BELGIUM.

Le Peuple is now filled with long lists of meetings and accounts of demonstrations for universal suffrage upon which the Belgian socialists are now concentrating their strength.

Mlle. I. Gatti de Gamond, Emile Vandervelde and other speakers and writers are devoting all their energies to the work of organization and agitation to secure this end. What makes their tasks especially difficult is that they are making their demand with no distinction as to sex. Here, as in England and America, the Liberal party is disappearing and the line is being drawn between capitalists and laborers on the political field.

The Vooruit, the great co-operative of Ghent, has just been very much enlarged. A department store has been added and \$8,000 has been expended in the purchase of an adjoining building which is to be remodeled and fitted up as a printing establishment. This printing plant will issue the daily Vooruit and will have complete telegraphic and telephonic service, making it the leading daily of the city.

* * *

GERMANY.

The special election for the seat in the Reichstag made vacant by the death of Liebknecht was a brilliant socialist victory. While the socialists were certain of the seat, they were scarcely prepared to greatly increase their vote and secure so overwhelming a majority as was actually received. The following shows the actual vote cast, Herr Ledebour being the Social Democratic candidate:

Social Democrat,	53,896
Conservative	10,490
All other parties.....	1,422

The socialists won a seat in the Diet of Coburg for the first time last month.—Herr Pens, another Social Democratic candidate to the Reichstag, was recently elected from the very heart of the rural Brandenburg district.—In the Thuringian States and Wurtemberg a number of socialists have recently been elected to local legislative bodies.

At Gotha the socialists have managed to secure ten out of nineteen seats in the local parliament. This has been a work of some difficulty, as the members of that body are elected indirectly.

A recent inquiry has brought out the fact that *outside of the factories* there are employed in German industries 532,283 children under fourteen years of age. The wages varied from ten to sixteen cents a day.

Trade is poorer than one year ago and the number of unemployed larger. The employes of the Krupp works have just had their wages reduced 5 per cent.

ITALY.

The Italian socialists are congratulating themselves upon their recent triumph over a Neapolitan political "boss." Alberto Casalle has for years had despotic control over everything political in Naples. Even the mayor held office only by his sufferance and he had a system of blackmail in operation that would have done credit to Tammany Hall. Some time ago "La Propaganda," the socialist paper recently established in Naples, took occasion to expose some of his work, whereupon he sued them for libel. In the resulting trial the rottenness of Casalle's schemes was exposed to such an extent that in spite of all he could do his power is broken and several of the city officers have been forced to resign.

* * *

AUSTRIA.

No definite reports as yet have been received concerning the elections which are being held in Austria, but the correspondent of the Berlin Vorwaerts states that the outrages at the present election are even worse than at the election of 1897. The fact that at that election one Social Democrat was elected and that candidates have now been nominated in other districts have led the officials to commit still greater outrages. From all parts of the country comes reports that those communal representatives who are laborers were not permitted to enter the polling places. In Dumbrowa the laborers were told by the government officials that the whole matter was one which did not concern them. In Michalowice the names of 300 voters who voted in 1897 were peremptorily struck from the list of voters. In Galicia the Poles and Ruthenians have nominated thirteen candidates. The following dispatch by the Associated Press confirms these statements:

"Vienna, Nov. 8.—Intimidation at the polls caused a fierce riot at Siebor, in Galicia, yesterday. The election of deputies to the Austrian Reichsrath was in progress. The prefect placed the gendarmerie of the town about the polling place, with orders to arrest all who voted for the Democratic candidates. After a number of arrests had been made the populace stormed the voting offices, disabled the gendarmes, smashed in the ballot boxes and set fire to the buildings.

"Afterward they caught the prefect, stripped and beat him and drove him out of town.

"Great socialist gains are reported in the industrial districts."

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

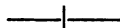
THE American Federation of Labor meets in its twentieth annual convention in Louisville, Ky., Dec. 3. In point of attendance of delegates and members represented it will be the largest congress ever held by that body, and some important questions will come up for consideration. Disputes between various trades will consume much of the time of the convention. The woodworking and the iron crafts are having much difficulty, owing to the subdivision of their trades by machinery and new methods of production, in fixing their jurisdiction, and considerable jealousy exists between several of the larger bodies, charges of encroachment of one organization upon another being apparently on the increase. The printers and machinists and the brewers and engineers and firemen's controversies will undoubtedly receive further attention. Political questions will also come in for much discussion. The legislative committee's poor showing in obtaining the passage of labor bills in Congress has caused wide comment, and the opinion is gaining ground that it is a waste of time and money to solicit the present capitalistic legislative bodies to enact palliative laws. The socialists will come forward with a number of resolutions that they will attempt to have adopted to place the Federation in line with the more progressive labor bodies of Europe and even Canada, while the trust question, ship subsidies and other matters will open the gates for a flood of oratory such as the land of the colonels has never before known. Rumors are flying about thick and fast that quite a few changes will be made in the present executive council. A New York sensational daily paper charges that certain political interests are conspiring to use President Mitchell, of the miners, to encompass the defeat of Samuel Gompers, the present incumbent, and a counter-charge is made that the rumor was set afloat to create sympathy for Mr. Gompers. First Vice-President P. J. McGuire will not be a delegate this year, and unless all precedents are disregarded he will not be a member of the new council. Sixth Vice-President Thomas I. Kidd is understood as desiring to retire, and several of the larger organizations threaten to

go after the scalp of Third Vice-President James O'Connell. A brief synopsis of the convention's important transactions will appear in next month's Review.

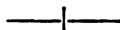
In September the A. F. of L. chartered one national union, one state branch, three city central bodies and thirty-one local unions, aside from the locals chartered by national trade organizations. The laundry workers organized a national body at a convention held in Troy, N. Y., November 12, and the lathers held their first annual convention in Cleveland, November 12. The seamen convened in Boston, November 16, and the butchers meet in Cleveland December 3. The miners assemble in Indianapolis on January 21, and there is already much discussion on regarding the future course of that body and the probable composition of the incoming administration.

A tremendous economic revolution is promised in the near future for the industrial world. Thomas A. Edison, the "electrical wizard," is busy day and night in his wonderful laboratory at Orange, N. J., perfecting his plan to utilize all the energy stored in coal. At present 90 per cent and more of this energy is lost in the process of combustion—carried off in the form of smoke and gases through the chimneys of factories and the smokestacks of motor engines. Mr. Edison's invention aims to control the full energy of coal by means of compressed air, heated to about 450 degrees Fahrenheit, and, if successful, will solve a problem which for years has occupied the attention of scientists the world over. By this means it is claimed that power enough could be extracted from a pound or two of coal to carry a man around the world. It would revolutionize motive power on land and sea, cutting down the cost of operation to figures undreamed of by the most hopeful economist. Mr. Edison has perfected his invention, insofar as heating compressed air is concerned, to a point where its potency is doubled and the volume of coal consumed is minimized. This of itself is a notable achievement, and already the officials of a street railroad in Orange are negotiating to utilize the invention in heating their cars this winter. Mr. Edison has also applied his compressed air to several steam drills and one engine with splendid results. It is reported that the revolutionary idea which promises to work economic wonders in this new device was suggested to Mr. Edison by a little Chicago foot-warmer. The army of the unemployed is destined to grow into many more millions in number when this marvelous new device is completed.

Besides the socialist publications mentioned in the "Socialist Campaign Book," the following new recruits must be added to the list: The Islander, Windby Island, Puget Sound; the Citizen, formerly a Bryan paper at Ardmore, I. T., has changed its name to the Social Democrat and come out for socialism; Work and Study, Berrien Springs, Mich.; Central Missouri Push, California, Mo.; Utah Socialist, Salt Lake City, Utah; Graham Gem, Hill City, Kan., and People's Press, Albany, Ore., both former Bryan papers.



The compromising of the miners' strike in the hard coal region of Pennsylvania on an increase of 10 cents a ton, and the immediate advance of coal 50 cents a ton by the trust, has caused no end of discussion in labor circles. It was at first thought that the people would only be compelled to pay the increase of 50 cents a ton until the barons had cleaned up enough to pay the losses they sustained during the strike, but such is not the case, as a New York financial organ says that at a meeting in that city the barons took action that will make the advance permanent. It is declared by some that the coal capitalists, besides needing the money, forced up the price of coal "to teach the people a lesson" for sympathizing with the miners, and also to make unionism obnoxious. Howsoever that may be, the people, the voters who have just finished casting their ballots for private monopolization of mines, may feel assured that the mine owners will not squander the extra 50 cents gained on each ton in a reckless manner (as the miners would no doubt do in "living right"). Mr. Morgan is saving up his half dollars for the purpose of perfecting the machinery of several other trusts in order that he may introduce "stable prices" in other industries, and several of his colleagues are building more colleges and churches.



New York financial organs quote figures to show that immediately following election stock in trusts in which Mr. John D. Rockefeller is interested increased in value the enormous sum of \$27,345,000 in two days, the Standard Oil trust alone clearing \$13,000,000 during that time. The Standard has already declared dividends this year amounting to over \$67,000,000, and it is figured that its "earnings" this year will be about 100 per cent of its present capitalization. Besides, its stock, valued at \$100 per share, is likely to be worth ten times that amount in the near future. The enormous income enjoyed by Mr.

Rockefeller enables him to grab stocks and bonds of other industries almost at will.

The would-be trust-smashers of the South are rapidly changing their tune. The Bourbon rice-growers have just formed a combnie which has been financed by the Vanderbilts. The capitalization is \$15,000,000 and the object of the new octopus is to enforce "stability of prices," the industry of rice-growing having been "demoralized" by sharp competition, which means that consumers will be called upon to yield more of the coin of the realm if they want to eat rice.—A \$25,000,000 cattle trust is being organized in Texas. Mr. Rockefeller is to be the financial power.—The salt trust, another Rockefeller pet, has more than doubled the price of salt.—A general rise in meat, butter, eggs and other necessities was announced a few days after the polls closed. We must have prices. Then we'll all get rich.

The striking woodworkers of the Pacific coast are reported as gaining their demand for the eight-hour day.—Cigarmakers' strike is off in some of the New York shops.—The desperate battle between the molders of Cleveland and the Foundrymen's National Association is still on, with no indication of an early settlement. The fight has already cost three lives and hundreds of thousands of dollars.—The shorter workday of the machinists has gone into effect pretty nearly all over the country.—Garment workers surrendered jurisdiction over shirt and waist makers and the latter formed a national union.

A. W. Puttee, the progressive labor member of the Canadian Parliament, has been re-elected in the Winnipeg district by an increased majority.—In the recent national election the Independent Labor party, though but organized a few weeks, polled a large vote in some districts, and the Canadian laborites are enthusiastically predicting victory in the near future.

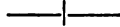
The Polish socialist organizations, which formerly supported the DeLeon S. L. P., recently held a convention in Buffalo and voted to support the Social Democratic party and to form an independent alliance.

The iron-workers are having their "full dinner pails" tampered with. It is announced that the National Steel trust will

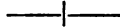
hack into wages from 20 to 60 per cent, and that the Tin Plate trust will cut off an 8 per cent chunk. Mills in Pennsylvania are cutting puddlers from \$4.25 to \$3.00 a ton and muck roll hands proportionately. The puddlers declare they won't stand for a reduction of over one-quarter of their full dinner buckets, but the bosses claim the cut is general and must be made because of the low price of bar iron. The iron-workers are among the most stubborn upholders of the capitalistic system. They don't want to hear anything about socialism. They vote for "prosperity" and "protection" every time they have the opportunity. They are getting what they vote for.



Postoffice employes are organizing and applying for charter from the A. F. L. They claim the eight-hour law is being constantly violated by officials, and they also want a reform in the matter of making promotions and other grievances adjusted. A Washington employe informs the writer that there seems to be a conspiracy on among certain interests to secure the repeal of the eight-hour law.



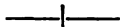
Pennsylvania courts decide that the law prohibiting employers from discharging workers because they belong to unions is unconstitutional.—United States Circuit Court at Little Rock, Ark., issued a decree forbidding striking street railway employes from wearing union buttons or badges.



Printers may soon take a referendum vote on the question of severing all connection with political parties of the capitalist class, thirty-six local unions having endorsed the proposition to put the matter to a vote, fifty endorsements being needed.—Cigarmakers are taking referendum vote on nominating and electing officers. The race for president will be between George W. Perkins, the present incumbent, and J. Mahlon Barnes, the brilliant young Philadelphia Social Democrat.



The American Steel and Wire Trust is reaching out and attempting to absorb the powerful Tennessee Coal and Iron Company and the mills of Alabama.



Many new locals have been formed and joined the Social Democratic party during the past few months, according to National Secretary Butscher.—In December the municipal elec-

tions occur in Massachusetts, where the S. D. P. made a splendid increase in November, and the old parties are leaving no stone unturned to defeat the socialists. In Haverhill the hardest battle will take place, as the Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists have combined. An appeal for financial aid has been sent out by the S. D. P., and all donations should be sent to William Maily, Gillman block, Haverhill, Mass.—In other states the S. D. P. is also actively preparing to carry on an aggressive educational campaign until the polls close in the spring elections.





EDITORIAL



SOME COLOSSAL LYING

It is now definitely announced that the United States has decided to join in with the "European concert" in the partitioning of China. Here ends, for the present, one of the most elaborate and comprehensive examples of national lying and hypocrisy offered by history. When Cuba had been suffering for fifty years and the United States army and warships had been used repeatedly to stop and severely punish all those who dared attempt to assist her, it was suddenly discovered by our capitalist classes that they needed new markets, and at once they set their "yellow press" in operation on the woes of Cuba. In preparation for the deliverance of Cuba they sent a captain with one ship to Havana and an admiral with a whole fleet to Hongkong. Then when Manila was taken while "freeing Cuba," all the agencies by which public opinion is made declared that it was only for the purpose of assisting the brave and noble Filipino patriots to throw off the hated yoke of Spain. But when the treaty of peace was signed it was found that the United States had paid \$20,000,000 for the privilege of using that yoke herself and the government of this country proceeded at once to fit the aforesaid yoke still closer around the necks of the Filipino patriots, who had now become a lot of disreputable Tagal savages, according to these same makers of public opinion. Then it was found that the possession (!) of the Philippine Islanders enabled our capitalist rulers to become mixed up in the Chinese question. So the engines of public opinion were again set in motion and this country felt a "thrill of horror" play up and down its backbone as the press published sections from "Fox's Book of Martyrs" as original telegraphic descriptions of the tortures being inflicted on the Christians in China. The United States troops now became part of the "European concert" (where did the Monroe doctrine go?) and United States soldiers were among the first to enter Peking and to find that the much-tortured and many-times massacred missionaries were still in pretty good health.

Then began a series of outrages, murders and tortures that might have fully justified all the previous descriptions of supposed Chinese crimes. It was simply one more instance of the bourgeoisie imputing their own crimes to those they wished to destroy. During all this time we were repeatedly assured by the mouthpieces of capitalism that the United States was in China only to protect the missionaries and to "defend the integrity of the Chinese empire." Under no conditions would she consent to a partitioning of the Flowery Kingdom. This position was given an appearance of seeming sincerity by the fact that the United States having the best exploited laborers in the world was able to undersell all the other nations anyhow, and hence an "open door" would be more to her advantage than to that of any other set of capitalists. But it seems that either the other members of the "gang" refused to "stand for" this move or else, as seems much more probable, this was only another case of lying, for now the word comes that the United States has selected Amoy as its port and is busy staking out the boundaries of its section of the Chinese pie. This brings the story down to date save that no discussion of the lying and hypocrisy of this period would be complete without some reference to the gigantic fraud of the "Anti-imperialist" Democratic campaign. From one end of America to the other one portion of the plutocratic press declared itself as bitterly opposed to expansion and insisted that its instant checking was the "paramount issue" upon which the laborers of America should divide. Then on the very morning after election, before the votes were all counted or the returns all in, these same papers were out shouting for expansion and declaring that the Democratic party had made a mistake in ever opposing it. As one reads over this record of the most colossal mass of lying, trickery and hypocrisy by which the American nation has been befuddled, deceived and enslaved he cannot but say "How long, O Lord, how long shall these things be!"

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THE RECENT ELECTION

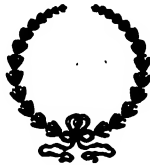
It is still impossible to give complete and accurate returns of the socialist vote at the recent elections, but enough is now known to make it certain that the vote of the Social Democratic party will be somewhere near 150,000, while that of the DeLeonite Socialist Labor party will be about 25,000. This is only the vote that is actually counted and turned in by the

recording officers, while from almost every city in America and from nearly every precinct in the great cities comes reports of uncounted and unrecorded votes. So it is probable that the actual vote cast exceeded 200,000. This means that the socialist vote has increased between three and five-fold since 1896. But it is not in the increase of the purely socialist vote alone that socialists find reason for encouragement. A new arrangement is being forced in political lines by the new economic developments that is bringing the class struggle into political divisions. The Populist party is gone—the Democratic party is being “reorganized” to “rid it of undesirable radical elements,” and the Republican party has thrown down all disguise and openly champions the cause of concentrated plutocracy. This serving of a writ of ejectment by the old political parties on all persons not willing to accept the whole program of capitalism has created a great body of “unattached” individuals among whom the socialist propaganda is making rapid headway. As many socialist writers have seen, the greatest danger to an intelligent social development in this country lies in the possibility that this incoherent floating mass of discontented may find some common points of confusion around which they can rally in support of some “leader” and thus give another opportunity to side-track political development into useless channels. But there seems to be every sign that before this can take place the socialists will rise to the opportunity confronting them and, uniting in one strong harmonious party, absorb and direct in an intelligent manner these new and mighty energies that are coming to it.

* * *

From the beginning of the *International Socialist Review* to the present the entire aim of the management has been to make each number superior to all previous numbers. We have had and still have plans for extensive improvements, and shall put them in operation as fast as circumstances permit. We feel that with the present number an advance has been made in the opening of the most complete summary of news of the international movement ever attempted in any socialist periodical in any country. With forthcoming issues this department will be very greatly strengthened and improved. With the January number a most significant advance will be made. This is the new department edited by Prof. George D. Herron. This will really mean almost a new era in the growth of *The Review*, as from now on this will be positively the only periodical with which Prof. Herron will be connected in any way or to which

he will regularly contribute. He will bring with him an able corp of writers, who, with those already enlisted, will make *The Review* one of the foremost publications of this country. In all these endeavors for improvement the management of *The Review* finds itself sadly handicapped for lack of capital. Starting with barely five hundred dollars, we feel that the results so far accomplished are little less than marvelous. Now if our present subscribers will but assist us during the next month by securing all the new subscribers possible within the next four weeks we can enter the new year with a magazine of which every socialist in Chicago may well be proud. When the circulation gets a trifle larger than now, it will be possible to enter the field of advertising profitably. That will mean that new and paid regular foreign correspondents can be secured, that expert reporters can be hired who will visit scenes of industrial disturbance or localities and industries of interest to socialists, and can present studies of local conditions of the greatest value for socialist education and propaganda. Every dollar that comes in for *The Review* will always be used in making a better magazine and increasing its circulation. No dividends will ever be declared on the capital stock of the company and no fancy salaries paid its officers. Its books are open at all times to those who wish to know its condition. Now, will not every one who reads this make one grand, tremendous effort to send in a large club of subscribers before the January number is issued? Do so and we shall begin the new year with the best socialist magazine in the world.



The International Party.

French Words by EUGENE POTTIER.

Translated by CHARLES H. KERR.

1. A-rise, ye pris'ners of star-va-tion! A-rise, ye wretched of the earth,
2. We want no condescending sav-iors, To rule us from a judgment hall,

For justice thunders con-dem-na-tion, A bet-ter world's in birth.
We workers ask not for their fa-vors; Let us con-sult for all.

No more tradition's chains shall bind us, Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
To make the thief disgorge his boo-ty, To free the spir-it from its cell,

The earth shall rise on new foundations, We have been naught, we shall be all.
We must ourselves decide our du-ty, We must de-cide and do it well.

REFRAIN.

'Tis the fi-nal con-flict, Let each stand in his place,
C'est la lut-te fi-na-le Grou-pons-nous et de-main,

The International Party. Concluded.

The In - ter - na - tional Par - ty Shall be the hu - man race.
L'in - ter - na - tto na - le Se - ra le genre hu - main!

'Tis the fi - nal con - flict, Let each stand in his place,
C'est la lut - te fi - na - le, Grou-pons-nous et de - main,

The In - ter - na - tional Par - ty Shall be the hu - man race.
L'in - ter - na - tto - na - le Se - ra le genre hu - main!

8

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
 Taxation drains the victim's blood;
 The rich are free from obligations,
 The laws the poor delude.
 Too long we've languished in subjection,
 Equality has other laws:
 "No rights," says she, without their duties,
 No claims on equals without cause."

4

Behold them seated in their glory,
 The kings of mine and rill and soil!
 What have you read in all their story,
 But how they plundered toil?

Fruits of the people's work are buried
 In the strong coffers of a few;
 In voting for their restitution
 The men will only ask their due.

5

Tollers from shops and fields united,
 The party we of all who work;
 The earth belongs to us the people,
 No room here for the shirk.
 How many on our flesh have fattened!
 But if the noisome birds of prey
 Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
 The blessed sunlight still will stay.

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The Present Moral Conflict

I.

IS life worth living? If so, what quality of conduct makes life most worth? What shall we be and do in order to realize the most abundant life? What is the highest good? How shall this highest good be attained? These are questions as old as the reflective intelligence of man. And during the long past ages of the race men have ever sought to solve these deepest problems of human existence. To the solution of these problems, the greatest minds and characters of history have devoted themselves, and out of their conclusions have arisen schools of philosophy, cults, and religions. To meet these supreme issues of life Moses and Jesus taught; and Calvin and Wesley expounded; and Kant and Spencer enunciated their various doctrines. It is in the answer to these soul demands that we find our codes of morals and systems of ethics.

But the environment of man grows and changes, and human life evolves; thus each new age presents a new man under new conditions. And to this man, modified by the best and the worst through which he has passed, now living in a changed environment, the old problems are pressed home again for solution. Hence every age, period, and generation should have and must have its own answer to the old, old questions. The best of the old answers suffice not. They were uttered under old conditions to less evolved men. Change in the statement of truth and the corresponding change in conduct and in character must come, or men will seek to content themselves with half-truths, and will give themselves over to lies and hypocrisy.

This demand for a new answer to an old problem is especially felt in epochal times of social transition, such as the time of the

appearance of Jesus, the Renaissance, and the revolutionary period of the last century. The hour of transition from old to new in any case is always trying to the intellect and to the soul. Men are then in a painful struggle for freedom. A moral conflict is precipitated. The intellect seeks to interpret the significance of the new environment and to make the new statement of truth. The soul seeks to live the new quality of life which the new environment demands. And the process of adaptation is one of comparative pain. Earnest men feel and know that they cannot abandon the permanent and vital in the old, and yet they must be true to the living God, the present good, instead of being the echoists and parrots of dead men's interpretations and the victims of conventional and lifeless forms of earlier good.

Besides this inner conflict in such times of transition there is always an outer struggle. Some false ecclesiastical, political or social system sits on the back of the people. It holds them bound in an unyielding embrace. It sneers in hollow mockery at the new moral convictions of men, and becomes defiant, because, indeed, it is upheld as sacred and divine by the existing religion and its priests. It boasts of its past record and hoary age, and demands respect which it fails to inspire. Thus some form of religion and some code of morals has ever been the bulwark of despotism, feudalism, slavery, the divine rights of kings, and the divine right of property. And when men awaken under the new conscience they find themselves ever locked in a social system that makes their new religious and moral conviction the mother of a social revolution.

II.

In such a period of transition, with its accompanying moral conflict, we find ourselves to-day at the dawn of a new century. The external economic and social conditions of life have changed vastly since the days of our fathers. And the generation now living has been and is being modified in thought, conduct, and character by these changes.

The invention of machinery, with the resulting colossal development of industry, national and international, has given us a new material world to live in. Thus men have been brought into the most close and complex relations in their daily activities, and the natives and tribes of the earth are within speaking distance of one another. Railroad, steamship, telegraph and telephone systems have reduced the whole world to a neighborhood, a community, and the race is being transformed into a conscious unity and solidarity irrespective of color, creed, and custom. Mechanical invention in a thousand lines, perfected in factory and field, has produced that co-operative activity of men and of nations, making the production and distribution of all the goods of life social in-

stead of individual. Steam and electricity have ushered in the social age—the age of possible brotherhood.

A great intellectual change has likewise come over the people. Modern science investigating and criticizing, never camping except for new advances, is invading every realm of phenomena, and has bidden defiance to all kinds of authority, and logically even to its own—making its latest conclusions but data for wider generalizations. The theory of evolution has revolutionized man's conception of himself and of the universe. As a result we have a new anthropology, a new biology, a new psychology, a new sociology, and a new economics. The phenomena of the soul are being studied with scientific precision. A vast literature is appearing on the inner intuitional processes of the spirit of man, showing the rational bases of mental healing, hypnotism, magnetism, telepathy; conversion, moral transformation, regeneration; and of other manifestations of the marvelous occult powers of the soul. But all this new science and new soul study, which is the greatest intellectual product of centuries, is but the crude bases no doubt of a still newer science and a more complete philosophy under which the whole meaning of life will be read anew. Our intellectual life seems pregnant with still newer and profounder revelations touching more vitally the deepest issues of human existence.

Such remarkable changes in our material life and mental attitude must revolutionize all that stands for morals and religion. And so it is. We find ourselves in moral dilemma and spiritual conflict. The old questions are up again for answer as if never answered before. From literature of every form the old queries are voiced: Is life worth living? What is the highest good? What must we do to be saved? And the old statements of truth are utterly inadequate. The best old bread offered seems stone to the soul. The more men partake of it, the worse their moral emaciation and spiritual darkness. "Good" people appear like pharisees and hypocrites. The truths that once inspired men to heroic action and which wrought mighty transformations in human character have become now the defense of moral inertia and spiritual dotage—orthodoxy of creed supplants divinity of life. What little spiritual power remains manifest here and there seems more like the galvanic twichings of a dead body than the real vigorous movements of life. Men run hither and thither, now backward, now forward, looking for some social panacea that will heal their individual soul distress and relieve them from personal responsibility; or they seek some individual stimulant or narcotic that will help them to meet or to forget the social guilt and suffering.

This moral conflict is the deepest fact of our times. It will not be settled by the cry of some ecclesiastical body to come back to the faith. Nor will it be settled by some mere protest that the church is wrong, or by heaping all moral responsibility upon the

social systems. This conflict will continue until all its phases are met and that involves, as we shall see, a new theology or philosophy of life, a new ethics, a new character, and a new social system. And these in their entirety and significance involve the greatest revolution of all human history. For our time is the epoch of epochs, the transition of transitions, the revolution of revolutions.

The present moral conflict takes a three-fold form :

First : There is the conflict of new ideas or statements of truth with the old.

Second : There is the conflict of the new conscience and character with the old ; much of the old "good" being positively immoral to the new.

Third : There is the conflict of these new ideas and this new conscience with the present social and industrial system.

III.

In the consideration of this moral conflict we must examine it in its concrete reality, just as we find it among our friends and neighbors living their lives, and meeting their moral problems in the common life. In this paper there is no attempt to interpret the conflict from the standpoint of any particular school in ethics, religion, or of social philosophy. A moral conflict is on. The people are in it. Considering what the people have believed, and what has been their standards of morals, and what they are actually passing through now, let us watch the concrete moral conflict as it presents itself to our observation. What are the facts of the present moral struggle. Men may have believed and may again begin to believe things we don't like, but we must deal with what is, not with what we would desire to find.

Moral teaching heretofore has been largely in the keeping of the church and her priesthood. It has been only during the last century that scientists, poets, and so-called secular authors have invaded the domain of morals and asserted their right to teach with some degree of authority. Democracy of religion is a late social development. The older moral teaching obtaining in the capitalistic era which is now the conservative factor in the present moral conflict, is linked largely therefore with theological and distinctly religious dogmas. Hence the first element of the conflict is theological. The new moral teaching involves theological heresy. The philosophy of human life, whether social or theological, in which the new moral teaching roots itself comes squarely into conflict with the old theology. The good resists the better. It is of course in harmony with all evolutionary thought to state that there is a permanent element in each of the old ideas which is the stalk on which the new fruit of truth will be borne. But the new statement of what these terms

signify is vastly different from the old. It would take a volume to develop this point, but a few sentences may serve to illustrate the trend of the newer theological thought, which involves the new ethics.

Consider the terms God and Christ; sin and salvation; heaven and hell; Bible and gospel; faith and works; prayer and worship. Take these terms one by one and reflect upon the generally accepted orthodox ideas for which they stand and it will be seen how inadequate the old is as a definition of the new.

God is no longer a great monarch on a distant throne who holds "formal receptions once a week," but the immanent presence in all energy and life, co-extensive with all orders of existing and possible phenomena. Christ is not a dying mediator paying debts to offended deity, but the living revelation of the divine possibilities of every man. Sin is social as well as individual, and evil is the pain of life unadapted to environment and in violation of the common good. The pilgrim can no longer escape from the city of destruction. He is a social being and shares the social guilt and pain wherever he may be. Salvation is character here and now and everywhere. Heaven is not a distant abode of a ransomed few, but a state of the free and harmonious here and everywhere. Hell is no longer a lurid place of eternal torment, but the state of man and of men, not punished, but suffering in consequence of the violation of the laws of life's health and harmony, here and everywhere. The devil is no more, and his gruesome task, prescribed by the old theology is not eternal in any case. There is no place of eternal exile in God's universe. The children will all come home sometime, somewhere.

The Bible, though unparalleled, is not the only source of moral teaching. We have other books and all history. We have our own minds as privileged in the Spirit of Truth as those of Isaiah or Paul, and likewise as responsible. The gospel is no longer a message to sinking, dying mutineers or pirates in a foundering ship. It is the whole message of the ideal life, to a race being schooled from ignorance and limitation to divinity and completeness. Faith is no act of blind superstition but the rational attitude of the part to the whole, of the human to the Absolute Reality in which it lives and moves and has its being. Works can be no longer mere charities and fad philanthropies, but must be the heroic deeds of robust characters incarnating Justice and right in social forms. Prayer becomes more and more exactly what Jesus taught and practiced: silent, meditative, receptive, behind the closet doors of the soul, not vociferous, clamorous, noisy, talkative, and worship wearies more and more of every conventional form of any sort and rests again in spirit and truth.

The conflict between the new idea and the old, however, is not so much in the definitions of existing terms of religion as in the

treatment of human life in all of its relations. The new teaching refuses to set apart a portion of life and call it sacred and another portion and call it secular. The new truth recognizes that all human life just as we must live it is sacred and divine, and that every realm of it must be moralized. Life is religion. Every man is his own priest with an original relation to the universe. There is no higher office than that of a human soul realizing its own freedom and divinity. Every place is sacred—the home, the school, the shop, the factory, the farm, the field. Every relation of human life provides an altar where we offer and receive the sacrament. All the hopes, wishes and ideals of our daily life, small and great, become winged prayers receiving their corresponding answers. All labor and activity become our modes of worship. Loving all, at all times, in all places, becomes again what it has ever been—the fulfilling of all law, the answer to all problems, and the deliverance from all evil. This is the absolute religion still unfolding in conduct and character, without priest, without temple, without ritual, without ceremonial; for every man is a priest; and every shop a temple, and all human intercourse is ritual, and the common life is its own grand ceremonial. To seek truth and wisdom and to obey them, to perceive beauty, to produce goods on principles of Justice and brotherhood, to realize the meaning and significance of sex, to appropriate due pleasure, to enjoy mirth, to love simply in all the common facts of life—all these and others are elements of the new moral life. Thus religiousness gives way to righteousness, and human life in all of its multiplied variety becomes its own religion. The moral life shall thus be no longer superimposed; it shall be the flower of human activity growing from within, freed from priestcraft and ecclesiasticism. The new moral life is the product on character of spiritual democracy.

IV.

Again, the quality of life produced under the old teaching is inadequate to meet either the inner character need or the social need of the present hour. The "pious" life, the "saved" life, the "religious" life, the "holy" life of the best, however good, is not good enough to meet the moral demands of the new conscience. Hence another element in the moral conflict.

Consider some types of individual goodness of the capitalistic era. We have the latest pietist asking, "What would Jesus do?" the wholly sanctified Methodist; the red-hot salvationist; the rigidly moral Presbyterian; the coolly righteous Christian Scientist demonstrating salvation and wealth through "principle;" the philosophic "new thought" disciple; the new brand of mystic, trying his "unseen forces" and healing the sick; and others which this list may suggest.

Now none of these types mentioned has the moral and spiritual life which is required by the new conscience. This statement is not carping criticism. For the writer has a debt to acknowledge to each of these various schools of moral teaching. The criticism is a plain matter-of-fact analysis of the condition of morals at the close of an age of individualism and commercialism. Space will not permit a satisfactory defense of this proposition concerning the old conscience. But a paragraph at least is demanded.

It is surely a commonplace to say that old forms of good are always being outgrown. The conventional conscience has never been positive, constructive, inspiring. It grows more and more torpid at the end of an age such as the present. But specifically the supreme complaint against the old in all its forms and at its best is that it is the conscience of a narrow individualism, while the age on which we have entered is pre-eminently a social age; and all that constitutes the morals of life must be extended to include political, social and industrial morality. Of course we speak only relatively. For no morality has ever been purely individualistic. Morality is the outgrowth of social integration; and the veriest seeming individual morality of all the past has given a large contribution to social cohesion and development. But in comparison with the social demand of the present the existing conscience must be described as distinctly individualistic. Referring to this question of morals in social and economic relations, a conservative writer, Prof. Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University, says: "Our narrow individualism, combined with the torper of the conventional conscience has produced an incredible deadness in this matter (of social responsibility). If the lives of very many persons of supposed morality and even of professed religion were openly and avowedly devoted to the materializing and brutalizing of society, they would not be more effective in that direction than they are at present."

It would be almost cruel to uncover the bald ethical ignorance of persons representing millions of the good, on whose minds it has never yet dawned, for example, that there is any moral issue involved in the relations of men in our present competitive system. The social elements of morality have not been emphasized in the capitalistic era. Take a concrete example of the point under discussion. The hymn book of the largest Protestant sect, the Methodists, contains over one thousand hymns. Of these only eighty-one are specifically under the heading "on Christ." Out of these eighty-one but eight are on the life which Jesus, their professed exemplar, lived; and of these eight not one single hymn is on the external objective life. Prof. Coe, of Northwestern University, whose figures I quote, commenting on this point says that only one and one-half per cent of the hymns of his church take up the practical problems of every-day life. Let it now be remembered

that the "practical" problems are largely if not entirely social. They involve questions of social, industrial and political morality. The hymnology deals almost exclusively with subjective morality. This concrete instance may serve to show the comparatively non-social quality of the moral life at its best as developed under the old moral teaching.

Broadly yet correctly speaking the church which is the professed oracle on moral teaching is wrong in its attitude toward the whole social problem: on wealth, on labor, on property; on our present competitive system. It continues to teach capitalistic morals. And being wrong concerning this vast economic basis of society its moral teaching and conclusions in almost every other line is vitiated, and, as we see, on every hand practically powerless. The really "good" people in the churches and cults betray the current intellectual and moral ignorance with respect to the content and implications of their own professed faiths. They do not even consider that they are accomplices in social crimes, by which multitudes are waylaid, robbed, and plundered. These good people innocently thank God constantly, and once a year formally for prosperity, social and industrial, which analyzed to the bottom is a vast "hold-up" and cunning commercial thuggery. We can keep getting these types of morals in revival abundance and all the while the social and industrial monsters will fasten their fangs tighter and tighter into the children of men; and in the jungle struggle for existence men will keep on the sanctified look while they bleed the people; and wealth, "a monster gorged 'midst starving populations," will continue to give largely to charity which has usurped the place of the love that never faileth.

V.

The third element of the present moral conflict arises from the incongruity of the new ideas and the new conscience with the present social and industrial system. The new moral idea re-reads the dignity and meaning of human life; exalts the sacredness of man above existing property rights; and gives a divine right to human need. Thus the new idea comes into a clash with a social order that degrades human life, exalts property above man, and makes man both the creator and victim in a huge mammonistic debauchery. Let a man once become awakened to the new social conscience and the present competitive system becomes to him an incarnation of social injustice. The man thus awakened finds himself a partner in social crime. He is awakened to new social duties and becomes aware of new social bonds. He is the keeper of his brothers. Wherever social oppression and suffering exist he is both inflicter and sufferer. He feels both the social pain and the social guilt. But the awakened conscience is mocked by a social

system that laughs at brotherhood, sneers at mercy, tramples elemental justice in the mire, and makes mammonism its religion.

This characterization of the system may seem to some too strong. Be it remembered, however, that the present competitive system, impeached by the new conscience, is that still remaining brute phase of the predatory struggle for existence. It is seen in its crudest form among the lower animals, and in its latest refinement in our competitive struggle which has not yielded to the intellectual genius and moralization of man. It is the next brute element in civilization to be conquered by the free spirit of human kings. Man must thus control his environment or remain slave and sinner until he does.

Prof. Hyslop, of Columbia College, New York, in his recent work on ethics, thus refers to this struggle for existence: "It represents the ghastly spectacle of universal destruction, the triumph of mere force, and the embodiment of everything which is opposed to the ideal. Under it the universe seems one vast system of shambles for the destruction of the weak and the preservation of the strong. The only right respected in such a system is might or power. But it is apparent to every one at a glance that if any morality is to be maintained at all it cannot come from the imitation or application of the struggle for existence and the indiscriminate warfare which it exhibits. Morality consists rather in putting limits to this struggle for existence, and hence cannot be derived from it. The struggle for existence is worse than a travesty of morality. It is the very antithesis of it."

Thus he writes opposing the idea that the whole progress of the world arises from this brute struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. We have nothing to do with his argument. I quote his words for a description of the competitive system and to show its relation to morality. Our industrial system is "an application of the struggle for existence;" it is "indiscriminate warfare," and morality must "put limits to this struggle;" for it is "worse than a travesty on morality; it is the very antithesis of it."

As Herbert Spencer says, "The very conception of disordered action implies a preconception of well-ordered action." When men become awakened by the new conscience they perceive a well-ordered society and see plainly the injustice of the present order. They find themselves locked in this system of warfare. The right to do right is thus denied them by the inherent wrong in a system where all are producers and consumers of economic goods, and where success is measured by power to control the production of these goods. It is said that among the Comanches a young man is not thought worthy to be counted in the list of warriors till he has returned from some successful plundering expedition. The greatest thieves are the most respectable members of society. How descriptive of our modern capitalistic age! How little adapt-

ed to survive are the men in our times who awake to the new conscience. Quoting Spencer again: "Ideal conduct is not possible for the ideal man in the midst of men otherwise constituted. An absolutely just or perfectly sympathetic person could not live and act according to his nature in a tribe of cannibals. * * * If all around recognize only the law of the strongest, one whose nature will not allow him to inflict pain on others, must go to the wall * * * a mode of action entirely alien to the prevailing modes of action, cannot be persisted in—must eventuate in death to self, or posterity, or both."

Now, while the men of the new conscience are not "ideal men, absolutely just and perfectly sympathetic," they are yet the first fruits of the new system inherent in the old. And Spencer's words holds true of them. Their economic life must accord with prevailing modes or else they must perish. In either case there is desperate moral conflict.

But since there is no individual escape there is but one thing to do, viz., to protest against the social injustice and to work with the despoiled and exploited class for the new social order. Prof. Borden P. Bowne says that "it is perfectly idle to criticize a struggle for existence by a moral standard which presupposes the possibility of friendly co-existence." This is the position taken by many people to-day. He says that "such criticism is as irrational and impertinent as a parallel series of reflections on the unaesthetic aspects of war, while the battle is on." Herein we find the roughest practical aspect of the moral conflict. The battle of the competitive struggle is on. There is no truce possible, no cessation at sundown, no relief in success or defeat. If you don't make your protest while you fight you will never make it. And so you must go in and fight for bread and family and life, and with the same brain and heart and hand that fights you must labor and struggle for the peace of the co-operative commonwealth, where, to quote Prof. Bowne's word, we expect "the possibility of friendly co-existence." The supreme criticiser against our whole social system is that it denies "friendly co-existence;" and the supreme farce of the modern church and modern moral teachers is that they exhort men to "love one another" and all the while bulwark a system of commercial warfare where "friendly co-existence" is an impossibility.

We have thus briefly attempted to show how our changed social and economic conditions have precipitated a serious moral conflict. And we have seen how this conflict involves a new theology, a new code of morals, and a new social system. To the pain of this conflict any man can testify who is really awake to the facts and forces of our times. But we believe that this pain in the struggle of the soul and of society for freedom is but the birth-pangs of a great and glorious liberty.

J. Stitt Wilson.

Decadence of Personal Property in Europe

(CONCLUDED)

II.—THE ARTISANS.



IN branches of production apart from farming, handicraft industry, a dominant form of the economy of the middle ages, plays a secondary and diminishing part under the capitalist system. The artisan, proprietor of his means of production, working for the local market, himself selling to the consumer the products which he makes, is scarcely to be found any longer except in branches of industry where some obstacle exists to the extension of the market, to the development of the division of labor.

This is the case notably with rural trades, with the industries of luxury, and with those whose products are perishable and find a limited local market.

"As a general rule," says Du Maroussem, it may be laid down that when the markets are confined, limited to the neighborhood, or to a very small class of the population (as in the case of bakeries and shops for turning out the most expensive furniture) small establishments remain in the majority; when, on the contrary, the markets increase and become national or international, the great factories and the domestic industries divide the market between them; the latter persist, as long as the hand of labor can struggle, by its cheapness, against the progress of mechanics.

"Conforming to these data, we can still find the small industry * * * in the food-producing groups, bakers, pastry-cooks, confectioners, butchers; in the groups of textile industries and cloth-making,—the lace-makers, tailors, seamstresses, linen-drappers, dress-makers, etc.; in the leather industries—moroccotanners, sheath-makers, pocket-book-makers, etc., in the wood-working industry—almost the whole group of cabinet-making, fancy turning, etc.; in a portion of metal-working, as in the precious metals."

But in these very branches of production, personal property in the means of labor, the autonomy of the producers, the individualist organization of the factory, and oftener still of the enterprise, are tending to disappear. Sometimes it is large-scale production which encroaches; the factory which competes victoriously with the artisan, as the organized bakery supplants the baker

and the furniture factory replaces or drives out the cabinet-maker.*

Sometimes by a very frequent form of the transition to the factory system, the old processes maintain themselves by the side of or to the exclusion of the new processes. Hand labor persists; the small employer keeps his workshop, alone, or with his family, or with one or two assistants; but because of the extension of the market, an intermediary slips in between the producer and the consumer; the artisan's industry is transformed into a home industry tributary to a "collective factory."†

From the technical point of view, nothing, or scarcely anything, is changed. From the social point of view, there is a complete revolution. In place of independent producers, working for their own account, disposing of the entire product of their labor, we find ourselves in the presence of proletarians, working for the account of a proprietor—a warehouse-keeper—who centralizes the trade in their products, and furnishes them, oftener than not, with models and materials, sometimes even with the utensils, whether tools or machines, which they use. And in our days this relentless evolution of the industry of the artisan has taken on so general a character that our time has been called "the century of the factory."

It should, of course, be understood that not all home workers are former employers who have fallen into the proletariat. Schwiedland, in his numerous studies on the "collective factory," shows very plainly that the home industries can arise spontaneously, directly, without having passed through any other form, or can be derived, not only from the industry of the craftsman, but from all the previous forms of industrial production.

The absorption of independent craftsmen is, he says, generally the principal way in which "collective factories" are formed in crowded cities. But the absorption or transformation of the craftsman is not confined to the cities, any more than the successive development of home industry is confined to the transformation of the craftsman. All the forms of industrial production have undergone this transformation into collective industry. In the villages, in the hamlets, in the farms of the peasants, we see domestic labor merging into collective manufacturing. It is the same with wage labor, which equally had at one time a prime importance as a mode of production, and even the most modern sys-

**Revue de Travail*, December, 1890, p. 1293. Sorgines: "The provincial cabinet-maker complains loudly of the increase of factory competition, seeing that the furniture factories are becoming more numerous and their machinery more perfect.

†Lepay defines a "collective factory" as the organization of industry on a large scale, where the employer centralizes the trade in products which a working-class population manufactures, for the account of the employer, in separate shops or in their homes.

tem of exploitation, the factory, is being transformed, according to the best thinkers, into the collective factory.”*

The examples of this last category, which mark a step backward, a retrogression to lower forms, are at least doubtful and certainly exceptional.† It happens often, on the contrary, that the collective factory finds its origin in the capitalist transformation of home labor or day labor. That is the case, for example, with straw-plaiting in Tuscany and the Valley of the Geer, and with toy-making in Oberland von Meiningen, lace-making in Flanders, the making of wooden shoes in Waes, almost everywhere, the weaving of thread or of wool.

Thus, by the side of the “master-workman,” the cutters of Nauner, the furniture-workers of Paris, the canuts of La Croix Rousse, weaving wonderful silks on their dusty looms, the subordinate employers,—tailors, shoe-makers, weavers, cigar-makers, who still work in their own shops, but for the account of a capitalist; we find a multitude of artisans, who work in their own rooms or at home, who have been enlisted directly by the manager of the enterprise, or at least have never passed through the craftsman stage.

Moreover, whatever may be the beginnings of home industry, what always characterizes it is the dependence of the workers, for the marketing of their product,—a dependence which usually involves the economic prosperity of the entrepreneur, and the poverty, or if they have anything to lose, the ruin, of the producers whom he keeps busy.

Permanent depression of wages, enforced idleness through the dead seasons (the seasons when people die),—feverish work through the rush seasons,—such is almost always, and especially since the machine has played its part, the unhappy lot of the home worker.

He is still the master of his own time, one may say, with no regulations to interfere with him; no overseer to watch him. But what matters the absence of an overseer to those who have hunger for a prison-guard, or the absence of rules to those who work without respite, days and nights alike?‡

*Schwiedland: “La repression du travail en chambre.” (See author’s copy.)

†See, for example, Kovalevsky: “La regime economique de la Russie,” pp. 173 et seq. (Paris, Girard et Briere, 1898.)

‡Bureau of Labor: The clothing industry in Paris, 1896, page 501: “Before the law of November 2, 1892, on the labor of women and children * * * the ten-hour day very often marked the dull season and the day of twelve and a half hours the rush season. Sometimes even, owing to the urgent demands of customers, the indifference of employers and the partiality of forewomen, one might point to a record of 44 hours in three days (12 hours, 20 hours, 12 hours). The time-books, comprising the daily details of eight years’ work, enable us to get at the maximum of several well-known establishments. There are occasional days of sixteen hours, but the highest weekly record appears to be 77 hours. As to the “second shift,” the shift which certain workers can impose on themselves at their own homes, these time-books make no mention. That is an unspeakably sad feature of “home work.”

In his picture, "Summer Days," the artist Steinlein, shows us a seamstress in her room, putting out her lamp when the first rays of dawn enter her garret, and greeting the splendor of the morning sky with these bitter words: "At last the season has come when I can save three hours of kerosene a day." Would it not be far better for her to work in a factory, confined at painful tasks, but protected to some extent by the factory laws?

Nowhere, perhaps, except at the homes of the peasants who work for some commercial house, are wages so low, work-days so long, capitalist exploitation so shameless, as in these "family work-shops" of the great cities, which in our official statistics count as so many distinct and independent enterprises. We need only call to mind the horrors of the "sweating system" of the East End of London, in the sweat shops of New York,—those innumerable holes where whole families, living in promiscuity and filth, work to the limit of fatigue in a poisonous atmosphere. For let us not forget,—and this consideration may appeal to the philanthropists who admire domestic labor,—these homes of misery for the producers are also homes of infection for the consumers.

"It is certainly," says the hygienist, Tanquet, "through the medium of manufactured articles that the most constant relations are established between the different classes of society, and in view of the danger of infection, we should not congratulate ourselves that this system of work permits the father or mother of a family to watch by the bedside of a sick child and still keep at work. The isolation of these diseases becomes impossible; at the homes of these poor people the partly finished clothing is gladly used to take the place of needed bed-coverings, and thus is especially suited to receive and preserve the germs of contagious diseases."

No doubt it would be blackening a picture already dark enough if we were to attribute these dangers, abuses and sad results to all forms of home work. The glove-worker, for example, protected by a rigid union organization like that of the old-time guilds, does not experience, as yet, the distress of the shoemakers and the tailors. But it is none the less true that in most cases home workers are worse treated than factory workers; and what we have just said of work in the cities applies equally, and sometimes with an aggravation of wretchedness, to home work in the country.

"It is there," said a Liberal deputy in the parliament at Vienna, "it is there that pauperism increases far beyond its increase among the small industries of the cities; it is there that the work-day reaches eighteen hours, without bringing the workers anything more than potatoes; it is there that anaemia and plagues sweep over whole valleys."

If then the collective factory, or, rather, collective manufacture, succeeds in maintaining itself, if in spite of its lower technical efficiency it resists the formidable competition of the centralized factory, it is at the cost of the deep degradation and demoralization of the workers it employs. We should therefore desire, and even favor by legislative means, the transformation of these degenerate forms of individual production into the higher forms of social production.

Those inclined to optimism may hope that this transformation will be the work of co-operative societies, grouping the home workers and finally acquiring sufficient machinery to compete successfully against capitalist industry. But in the cases which are unhappily of such infinite number where such a hope seems altogether chimerical, it should still be regarded as a real advance, technical and social, if the exploitation of home workers by the capital of the merchant can be replaced by the exploitation of laborers in the workshop or factory by industrial capital.

III.—THE SMALL RETAILERS.

In spite of the growth of the department stores, which Zola describes in so masterly a fashion in "*Le Bonheur des Dames*," in spite of their disastrous encroachment on the surrounding shops, the number of the small retailers, of all kinds, far from declining, seems, according to recent census reports, to be constantly increasing.

At the last meeting of the Verein für Sozial Politik (Breslau, 1899,) W. Sombart stated (and supported his position by figures) that their number is increasing more rapidly than the population. For one that disappears, ruined by the capitalist bazars, ten appear in other branches of trade on other places, in the country, or in the suburbs of large cities. They are ordinarily old servants or workingmen who have saved up something, or else artisans whose situations have become intolerable, and in the villages farmers who have wholly or partly given up farming.

To these must be added a great number of clerks and salesmen who, finding themselves out of a situation, or desiring to marry, establish themselves on their own account, often with manifestly insufficient resources. The possibility of supplying themselves too easily, in consequence of competition, with merchandise on credit, leads to the invasion of certain branches of trade by establishments with nothing solid about them, which appear especially in times of depression like mushrooms after a rain, only to disappear in the course of a year or two when inevitable ruin overtakes them.

In short, small trade is the special refuge of the cripples of capitalism, of all who prefer, in place of the hard labor of production, the scanty gleanings of the middle-man, or who, no longer

finding a sufficient revenue in industry or farming, desire to add a string to their bow by opening a little shop. This is in particular what explains the multiplication of saloons and taverns of all sorts—the easiest and least costly enterprise to start—in all the communes.

But it would be a serious mistake to suppose that these miniature establishments, which the census officials characterize as distinct enterprises, can be generally regarded as the personal property of those who carry them on. A great number of them, and a number constantly increasing, as capitalism develops, have only a phantom of independence, and are really in the hands of a few great money-lenders, manufacturers or merchants.

With rare exceptions, almost all the important breweries, with a view to extending their market, own a greater or less number of saloons; and as experience quickly showed that to make these saloons prosper, the sale of gin was much more advantageous than that of beer, a number of brewers have made themselves wholesale dealers in liquor.

It is this which explains the fact, apparently paradoxical, that recently, at Bruges, the brewers energetically demanded the abolition of the license fee imposed only upon the retailers of distilled liquors, whereas they seem at first sight to have every motive for supporting measures which tend to restrain the consumption of gin and consequently to increase the consumption of beer. The contrast between the real situation and the apparent situation which exists for the liquor trade, considered with reference to the degree of capitalist concentration is found likewise in many other branches of retail trade.

In the cities of Holland, for example, most of the bakeries are only depots supplied by the capitalist factories. At London, Macrosty, in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1899, shows that the cheap restaurants are found to be in the hands of four or five firms. The milk trade is in the same condition. The drug and the cigar business are undergoing the same fate; a single company owns a hundred cigar stores.

To sum up, then, the countless business enterprises which figure in the census reports can be grasped in three classes:

1. Those which, while they count as statistical units, are nothing but agencies,—branches of large capitalist or co-operative enterprises.
2. Those which furnish the manager only a supplemental income, helping out his wages.
3. Finally, those which really constitute independent enterprises, of which the stock in trade belongs to the little retailer.

Now if the total number of commercial establishments is certainly increasing, it is much less certain that the profits of this

last class, the only one which interests us from the point of view of the union of property and labor, are tending to multiply.

True, their number is increasing, with the specialization of trades, in fields where the economy of exchanges is developing at the expense of the domestic forms of production. A village, once purely agricultural, whose inhabitants baked their own bread and traded their butter and eggs for merchandise at the store in the next village, now possesses its bakery, its grocery, or at the very least, one of those miscellaneous stores where they sell yardsticks and colonial goods, saucepans and almanacs, blacking and red herrings, corsets and straw hats. But if, in rural neighborhoods, commercial concentration operates to increase the number of shops; in the cities, on the contrary, the development of the co-operatives and especially of the department stores, some of which, like the Bon Marche on the Louvre, employ several thousand people, inflicts upon the small retailers a damage which is measured first by the reduction of their profits and later in some branches of trade by a reduction in their numbers.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt, and it is one of the most serious defects of the present system, that the small retailers retain a numerical importance out of all proportion to the services that they render the community. Many striking examples have been given of what the parasitism of middle-men costs the public, from the Normandy apple, selling at Paris for seventy times what it costs where it is grown, to the litre of wine from the south, which brings fifteen centimes to the owner of the vines and is sold for seventy or eighty centimes at the wine-shop. [This is about fourteen cents a quart. By the time the same wine reaches America, the retail price is a dollar a quart.—Translator.] Again, we learn from the *Economiste Francais* that the average price for fifty kilograms of coffee, which reached 103 francs in 1893, had fallen to 39 francs in 1899; now, this reduction of two-thirds has had no effect on the retail price; only the middle-men have profited by it. Brazilian coffee, which does not cost in France, all charges paid, more than 2½ francs per kilogram (25 cents per pound) is currently retailed at 4 to 5 francs, while its purity is not always absolute. Those who profit by trading in this article tax it more heavily than does the custom house.*

Moreover, in spite of these profits, so burdensome to their customers, the small retailers are so numerous that, especially in the branches invaded by large-scale business, there are thousands on the verge of bankruptcy. It has been well remarked by Charles Gide that if every baker baked but one sack of flour a

*For the existing relations between wholesale prices and retail prices see Newman's "Wholesale and Retail Prices," in the *Economic Journal* for September, 1897.

day and if on that sack he had to live and pay his rent, his taxes and his helpers, he would have to raise the price of every loaf and still he would live most cheaply. All this proves that our machinery for distribution is detestable and justifies the severe condemnation pronounced years ago by the Utopian socialists against the useless multitude of petty retailers.

"Commerce," said Considerane, "is useful only to serve the needs of production and consumption; it should be the servant of the other two branches. * * * Its role is subordinate. Unproductive in its nature, it adds nothing either in quantity or quality to the objects which pass through its hands; its operations ought to be conducted with the smallest possible number of agents. Now, this is realisable only by means of an administration which puts the producer directly in touch with the consumer and suppresses all the intermediate robbers and parasites."

IV.—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

In spite of the growing predominance of the capitalist organization, we still find, in existing societies, numerous and important survivals of former social organisms, of ante-capitalist forms of production.

Peasant proprietorship, the industry of the artisan and the little independent business are not on the eve of disappearing, and wherever they survive, realizing the union of property and labor, socialism has no thought of using compulsion to socialize them.*

But however numerous the relics of ancient epochs may be in certain countries, certain regions or certain branches of industry, it is none the less true that as a general rule the development of capitalism tends to eliminate the independent producers, to take away their capital, or, at least, to take away their former independence.

From the moment when the market reaches out to a sufficient extent, the advantages of the master's eye, of manual skill, of zeal for work stimulated by the direct and personal interest of the producer, no longer suffices to compensate for the superior productive advantages of the division of labor, of the exact knowledge of the outlets for the product, and of the use of a more abundant capital. Still more is it so in those branches of produc-

*Cf. Kautsky: "Das Erfurter Programm, pp. 150 et seq. (Stuttgart, 1892.) Frederick Engels: "Die Bauernfrage in Frankreich und Deutschland" (neue Zeit, 1894-1895, No. 10). "It is evident that if the public powers came into our hands we should not think of expropriating forcibly the little peasants (with or without compensation) as we should be obliged to do with the large proprietors. Our opinion, in what concerns the little peasant, is that he should be induced to transfer his enterprise and his private property to co-operative associations, not by force, but by the influence of example and with the aid of the public authorities."

tion, always growing in number, in which technical progress has prepared the way for the reign of the machine.

Nothing is more striking in this regard than the valuable American investigation of 1898 on the comparative productivity of hand and machine labor.* These researches, truly admirable for their precision, have borne on 672 kinds of products, industrial or agricultural. Each kind is minutely analyzed in Carroll D. Wright's report, from the quadruple point of view of the number of workers, number of operations, hours of labor and dollars paid for labor, necessary to produce the same product, first, by hand; second, by machine.

Let us limit ourselves to quoting a few typical examples which show in a striking manner the overwhelming superiority of the machine:

1. Making of ten carts.

By hand: 2 workmen performing 11 distinct operations and working in all 1,180 hours, paid \$54.46.

By machine: 52 workmen, making 97 operations and working in all 37 hours 28 minutes, paid \$7.90.

2. Making of 500 pounds of butter:

By hand: 3 workmen, 7 operations, 125 hours, \$10.08.

By machine: 7 workmen, 8 operations, 12 hours 30 minutes, \$1.78.

3. Making of 1,000 watch movements:

By hand: 14 workmen, 453 operations, 341,896 hours, \$80,822.

By machine: X workmen, 1,088 operations, 8,343 hours, \$17.99.

4. Making of 500 yards of twilled cottonade:

By hand: 3 workmen, 19 operations, 7,534 hours, \$135.61.

By machine: 252 workmen, 43 operations, 84 hours, \$6.81.

5. Making of 100 pairs of cheap boots:

By hand: 2 workmen, 83 operations, 1,438 hours, \$408.50.

By machine: 113 workmen, 122 operations, 154 hours, \$35.40.

6. Making of 1,000 pounds of bread in one-pound loaves:

By hand: 1 workman, 11 operations, 28 hours, \$5.80.

By machine, 12 workmen, 16 operations, 8 hours 56 minutes, \$1.55.

7: Making of 12 dozen men's jackets:

By hand: 1 workman, 4 operations, 840 hours, \$50.4c.

*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1898 (Washington, 1899).

By machine: 11 workmen, 8 operations, 97 hours 15 minutes, \$12.80.

Such figures need no comment; they trace in letters of fire the inevitable destiny of the master-tailors, shoe-makers, bakers, watch-makers, who do not produce specialties or articles of luxury.

In spite of the desperate efforts of the small middle class to preserve even a shadow of independence, hand labor for producing all the objects of current consumption is disappearing more and more before machine production, subjugating an increasing number of wage laborers.

In Germany, for example, from 1882 to 1895, the number of independent producers in the manufacturing industries diminished by 139,382, while the total number of industrial laborers increased by 861,468.

If now we reckon all the professions, industrial, commercial and agricultural, there is, since 1882, an absolute increase in the number of producers who are independent or call themselves so, as well as of employes and laborers, but while this increase is only 5 per cent for the independent producers, it is 20 per cent for the laborers and 100 per cent for the employes. More than three-fourths of the newcomers in the world of labor belong to the wage-working class, and even in the total of the professions, the proportion of those working for wages is sensibly increasing at the expense of the independent producers.

This is shown by the following table, which we borrow from M. Rauchberg:

Out of every hundred persons at work in the German empire in 1882 and in 1895, the count shows:

	Independent producers.		Persons working for wages.	
	1882.	1895.	1882.	1895.
Agriculture	27.78	30.28	72.22	69.02
Manufacturing	34.41	24.90	65.59	75.10
Commerce	44.67	36.07	55.33	63.93
Totals	32.03	28.94	67.97	71.06

Thus, in spite of the reduction in the number of farm laborers, of permanent day laborers, drawn in by the tentacles of the cities, the relative importance of the proletariat goes on increasing.

Must we then say that fatally, inevitably, all the independent producers are condemned, in a future more or less near, to be transformed into wage-workers.

We have said elsewhere that a very different evolution may

be conceived, that personal property may be transferred into co-operative or social property, without necessarily passing through the capitalist stage.* On the other hand, it appears clearly that in a great number of cases, if personal property tends to disappear, the higher forms of capitalist production, in spite of the advantages which they offer from a rational point of view, are scarcely at a stage to eliminate the lower, stagnant, miserable forms of home industry, of small farming, of retail trade.

The parasitism of middlemen, the sterile profusion of trades catering to luxury, the horrors of the sweating system, the working of petty tracts of land with their "proprietors" with five-cent incomes, all these are products of capitalism, and it seems as if they might have to last as long as capitalism itself.

Perhaps, also, certain branches of independent production, some relics of peasant proprietorship, are destined to survive it. Nothing hinders us, indeed, from imagining a socialist state in which individual property and labor should coexist with collective property and labor.

But however that may be, the certain fact is that in the principal industries, those which answer to the most general and the most extended needs, the superior productivity of machinery and exploitation on a large scale tend to the extinction of personal property and isolated production. And the same causes bring their consequences; the capitalist forms of production and exchange, which characterize the present organization of labor, manifest an ever-growing tendency toward concentration and socialization.

Emile Vandervelde (translated by Charles H. Kerr).

*See a report presented to the agricultural congress of Waremmes on small rural proprietorship, in Vandervelde and Destree's "Socialisme en Belgique," pp. 359 et seq. (Paris, Glard Briere, 1898.)

Evolution or Revolution ?



T has often been pointed out, and I repeat it once more, that the socialist movement is essentially a proletarian movement. No man belonging to the privileged classes or brought up in their views of life can discuss socialism and its possibilities in an unbiased way, unless he first removes the contagium of class-prejudice from his system. Those who have what they do not need will otherwise not be able to know and appreciate the sensations of a man who has not even that which he needs.

The article of "Marxist" in the October number of the International Socialist Review is admirable from the point of view of a man who, in comfortable circumstances, can sympathize with the gloomy apprehensions raised in the breasts of stock and bond-holders by the growth of socialism. It is delightful reading for the scientific economist who loves a brilliant display of quotations from the galaxy of professional lights. It is extremely gratifying to the philosopher educated to the belief that the free play of evolution's laws will in due time land the world in a paradise of perfection without the assistance of the "conscious mind."

But from the standpoint of a Marx-socialist, a class-conscious proletarian, the article is entirely unsatisfactory. As a disciple of Marx, I respectfully decline to associate with "Marxist" under the same label. A Marxist who in the discussion of economic questions emphasizes the necessity of justice for capitalists while gliding serenely by the proletarian's right to justice; a Marxist who tries to outmarx Marx and to lead us astray from the straight path of class-conscious socialism into the "misere de la philosophie"; such a Marxist is not our comrade. "The indefiniteness of the conception of socialism," about which he complains, is indeed the main difficulty under which he labors.

Permit me to supplement his article from the standpoint of those who are not beset by this difficulty.

"Marxist" smiles a superior smile, because to Marx "competition appears to be the only lever" which sets capitalistic evolution in motion; and he informs us that it did not seem to occur to Marx "that competition itself is but a transient phase in the development of capitalism." Then he goes on to demonstrate what Marx told us long ago, viz: that capitalist production will finally lead to nationalization of industries. He applauds Bernstein, because this writer was the first to point

out the failure of Marx to give industrial monopoly (trusts) its proper recognition in the development of capitalism, but thinks it wise to explain in a foot-note on page 221 of his article that Marx uses the term monopoly only in a "colloquial sense," not in the sense intended by "Marxist."

That the transformation of capitalistic private property into socialized property assumes before the vision of the author of "Capital" the outlines of a violent revolution, is exceedingly regretted by "Marxist," and he gives Bernstein another pat on the shoulder for pointing out that this "sounds a discordant note in Karl Marx's theory of economic evolution." How violent this revolution must have appeared to Marx is evident from the fact that he describes it as "the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people" and thinks the conflict will be settled by the state, the "midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."

Further comment on this side of "Marxist's" article would be waste of time. I do not wish to make an idol of Marx; that would be contrary to the tenets of socialism, and Marx himself would be the first to resent it, were he alive. But I would earnestly request Bernstein, "Marxist," et al, to consider the following statements:

"To quote disconnected passages from the works of different authors and construct them in a sense contrary to the intention of the authors shows neither great learning nor deep sagacity."

"To point out certain sentences of an author's work, which happen to be not quite so precise as might be desirable, as defects in the fundamental logic of the work, is idiocy."

"To invite strife and schisms in a party by continually shaking its foundations with worthless discussions actuated by superficial understanding is criminal."

"To create the impression that we don't know ourselves what we want and cannot be taken seriously is suicidal."

Remember further that "Capital" and "Critique of Political Economy" are not the only works written by Marx. Before finding fault and indiscriminately criticizing him, read his other works first; read "Capital" and "Critique of Political Economy" after them. Then, if you have a new message to bring to the party, come forth with it. But I am inclined to think that you will rather, if you are sincere and a true socialist, prefer to do what Hitch would have all other socialists do, viz: "re-examine your position and admit that you have made a mistake."

"Marxist" makes this passage from Marx the pivot of his theory of capitalistic evolution: "It is not the conscious mind of man that determines the form of his being, but quite the reverse." Hence he concludes "that capitalistic society must grow into socialism as the outcome of the free play of economic

forces, without the intervention of the conscious mind, as embodied in the socialist party platform."

It is remarkable that the author recognizes the law of evolution in economics, but entirely overlooks the fact that the conscious mind also is subject to evolution. Marx did not overlook it, however. With the Communist Manifesto and his conscious application of the materialist conception of history he started the mind of the proletariat on a course of evolution that has long distanced the slow course of economic evolution and will soon prove that, thanks to Marx, the statement truthfully applicable to the mind of man fifty years ago is no longer true of his disciples.

It is the merit of the Communist Manifesto, edited by Marx and Engels and styled "completely obsolete" by "Marxist," of being the first to emphasize the fact that the "labor question is a political issue." Through it the development of order in social economy has become the mission of the working class. No amount of development in industrial monopoly will free a nation, if the proletariat is not educated to such an extent as to understand the laws that "determine the form of its being." No degree of nationalization of industries will produce anything else but capitalistic socialism, if the proletariat is not a class-conscious body. Industrial monopoly, so far from tending to socialization, will only create a class of tyrants who will assume the character and claims of feudal nobility. Even in a republic where direct legislation with all its accessories is in full practice, the system of capitalistic monopoly—whether nationalized or not—can still be upheld by bribery, intimidation and fostering of ignorance in school, church and press, as long as the mass of the people are not sufficiently educated. Lack of education is precisely the reason why socialism is making slow progress, wherever it is first taught.

Given a thoroughly educated nation and we could have had socialism long before the progress of invention and science had made private monopoly possible. Suppose, for a moment, that the nations of the world had had the necessary intellectual enlightenment at Christ's time, and socialism would have been established then and there. Economic evolution, instead of being the means of enriching the few at the expense of the many, would then have resulted in shortening the hours of labor and creating better surroundings for all. But the people were too ignorant to grasp the import of Christ's doctrine, and the ruling classes held them down under the iron rods of religious superstition and military force—as they do now, with the added force of economic pressure, fallacious science and a lying press.

In spite of all difficulties, the intelligence of the masses is rapidly receiving enlightenment. But for this fact we socialists

would be roasted alive *ad majorem dei gloriam*, like the 'cranks' of old; but for the spread of modern intelligence, Hanna and Co. would use us for candles to light up the lawn parties of Washington "society." If it were not for the intellectual progress of the age, it is doubtful whether such little eggs as "Bernstein, Marxist and Co." would even care openly to discuss social economy, let alone trying to gain notoriety by pretending to know more than their intellectual fostering hen, Marx.

Nationalization of monopolies without abolition of the capitalist system will not benefit the proletariat. The directors, inspectors, chiefs, etc., would still claim superior salaries and the "voting cattle" would have to be content with living wages and long hours of labor as before. The policy of expansion would provide a market for surplus products and the "slush-fund" would grow proportionately. "Marxist" himself very aptly illustrates this: "Public ownership of railways, telephones and other public utilities is bright with the promise of new political jobs by the hundred thousand." It will still be the old drama of a proletariat exploited by a ruling class.

What good will "government directors upon the board of directors of every trust," elected on a Democratic or Republican ticket, do the people?

A state of society acknowledging "the interests of stockholders and bondholders, regulating the rate of interest and the rate of dividends, rate of profits, scale of wages and so forth," and realizing Fourier's dream of "social production with the division of the product among Capital, Labor and Talent," is a rather grotesque outgrowth for the brain of a man who signs himself "Marxist." It would be a credit to the brain of an old party boss. And the prerogative of the stockholders,reduced to drawing an annuity fixed by the state and voting at elections for directors," is a worthy pendant to the suspension for several years with full pay of a certain army official under the present administration. How delightful to be "expropriated" under such circumstances! No more business-worry, no more apprehensions for the safety of your wealth, only a regular salary—just because you happen to be alive and to find human society in a lower state of intelligence than bees that will not keep drones in their hive!

A little less science, please, and a little more common sense!

What are we to think of a socialist writer who can have the heart to talk learnedly of a gradual process of evolution, while millions of his fellow-citizens are forced to starve, to live by stealth, to strike, to fawn, to sell themselves into lifelong bondage? When children of tender years and women pregnant with growing life are forced into the ranks of wage-slaves, has not the capitalistic system reached that point in its evolu-

tion where the conscious mind should assert its sovereignty and hurl the defenders of this moloch into the abyss of eternal oblivion?

What do those comrades, whose wan faces greet the dawn of every new morning with the consciousness of another day's slavery in store for them, think of waiting patiently, until the gradual process of evolution has changed the basis and superstructures of society so that they will get the full product of their labor? How will those, who with a long look of helpless compassion at their invalid wives and their offspring doomed to perpetual drudgery, starvation and want, start off to their daily tasks, not with full dinnerpails, but with the adulterated food bought at prices "the traffic will stand," like to await the days when their great-grand-children's children, slaves no longer through the gradual evolution of economic conditions, will play around the May-pole in the shade of the trees nursed to full growth by the decaying bones of their ancestors?

"Modern political science can conceive of a similar process of evolution in the working out of Industrial Democracy," but happily it cannot force our conscious minds to wait for that process. Unless something more satisfactory is offered to us than the mouldy husks of dried and shriveled philosophy, I shall rely on two more powerful factors in social economy, viz: hunger and love, to fulfil Marx's prophecy of the expropriation of the expropriators long before anyone will have time to consider the question of providing a sinking fund for the "claims of capital."

You invalid, exhausted by excessive exertion in the service of soulless corporations, and unable to counterbalance the waste of your tissue by regeneration of healthy molecules—for want of means of subsistence—let it be a consolation to you that science can estimate to a nicety the rate of progress in the chemical dissolution of your body. It will be the only consolation you will get from science, if "Marxist" is right in his prophecy. Society will regulate the "claims" of capital, but the surplus values you contributed literally with your own flesh and blood, and might have used to save your life had not competition deprived you of them, will not be restored to you.

You young girl with traces of former purity and loveliness in your face, now degraded and vulgar beyond conception, who will compensate you for the loss of your purity, your happiness, your worldly and eternal possibilities, Society must not recognize any claims of similar nature.

You young toiler at the plow who might have been "a kingly growth," to whom Life gave to beget "the thought that will redeem and lift Man higher yet," but who is now dwarfed and crippled physically from premature hard work beyond the endurance of his growing body and mentally from lack of

culture, "Marxist" does not emphasize your birthrights. Look at the picture of the Man with the Hoe! You will be like him, if a merciful fate does not relieve you of your burden in time. You are not concerned in the trust question. Society owes you no debt; it has no sinking fund for your claims.

You young artist, haggard and crushed and doubtful of your own talent, who, lacking social patronage and political pull, missed your one chance out of a million to become great, give up your ideals. Society has no use for an art like yours. It wants docile and soulless tools. Kill your feelings, even if it will burn your soul and degrade yourself in your own eyes forever. Souls and lives will not weigh in the scale of Society when the day of reckoning arrives; they are in commensurable quantities, but gold and silver are not.

Is it necessary to increase this list?

I am well aware that many scientists whose pulse beats only with the two cold throbs "facts and figures, facts and figures," will at once sneer at my pathos and call it scornfully "sentimental trash." Their scorn is wasted on me. If this is sentimentality, make the most of it! You cannot deny the facts and their intimate bearing on the economic question.

Until better proofs are furnished that it is unnecessary to educate the proletariat into class-consciousness for the purpose of voting itself into political power, I shall do my share to repeat the cry of my economic teachers: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" Until assurance beyond doubt is given that the capitalist class has "changed its human nature," I should hold Marx fully justified in conceiving of the transformation of capitalistic private property into social property as a revolution. I doubt that the capitalists will part with their spoils without a struggle.

I wish to lay great stress on the fact that socialists are striving for a peaceful conquest of the powers of government by the ballot. If any violence is connected with this process, it will be started by the class which now controls the legislatures, the army and the navy. Socialists have profited by the history of the French Revolution of 1792, the German and French crises of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871. They have still more profited by the lessons of American history. We are peaceful men. Universal brotherhood is our slogan. But such names as Chicago, Brooklyn, Hazleton, Wardner and others remind us that we must not look for justice to the capitalist class.

We are determined not to give up our inalienable rights to life, liberty and happiness. The attitude of the present privileged classes will determine ours. We want peace on earth and good will to all men; but we shall not give up our right to

justice for the sake of them. Whatever the form of the coming struggle, the responsibility for the solution of the problem by blood and iron will not rest with the socialists.

E. Untermann.



The International Congress of Socialist Students and Graduates

THE first international congress of socialist students and graduates was held at Brussels in 1891, and its proceedings were published in the *Avant-Garde* of Brussels. The second congress took place at Geneva in September, 1893, on the day after the great international socialist congress at Zurich. The proceedings appeared in the *Etudiant Socialiste* of our Belgian comrades and in the *Ere Nouvelle* of Paris.

The third congress was held at Paris this year, just before the international socialist congress, at the Hotel des Societes Savantes, on the 20th, 21st and 22d of last September.

There were represented the socialist students of the Universities of Paris (group of Collectivist Students of Paris) and socialist students of Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Armenia, the West Indies, Lyons, Montpellier, Nancy, Caen and Aix. Germany was represented by socialist students from the universities of Berlin and Munich, Belgium by delegates from Brussels and Liege, Holland by Utrecht, Amsterdam, Delft and Leyden, Italy by Rome, Denmark by Copenhagen, Hungary by Budapest, Bulgaria by Sofia. Most of the Russian and Polish universities and the Armenian socialist students were equally represented. The socialist students from the universities of Vienna (Austria) and Cambridge (England), who could not be represented had sent reports, and the socialist students of Belgrade (Servia) had delegated our comrade, D. Popovitch, to represent them.

On the other side, the socialist students of the great American universities, Harvard, Columbia, Brown and Chicago, had joined the congress. These comrades showed great activity through several months and even established an inter-collegiate socialist bureau. For reasons unknown to us they could not as expected be directly represented. The congress was opened by Enrico Ferri (University of Rome) assisted by Borghjerg (Copenhagen) and Lagardelle (Paris). Ferri brought out forcibly the reasons for a congress of socialist students; just as in organic life the cerebral cells have an organization of their own, distinct from yet dependent upon the rest of the body of which they form a part, so there is in the socialist life a necessary division of labor. At the same time Ferri asserted, amid general applause, the solidarity which unites the socialist students to the organized proletariat of the whole world.

I.

THE PROPAGANDA WITHIN THE UNIVERSITIES.

Jean Longuet outlined in a few words the significant history of the Group of Collectivist Students of Paris. The delegate of the socialist students of Budapest presented a thoughtful report analyzing the reasons why, contrary to what might have been expected from their past, and in spite of their liberal phraseology, most of the Hungarian students have allowed themselves to be carried away by their low nationalist passions.

The congress then opened for discussion the question of how and by what methods we might bring into socialism the greatest possible number of students. Three currents of opinion on this subject took shape.

1. Some delegates, especially Belgians and Hollanders, supported to some extent by Tarbouniech, maintained that it was useless to try to gain over to socialism the purely bourgeois students. Supporting their arguments by the example of their own countries, they showed that there can be no socialist students except where there exists—and to the extent that there exists—an intellectual proletariat. It is then upon the economic interests of the intellectual proletariat that our propaganda must exclusively—or almost exclusively—rest.

Many delegates exposed the inefficacy and the danger of this mode of propaganda. The students, they said, are not intellectual proletarians, they are would-be doctors, would-be engineers, etc.; it is not until later that they will be doctors without patients, engineers without employment; we can not then appeal to economic interest before that interest arises. Moreover it is dangerous to attract the intellectuals by the promise of better situations. Whereas class interest is an altruistic interest, so to speak, which reaches out in time and space—what most of the intellectual proletarians ask for is a situation for themselves, and right now. To appeal to the economic interests of the intellectuals is then to awaken hopes which will be deceived; it is moreover to introduce into the socialist movement a number of dangerous arrivals, coming to seek at the hands of the working class material advantages (positions as deputies, municipal councilmen, city clerks, managers of co-operatives, etc.) denied them by bourgeois society, and thus preventing the proletariat from educating itself in administration.

2. Ferri, relying on his personal experience as a professor, maintained that the best method of propaganda was science. If so many young men who are socialists in the university become reactionaries later, it is perhaps because nothing has been awakened in them but the enthusiasm of youth, which disappears quickly. We should, on the contrary, introduce social-

ism into their minds as a part of science, as the logical and necessary culmination of the biological and sociological sciences. No need of making a direct propaganda, which, on the other hand, would frighten many of the listeners,—enough to explain the whole of science, without the mutilations inflicted on it by the bourgeois orthodoxy, of their own accord the listeners will draw socialist conclusions. "Without pronouncing the word socialism once a year," said Ferri, "I make two-thirds of our students conscious socialists." Among workingmen, it is necessary to add the socialist conclusions to the scientific premises, because the workingman's psychology permits it, and indeed requires it; before an audience of bourgeois intellectuals, it is necessary to give the scientific premises alone, and let each mind draw its own conclusions.

3. To this scientific or rational propaganda, Lagardelle adds a propaganda sentimental or moral in its character. In fact almost all the socialist students have come into socialism through moral motives. It is not till later that their readings and studies confirms their spontaneous feelings by scientific reasons.

The following resolution, presented by Lagardelle, was adopted by a unanimous vote of the nationalities except that Holland and Bulgaria dissented.

"The Congress holds that while appealing to the class interests of the future intellectual proletarians, the socialist propaganda in university circles should be addressed more particularly to the scientific spirit, to the moral sentiments, and to the democratic aspirations of the students."

At the request of a professor in the primary Normal School, the Congress calls on the groups of socialist students to make an active propaganda among Normal School professors, who will, in turn, transmit their socialist convictions to the teachers they will have to train, and who thereby may do a work of capital importance throughout the country.

On motion of the delegate from Munich, the following resolution was then adopted:

"The Congress is of the opinion that the best means of propagating socialism in the universities is to organize, along with clearly socialist circles where they are possible, neutral circles for the study of the social sciences."

II.

ROLE OF SOCIALIST STUDENTS IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT.

Lagardelle attempted to define what that role should be. He held that the socialist students should not elaborate theories in their class-room, but should aid the proletariat to develop

the theory from itself. Marx said at the Congress of Lausanne: "The role of the international is not to dictate formulas to the proletariat, but to aid it to find its own proper line of conduct."

The question of the "people's universities" occupied an entire session. Only one delegate, Comrade Polack (of Paris) showed himself hostile to them in principle. He proposed the following resolution:

"The Congress, although recognizing that the class struggle is but a means and not an end, declares that the intellectual emancipation of the workers must be, like their economic emancipation, wrought out by the workers themselves, and it encourages the socialist students to create socialist universities more popular and fuller of the university spirit than the bourgeois 'people's universities.'"

It should be noted that this resolution only obtained the vote of its author.

Several speakers opposed this proposition, among them Jaures, who pointed out that it was as absurd to advise the proletarians to educate themselves as to advise them to enrich themselves; the intellectual capital of mankind ought to be taken by them, like the economic capital of the bourgeoisie. No great revolutionary movement has hesitated to avail itself of all the intellectual forces of the past. And if there are snobs in the "people's universities," that is only a sign of growth and of vitality. Moreover, with the people's universities as with parliament, as with the labor unions, as with the co-operatives, it shows a want of faith in socialism to dread that it will dissolve on contact with reality; on the contrary, far from infusing their prejudices into the socialist movement, the intellectual bourgeois converts will lose them in it.

Boucher, in a report presented in the name of the Group of Collectivist Students of Paris, contrasted with the old socialist method, which required nothing but disciplined sharpshooters, the socialism of to-day, which calls for intelligent men. He attempted to trace a course of study for the socialists of the people's universities, insisting upon the necessity of a unified programme and of the co-ordination of the efforts of the professors. He concluded by inviting the socialist students to enter the people's universities, either as professors or as voluntary critics; there is, apparently, the real battle-field for the socialist students, there is the role which is most suitable to them in the whole range of the movement; that which will excite the least antagonism, and where they will be the most useful.

Comrade Ivanowski explained quite fully the work of the people's universities in Austrian Poland. The delegate from Munich, replying to criticisms against the people's universities,

and to the special charge that they attract none but the bourgeois, declared that in southern Germany 30 per cent of the attendants upon the people's universities are manual laborers.

The delegate of the socialist students from Moscow and St. Petersburg, replying to certain unjust criticisms which a Russian delegate had incidentally made, explained the deplorable situation of the Russian socialist students. Fifteen hundred to two thousand are arrested every year for socialist propaganda work, and hundreds and thousands are sent to Siberia.

Soldi, a private tutor in the University of Rome, explained what had been done in the way of higher popular instruction in Italy, where several people's universities are in process of formation, especially in northern Italy.

Comrades Andre Hesse and Jean Louguet proposed the following resolution:

"Whereas, The question of the people's universities should be examined in the light of the general conceptions which direct the action and the propaganda of modern socialism, and

"Whereas, It is for the interest of the whole proletariat to participate in science, while on the other hand it should never forget its mission as a class party,—

"Resolved, (1) Wherever a people's university is formed, socialist or non-socialist, it is the duty of socialist students to enter it.

(2) Wherever the working-class members of a people's university are sufficiently class-conscious, it is important that it be made a socialist university.

(3) Wherever a people's university is established with aims hostile to socialism, it is important and obligatory to oppose it."

The first two resolutions were adopted unanimously; the third was rejected, as implying dangerous reservations, and it was replaced by the following resolution by Comrade Uhry (Paris):

"(3) The socialist students are invited to take part, if need be, even in universities that are purely bourgeois."

IV.

INTERNATIONAL REPORTS.

Comrade Tordeur (Brussels) announced the forthcoming appearance of the "Socialist Student," edited by our Brussels comrades. This journal is designed as the international organ of socialist students, and its editor is at the same time the international secretary of the socialist students.

The following resolutions were then adopted:

On motion of a delegate from Berlin—

"The Congress expresses the warmest sympathy for the comrades of Russian universities who in the struggle for the

cause of the proletariat and the defense of scientific researches are victims of the Czar's oppression."

On motion of Lagardelle—

"The Congress expresses the hope that following the example given by the municipality of Lille, the socialist municipalities may extend the practice of loans on personal credit to poor students."

On motion of Comrade Staneff (Bulgaria)—

"The Congress protests against the support given by foreign governments to the Turkish satrap, and sympathizes with the nations oppressed by his tyranny."

The Congress voted:

"The next international congress of socialist students shall take place not later than the time of the next socialist international congress. The general secretary shall consult the different nationalities on this subject."

The Congress closed with an address by the president of the session, our friend Vandervelde, who called to memory the modest circles of socialist students started about 1888-1890, and the pardonable suspicions entertained by the proletarians of the time against the intellectuals. He reminded the socialist intellectuals that they came into socialism for work, not for honor, and declared the Congress adjourned in the midst of shouts of acclamation, "Vive l' Internationale."



American Federation of Labor Convention

THE twentieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is now a matter of history. It is doubtful if any delegate present remembers much that was done outside of smashing trade autonomy, turning down socialism, and having a running fight over the question of putting the initiative and referendum into practical operation and demanding a Cabinet position for a trade unionist.

The latter proposition was one of the first to come up. Down in Washington, and occasionally in the daily newspapers, a bouquet with a string attached is thrown toward the merry workingman. It contains a billet doux promising a new Cabinet position, to be known as Secretary of Commerce and Industry. Several resolutions bearing on the subject were before the house. A resolution was introduced reciting that nothing could be hoped for from a politician in such a position and demanding that a trade unionist be appointed. And then the "good" trade unionists waxed wrathily, declared with deep emotion that the U. S. Supreme Court would label such an act unconstitutional, and suggested that after the position is created the powers be petitioned to appoint a union man. The "bad" Socialists demanded that a trade unionist be specified, that the Supreme Court be given the opportunity to pass upon the law after it is enacted, and that no compromising and weakening should be manifested at this time. The Socialists were defeated.

The first couple of days the initiative and referendum was glorified in many resolves and speeches. But finally when a proposition came in to elect Federation officials by the initiative and referendum it was suddenly discovered that the plan was "impractical." The Socialists held that consistency ought to be displayed occasionally, that the present method of electing officers gave rise to charges that a few delegates absolutely control the Federation, and that the present monarchical system should be supplanted by a democratic plan. The conservatives made their strongest point by claiming that direct election would be too expensive and too cumbrous, and by a vote of three-fourths to one-fourth the Cleveland resolution was killed.

The heavy work came on the Socialist resolutions. The Cleveland delegate introduced a resolution bearing on the trust and monopoly question, and the committee recommended changes that were really a backward step from the position taken in Detroit a year ago. The A. F. of L., however, is on record as declaring that "the movement of capital to concentrate and co-operate has not

lessened, but, on the contrary, nearly all productive industry, outside of agriculture, is now controlled by trusts and monopolies, which have the power largely to lower wages on the one hand or raise prices on the other, thus enforcing great hardships upon the working people." The non-unionists are warned to organize into unions and to study the development of trusts and monopolies. The substitute, although striking out the words: "with a view to nationalizing the same," was acceptable to many of the progressists, who voted for it.

Four other socialistic resolutions were reported, but the constitutional amendment from Cleveland was withdrawn in order that all effort might be centered upon a plain declaration in favor of the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, fathered by Delegate Slayton, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters. Delegates Kleffner of Omaha, and Bracken of the Lathers, refused to withdraw their resolutions, and, therefore, the committee bunched the three, reported adversely and submitted a substitute, which was adopted by 4,169 to 685, though the vote is incorrect, some voting in the negative having been unwittingly counted in the affirmative or not at all. The substitute reads in part:

"We cheerfully accept, and desire, all the assistance and usefulness which may or can be given the trade union movement by all reform forces. The aspirations, hopes and aims of the members of trade unions are very similar to the expressed wishes of the greater body of Socialists, namely, that the burdens of toil may be made lighter, and that each worker shall enjoy the complete benefit of that which he or she produces."

The report goes on to say that all worship the ideal of greater liberty and brighter life, but that the workers reach different conclusions as to the method of gaining the desired end. The trade union movement is held to be the true and legitimate channel through which the toilers should seek present amelioration and future emancipation, and it is claimed that the unions do not now and will not in the future declare against the discussion of economic and political questions in their meetings. In conclusion, it is declared to be the inherent duty of affiliated unions to publish in their journals, to discuss in their meetings and the members thereof to study in their homes all questions of a public nature which have reference to their industrial or political liberty.

This, then, is the Federation's latest political stand. It is practically meaningless, and the only commendable thing about it is that it guarantees political and economic discussion in the unions. This concession, if it can be called such, caught many sentimentalists, and even delegates who took the floor and called themselves Socialists and were so regarded. Quite a few representatives from the larger bodies claimed they were thoroughly in sympathy with

the resolutions declaring for the collective ownership of the tools of production, but they feared the rank and file would not approve their action if they voted for their personal convictions. As a matter of fact, nearly one-half the vote in the convention was pledged in favor of a declaration for socialism, but when the conservatives opened fire many ran to cover for fear of arousing antagonism for their organizations. As it is, one-third of the delegates (fifty-two) voted against the committee's substitute and for the Slayton resolution.

As to the debate, probably the less said about it the better—probably if the rank and file, who had no axes to grind, had been present and gave an impartial verdict, the roll call would have been more equally balanced. The Socialists took their stand upon principles and discussed actual, existing facts. The anti-Socialists indulged in personalities, juggled with deileonism and appealed to prejudice. Indeed, President Gompers frankly declared that he would not discuss the principles of socialism, but instead he proceeded to knock the stuffing out of several straw men. Messrs. Duncan, Lennon, Mitchell and others pursued the same tactics, and visitors and newspaper men voluntarily expressed the opinion that the debate was farcical and unfair. Of course, the "antis" carried many votes with them—they possessed power—and it occurs to the writer that if certain so-called Socialists had in years past consumed one-half the time in educating trade unionists that they did in damning them no such ridiculous debates would take place. However, the tide of socialism continues to rise, and in another year or two ultra-conservatism will be forced to the rear, just as was fanaticism in the Socialist movement.

Trade autonomy was next in importance to socialism. The fight between the autonomists and industrialists, or centralization and decentralization, or unconscious socialism and individualism, as you please, became quite bitter, and threats of secession and the disintegration of the Federation were made on numerous occasions by intemperate autonomists, but they will probably take a more sensible view of the situation henceforth. The onslaught made against the Brewery Workers was the test. Various small unions attempted to secure jurisdiction over craftsmen employed in breweries, but it was finally decided by an overwhelming vote that the Brewers' Union should control all workers employed in brewing establishments. The printers'-machinists' struggle has been practically settled in favor of the former, who were lightly censured, but will control all machine tenders in printing offices. On the question of autonomy the Socialists were a unit in favor of centralization, contending that as capital becomes more compact it is necessary for labor to also become more closely federated and combined, and that collectivism is steadily superseding individualism.

The Federation took a decisive stand in favor of municipal ownership of public utilities and against compulsory arbitration. Many questions relating to various unions, but of no general importance, were cussed and discussed. Excepting McQuire, the old officers were re-elected, D. A. Hayes, of the glassworkers, filling the vacancy in the Executive Council. The "slate" went through without a break. Many delegates were incensed and declared with emphasis that next year the "slate" will be broken into smithereens, and, indeed, from dark hints thrown out by a miners' official in the presence of the writer, "new blood" will be injected into the Federation at Scranton.

Max S. Hayes.



Reply to Mr. Stone



IN the November Review Mr. Stone answers our article on money in the July Review. The powers have limited us to a brief space for our reply. A brief space will be sufficient. The discussion involves the following points, all of which are successfully dodged by Mr. Stone:

1. The labor theory of value is subject to certain exceptions; it does not apply to monopolies, articles produced under patents, copyrights, rare works of art or genius, antiquities which cannot be reproduced, etc. Marx himself raised the question whether gold and diamonds do not belong under the exceptions (*Capital* p. 4).

2. Admitting for the sake of argument that gold does not belong to the exceptions, Marx's reasoning holds good when gold by weight is the exclusive currency with no credit. No such condition exists in civilized communities, and Mr. Stone does not claim it.

3. With the introduction of credit money Marx's reasoning no longer holds good, as we claim. Marx ridicules this claim on page 193 of *Critique*. Mr. Stone fails to join issue with us on this point.

4. Out of credit money and also out of the stoppage of the free coinage of silver grew fiat money, which is a public utility manufactured by the state in limited quantities as a monopoly. Marx says it represents gold or silver. We say it does not, and again Mr. Stone dodges the issue. We cited India as proof. Dodged again by Mr. Stone. He cites worn coins under William III. which would not pass for their face value. We cite our own gold coins, which, if worn, do not pass for their face value, while our fiat silver coins pass for face value.

Mr. Stone says we are frank, bold and logical in stating the quantity theory under limited coinage; in the next sentence he tells how the miners would rush their metal to the mints after the mints were closed against them. Economic agnosticism covers a multitude of sins, but we still insist that the socialists are not doing justice to themselves on this question. They are neither frank, bold nor logical. We again repeat, "Aussprechen das was ist."

We have sent to Mr. Stone our pamphlet entitled "Money, Metalism and Credit." It is as frank as we could make it. If we are wrong we wish to make the error as plain as possible so that it can be pointed out, and we will then change our views. This pamphlet mailed free to any address and criticism invited.

Marcus Hitch, Reaper Block, Chicago.

[With this communication this discussion must be closed for some time at least as matters of more pressing interest demand our space. Ed.]

❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

BELGIUM.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

The following announcement has been issued with the request that all socialist papers copy the same:

“Up to the present time only a few countries have appointed the delegates to the International Bureau. Germany has named Auer and Singer; France, Jaures and Vaillant; England, Quelch and Hyndman; Belgium, Anseele and Vandervelde, Austrian Poland, Bolestas, Jedizejowski and Wojnarowska. Carl Kautsky has been chosen by the Germans as corresponding secretary. It is desirable that all socialist parties not having as yet appointed their delegates should do so that the correspondence may not be delayed. In those countries where there are various factions it is urgent that they hold a meeting to confer upon the various questions.

Finally we ask the secretaries of the various socialist parties to send us the following absolutely indispensable facts: (1) Address of the seat of the party; (2) Name and address of the secretary of the party; (3) Name and address of the treasurer of the party; (4) Name of the official organ of the party or of the principal socialist organs.

The International Secretary will begin to act from the first of December.

Le Peuple, of Brussels, announces that the Pope has an encyclical in preparation treating on socialism, the principal points of which, it is claimed, are already known. It is said to be addressed directly to the Christian socialists whose work in general is rather favored, but they are warned to abstain from all political action and to give their support to existing governments, whether democratic or not. It is possible that the full text of the encyclical, when published, will modify these points somewhat, but it is generally admitted in European Church circles that the Vatican is now engaged upon an encyclical on socialism.

A special convention of the Belgium socialists was recently held to determine the position of the party regarding proportional

representation. Although there was considerable objection it was decided not to oppose it and to continue the efforts for universal suffrage. The convention also appointed Victor Serwy as secretary of the International Socialist Bureau.

The Belgian government has been making an inquiry into the extent to which the army has become "contaminated" with socialism. The Minister reported that "in general our militia are imbued with the idea that they are the victims of an unjust law of recruiting." He also admits that socialism has still made great inroads, but nevertheless concludes that "without doubt they may still be depended upon to defend our soil against invaders."

The socialists have just introduced a bill into the Chamber of Deputies providing for an old age pension for laborers of 600 francs a year. In the case of miners the pension is to begin at the age of 50 and with other workers at 55.

* * *

FRANCE.

The storm of dissension in the socialist ranks seems to have spent itself and everything now looks like a speedy union of the socialist forces: A debate was recently held at Lille between Jules Geusde and Jean Jaures, the two most prominent men in the opposing parties. This debate was marked by the best of feeling, and both speakers expressed the hope of an early union. Le Mouvement Socialiste gives it as its opinion that: "The time of the realization of socialist unity is approaching. The pressure of the masses has been strong enough to conquer the resistance of individuals and to force unification, with little delay upon all the socialist forces. Until very lately the idea of unity has encountered only opposition among the leaders, but now there seems to be a jealous emulation among them to translate the will of the militant proletariat into deed." As a result of this movement two projects for unity have been submitted, one by the Parti Ouvrier Francais or Guesdists in connection with the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire, led by Vaillant, and the other by the old Comite General, containing representatives from all the organizations except the Guesdists. These two plans differ only in minor details of organization and government, and both declare for organization of the proletariat as a class into an uncompromising political party, using almost exactly the same words. Under these circumstances it is difficult to see how the divisions that have hitherto exhausted the French comrades can longer endure.

An interesting item in Le Socialiste tells of the recent Socialist

Congress held in the French colonies in the West Indian Islands. It was reported that receipts and membership had more than doubled during the past year. There was also a report of an active movement among women socialists. Several municipalities are in the hands of the party and a committee was appointed to determine a municipal program in accord with the one of the Parti Ouvrier, of France, with whom the West Indian French socialists are affiliated. Two delegates were appointed to go to Paris, one of whom, Ceran Tharthan, is one of the strongest figures in the international socialist movement. He was the founder of the socialist party in Guadeloupe and was elected a municipal councillor in 1897. Since that time a campaign of reaction and persecution against the socialists has been conducted by the French government and he has been repeatedly imprisoned. At one time while he was mayor he attempted to prevent a wholesale election fraud, but was himself instead arrested and thrown into jail, and condemned to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 500 francs. Meanwhile the actual criminals were set free. Tharthan has now gone to France, where, with the assistance of the French socialists, he hopes to force the French government to right the wrongs inflicted upon him and his comrades.

Millerand has just introduced a bill into the Chamber of Deputies providing for compulsory arbitration. The bill is very elaborate and provides for the election by ballot of representatives to an arbitration council, and also arranges that no strike can be declared except it has been voted for in secret ballot and carried by a majority of the men concerned. This vote must be repeated every eleven days during the strike. The bill is only to apply to establishments having over 500 employes. The bill is meeting with considerable opposition among the socialists, as well as from the large capitalists.

Emile Zola is about to publish the second of his four "Evangiles." The first of these was "Fecondite" (Fruitfulness), and dealt with the population question. The second one is entitled "Labor," and is to deal with the social organization of the future.

* * *

GERMANY.

The two most significant events of the past month in the German socialist movement were the speeches of Bebel on the Chinese question and of Auer on the subject of the Bueck-Posadowsky letter. The speech of Bebel constitutes perhaps the greatest document yet issued on the Chinese question. With a wealth of detail he pointed out how the whole history of China with the outer world had been a story of criminal aggression on the part of the

capitalist powers involved. He quoted from the letters from German soldiers in China that the Vorwaerts is now publishing each day, and that are creating such a sensation, detailing the outrages committed by the present allied forces. He called attention in a most dramatic manner to the famous "no quarter" speech of the German emperor, and in general so routed the defenders of the government that they took an entire week in which to reply to him. The occasion of Auer's speech was the writing of a letter by a high state official to a German capitalist asking him for campaign funds to assist in getting the notorious "Penitentiary Bill," forbidding laborers to organize under pain of imprisonment, through the Reichstag. Com. Auer seized the occasion to point out the fact that capitalist governments are simply committees to carry out the will of the capitalist class, and made a speech that will constitute a powerful means of propaganda.

In the first ballot for the Wurtemberg Lantag the socialists succeeded in electing two members and will have the right to contest ten seats in the final ballot, of which they are certain of carrying two more. They had but one representative in the previous house. Four socialists were elected to the municipal council of Dessau with an increased vote. On the second ballot the socialists succeeded in electing Com. Quark to the municipal council of Frankfort on the Main. This is the first socialist ever elected to this body.

The socialist members of the municipal council of Offenbach have recently established a municipal drug store and arranged for the free service of competent mid-wives, while a measure has been introduced providing that the city shall purchase the coal needed by its citizens and deliver the same at cost.

* * *

AUSTRIA.

In Marburg ten socialists were elected to the council in the recent municipal elections, and in Graz the socialist members of the council were increased from one to seven, with four seats to be contested on a second ballot, of which the socialists feel sure of gaining three.

* * *

ITALY.

A governmental commission is now engaged in trying to "whitewash" the work of the Neapolitan boss, Casalle, whose exposure by the socialists was described in our last number. It

has been proven that he was the head of a band of secret political assassins, the Camorra, who, in Northern Italy, act much the same part as the Mafia in the South. High officials in the national government are involved, and the administration is bending every energy to break the influence the exposure is having in favor of socialism.

* * *

HOLLAND.

In the discussion during the last month upon the conditions of suffrage, Herr Kerdyk, the leader of the Free Thinkers Party in the parliament, declared that from now on he should ally himself with the socialists in their struggle for universal suffrage.



THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

It is daily becoming more generally believed that another great strike is coming in the spring. The United Mine Workers are becoming too powerful, and the operators fear that their class interests will be disturbed by the organization. Contracts and agreements for the year end the first of April, and a pessimistic view is being taken of the future by many of the workers regarding renewals of agreements on present or better terms. It is all but certain that the anthracite miners will have to make their fight over again, and the chances are that diggers in bituminous fields will also be forced to go out. J. Pierpont Morgan, the king bee of the hard coal field, is organizing his forces, and where independent concerns cannot be controlled they are bought outright. Thus Morgan and his friends purchased the Pennsylvania Coal Co., in the scheme to perfect an air-tight anthracite trust, and paid \$276 for shares having face value of \$50, or \$226 bonus per share for labor power applied to land. It is stated that the Pennsylvania Co. stockholders, when bought out, also divided \$10,000,000 accumulated surplus—\$100 per share, or 200 per cent—among themselves. And yet less than two months ago these magnates claimed they were being “ruined.” Other coal and railway companies in the anthracite and bituminous fields are being quietly absorbed. “I realize we are up against a hard proposition,” said one of the miners’ officials, who was active in the Pennsylvania strike, to the writer recently. “The bosses are going to make a stand from present appearances, and, as there will be no important political campaign on next year, we will not have the support of certain interests that were so solicitous for our welfare last fall. Our main dependence will be in holding our people together if the fight comes, and in receiving aid from our fellow-workers, for, God knows, the miners are not able to accumulate much of a strike fund from the small wages that they average. Of course, we will also have the sympathy of the public on our side, but unless that takes some substantial form it does not amount to very much.”

The big strike of iron workers at Mingo Junction, Ohio, is off after many months of hard fighting. As at other points, the men

were compelled to accept a reduction averaging about 28 per cent. This unexpected reduction in the iron industry throughout the country, immediately following the "fool dinner pail" campaign, has created an upheaval in organized circles, and the air is rife with secession talk. In Pennsylvania there is especially bitter talk among the workers and disorganization is following.

Eastern railways are experimenting with an invention to increase the power of steam. It is claimed that trains will be run from New York to Buffalo without taking on coal or water by the new system, and that the saving will be immense. The demand for cheaper locomotive power is encouraging hundreds of inventors to exploit various theories. One of the latest schemes is to harness the ocean. The National Sea Power Co. has been incorporated in New Jersey, and the purpose of the concern is to "own wave motors and to operate wave motors by ocean power," to build and operate all sorts of machinery, to gather from the sea power "by which machinery, railroad cars, or any other apparatus can be moved or operated." The idea of utilizing the waves of the ocean is not a new one, and the probability of transmitting electricity over long distances is by no means a dream.

Mining machinery continues to steadily encroach upon the pick miners. Last year fully 25 per cent more coal was mined by machinery than in the year previous, and operators declare that this year the showing will be still better.

Martin Irons died in Texas recently in poverty. He will be remembered as the chief official in the big Southwestern railway strike, when the K. of L. was in its prime, and when Jay Gould and several of the then large magnates made up their minds to smash the noble order, just as they later destroyed the A. R. U., when it became a menace, and just as they will attempt to do the same thing to other organizations in the future when their interests are even only slightly jeopardized.

Just after the Supreme Court of Ohio decided that the miners' anti-screen law was unconstitutional, along comes the Illinois Supreme Court and picks up the law to protect wage-workers from discharge for belonging to labor organizations and dashes it to smithereens, declaring that it is "special legislation" and gives some employers undue advantages over others. More good union

money gone—spent in lobbying for laws with which capitalistic judges may amuse themselves. And while the Illinois court followed the Ohio court in pitching brickbats at our unions, the leadership was reversed on another important matter, i. e., no sooner had the Illinois court given the State anti-trust law its quietus, by deciding that trusts are not illegal institutions, thus setting all the corporation lawyers and their corpulent employers dancing for joy, than the Ohio court decides that the Standard Oil octopus, after seven years of open defiance, bribery and boodling, is not guilty of contempt of court, and Attorney-General Sheets throws in a Christmas present by declaring that the trusts cannot be prosecuted because of "insufficient evidence," and, anyhow, they are really not trusts, but merely large corporations, and, therefore, not illegal! Let those who voted the ticket of one or the other of the old parties, with the expectation that the trusts would be wiped off the earth instanter and the workingman made happy by favorable legislation and consideration at the hands of courts, view this contrast.

In the month of November the total capital incorporation amounted to \$148,150,000, bringing the grand total for eleven months in the year up to \$2,217,550,000. Nearly twice as much capital was incorporated in West Virginia as in New Jersey. Since the publication of the former figures it is announced that the independent telephone and cable companies are being merged into a \$50,000,000 trust, that British capitalists absorbed the Cramps' shipyards and organized a \$20,000,000 shipbuilding trust, that a \$25,000,000 Carolina pine trust is being formed, and that Rockefeller's copper interests are to be combined with independent concerns and a huge trust to be launched.

The big molders' strike in Cleveland continues, and the foundrymen of the nation and the journeymen in the local unions are aiding their respective sides with all the moral and financial aid possible. The Chicago building trades struggle also continues, and both sides are straining every nerve to secure temporary advantages. The New York cigarmakers are winning their strikes, as several more firms yielded during the past month.

The cotton mill operators of North Carolina have won their lockout, and 5,000 men, women and children are driven back to work, while their officers and all active agitators are blacklisted and driven from the State. The cause of the strike was the quiet attempt of the operatives to organize for the purpose of securing

the abatement of intolerable conditions. Men were bullied, women insulted, and in some instances even robbed of their virtue by disreputable overseers, and children were flogged and overworked. The bosses understood the situation, but when the employes in one mill in Burlington demanded the discharge of a particularly obnoxious overseer, the former quickly combined and locked out the workers, evicted them from the company houses, and actually starved them into submission. It is hardly probable that any reforms will be inaugurated. Russia can boast of no more slavish conditions than the "red shirt," disfranchising, Bourbon State of North Carolina.

The "free" silver smelters of Colorado are reported as having given their employes notice of a New Year's present in the shape of a reduction of 75 cents to \$1.00 a day. The workers declare they will not submit, as the price of necessities of life have been and are still raising. On the other hand, it is announced in Wall street that several large independent concerns will be taken into the silver smelters' trust, and after the reorganization the price of silver will be advanced. It's 16 to 1 that the capitalists will come out on top, no matter which game they play.

A bolt occurred in the convention of the Ohio Federation of Labor last month. The seceders claim that Republican officials control the body and that they will perfect a new organization. Trouble has been brewing for some time, and the split came when the printers attempted to secure the adoption of a resolution condemning the State administration for patronizing notorious non-union printing firms.

Another batch of new Social Democratic papers: Idaho Area, Stuart, Idaho, formerly Democratic; New Era, Sargent, Neb., formerly fusion; Workers' Gazette, Omaha; New Dispensation, Springfield, Mass.; Justice, Evansville, Ind.; The Propagandist, Central City, Col.

Forty large brickyards in New England States will be combined with the New York brick trust, operating thirty-five plants, controlled by Standard Oil capital. Small yards will be closed and prices will be raised.

A machine has been given a successful trial in a plant at Hartford City, Ind., which, it is claimed, will displace all boys engaged in shuttling molds in bottle factories.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

I.

THE word religion, when hunted back to its source, means relations. In its genesis, before it becomes official and authoritative, every religion is the search of some man or men for more harmonious relations with our human environment. To find out what sort of a universe we live in and effect a mutual adaptation between ourselves and it,—to learn just what facts and forces we have to deal with and then work with them,—this is the hidden meaning of all religions, no matter how ignorant or tyrannical their historical development. And the world will never be without a religion; for, in its last analysis, religion is simply a science of life, a finding out how to live. Life cannot get on without religion; that is, it cannot get on without self-knowledge. To say that life depends upon religion is merely to say that the quality of life depends upon the quality of our knowledge of life. To live at all, in any worthwhile sense, is to be religious.

II.

If we had a real science of society, we should have therein a statement of religion. But we have not; there is yet no sociology worthy of the name, or deserving of man's intellectual or moral respect. We have a lot of academic jargon, wrought out upon foundations capitalized by the existing society, but no honest or intellectual account of what society is, or of what it ought to be. We can expect a free science and a free religion, and a free art and free literature as well, only when we have a free society. For the noblest thinker is more or less directed by the economic sources from which he draws his sustenance.

III.

Socialism will have a religious outcome, depend upon that. Socialists cannot prevent it, nor can any materialistic philosophy. Indeed, materialism is but the recumbled soil from which a nobler and honester spirituality is yet to spring. I do not mean that socialism will take on a religion; that would be fatal. Nor do I mean that it will become religious, in the usual

sense of that word. I mean that it will generate a religion from within itself. In its essence, socialism is a religion, with a very pronounced faith. Elementally, it is identical with the idea and faith which Jesus proclaimed—not the church. That is, it believes that co-operation, fellowship, brotherhood, mutuality of interest and responsibility, freedom and friendship as social order, to be more practicable and trustworthy in world-organization and administration than competition, economic and social enmity, and the struggle of each man for himself. Precisely this is involved in what Jesus meant by the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the universally good, although He spoke in oriental terms, and made no application of His idea to the problem of social organization. Not that Jesus was a socialist; that He was not, and it is wholly incorrect to call Him such. If we were obliged to catalogue Him by modern terms, we should have to call Him a communist-anarchist in His philosophy. But the elemental faith on which Jesus rested is identical with the elemental faith of socialism—one expressing that faith in terms of spiritual principle, and the other expressing it in terms of materialistic philosophy. Each expression comes to this: That a co-operative or harmonious organization of life is more practicable and liberating, more productive of the common good and of great individuality, than a competitive and individualistic organization. Jesus would call this the law of love. In modern economic terms, it is socialism. However widely apart their outlook and spiritual philosophy, Jesus and socialism affirm the same organizing life-principle. And that which Christ and socialism affirm, the institution of Christianity garbles or denies. What the church at best presents as a mongrel sentiment, socialism presents as a scientific fact.

IV.

The capitalistic society is ethically bankrupt. A large part of human activity is now without any guiding and liberating principle of conduct. Standards of moral value which served very well in the past, during the centuries when society was slowly emerging from slavery, are valueless and vicious now. Moralities of yesterday are immoral to-day, and destructive of the liberty and integrity of the soul. Some of the sternest virtues of the past are to-day prostituting and disintegrating to human life. We forget that there is no such a thing as a fixed ethic, but that human society must constantly enlarge its experience and thought of the good; constantly transvalue its spiritual values; constantly widen the sphere of individual choice. We see the approaching economic crisis of society, but do not so clearly see its nearing religious and ethical crisis—a crisis which will take the word of custom for nothing, but will examine clean to the roots every received notion of right and wrong.

We face the future with heaviness of spirit, and without faith or fervor, because we do not see that new standards and a new spirit are required to create a new order. We cannot win the battle for a free society with the ethics and weapons of a slave society. We cannot keep up our courage, and sing with the joy of battle, if we repeat the tactics and morals of the exhausted civilization from which we seek escape. We have ethics and religions that answered during the long evolution from slavery; but we have no religions or ethical synthesis fit for the inspiration and practice of free men. Unmindful of this, socialists themselves are constantly and vainly seeking to advance their cause by the most vicious capitalistic and ecclesiastical ethics of the system they seek to overthrow.

V.

Let us consider, for instance, our behavior in controversy. We must confess that we sometimes outdo our capitalistic enemy in the use of his evil weapons of attack and defense. One of these is intolerance. Now intolerance is a capitalistic habit of mind. It grows out of the evil notion that truth is the private property of vested interests, and that it is forged for their defense. The result is that nearly all so-called truth is subsidized truth. Religion, political economy, literature, education, all have to pay their tribute of blood money, and submit to the marks of ownership. The church, which not only depends upon the existing system, but is itself the private capitalization and monopolization of common spiritual rights, defends its spiritual and material possessions with an intolerance as militant as that of the monopolist of production and government. Indeed, religious intolerance is but the ecclesiastical form of a capitalistic habit of mind. All intolerance springs from the defense of some sort of possession resting upon doubtful foundations. Every expression of intolerance shows an unfaith or uneasiness about that which one attacks or defends. If one is absolutely sure of his ground, he can be boundlessly patient and tolerant towards those who stand upon some other ground. Truth is always weakened and obscured by intolerance. If we trust what we call truth, we will trust it to be its own best defense, and give our time to affirming it and making it clear. If socialism is to prove itself worthy of human confidence and support, it must carry on its propaganda in a spirit that will show forth the tolerance and patience, the sweetness and beauty, that belong to all real strength, and that will be the atmosphere of a free and noble society. If we as socialists undertake to succeed by the capitalist tactics and ethics of brute authority, of intolerance and word-slugging, of crushing out independence of thought and inquiry, then we shall fail, as we ought to fail; for we are then but capitalistic spirits

masquerading in socialistic clothes. And the people will not follow us; for they will not again be led out of one house of bondage merely to be driven into another.

VI.

We especially need a better ethic of controversy in its more personal aspects. Sometimes I think the capitalistic world is getting a little more civilized in this direction than the revolutionary world, though that is not saying much. In any case, there is nothing we stand in such sore and immediate need of, just now, as a little human decency in controversy. The habit of personally assaulting those who differ with us in opinion or tactics, whether they are among our own comrades, or the capitalist ranks, is not only brutal and indecent, but it is thoroughly capitalistic in spirit and method. Besides, it is the greatest enemy of socialism. We socialists ourselves, by the practice of this capitalistic method of personal attack, do more to drive people from socialism and to aid and comfort and uphold capitalism than the whole capitalist host of politicians, preachers and scribblers. If we wanted to deliberately create suspicion and distrust toward socialism we could do it in no surer way. If we wanted to be traitors we could find no more certain way of betraying and misrepresenting the socialist movement. How can we possibly win the people to our cause, if we present the spectacle of villifying each other, and settle our discussions by contests of word-slugging? How can we bring a man all the way to socialism, if, when we see him half the way, we immediately fall upon him with bludgeons of personal abuse, instead of rationally and tolerantly seeking to lead him the whole way? It is not our business to judge men personally, but to affirm and interpret principles. Socialists have no right to personally attack any man, whether he be in the capitalist or the socialist ranks. We only weaken our cause by so doing, and work disintegration in the socialist movement. We perpetuate the capitalist ethical system, and set at naught the whole spirit and purport of democracy. If we succeed, it must be by a spirit that promises liberty and fellowship to a world sick of abuse and strife, and brutality of spirit in the relations of men. "Does a man think he loses anything," asks Professor Sombart, "by conceding that his opponent is an honorable man, and by assuming that truth and honor will control the dealings of his adversary? I do not think so. The man who places himself really in the struggle, who sees that in all historic strife is the germ of whatever occurs, should be able to conduct this strife in a noble way, to respect his opponent as a man, and to attribute to him motives no less pure than his own."

VII.

Class struggle does not mean class hatred, or personal strife. It means the democratic solidarity of workers in a cause so just and noble, so confident of victory, that it will need no weapons of ethic or tactic from the enemy, in order to gain its great day. Rather, the socialist army can fight in the open, with the weapons of truth and justice only, and with the spirit of the new and better chivalry for which the world waits. Nor does the defense and advance of principle mean personal attack of any sort, whatsoever. Socialist ethics and tactics should rather demand the immediate, complete and final end of personal attack as a rational or worthy method of defense or progress. As an ethic or tactic, it is unsocialistic, undemocratic, irrational and destructive only to the cause that makes use of it. Above all others, socialists should give to the world the ethic and practice of a chivalrous and manly mode of propaganda. None can so consistently and effectually show forth the power and beauty of intellectual tolerance and democracy as those who stand for the co-operative commonwealth. None can so well afford to make clear that the defense and advance of principle is one thing, but personal attack and controversy quite an opposite thing. And by such an attitude, socialists will be kindling the purifying and enlightening altar-fires of the human religion that is to be.





BOOK REVIEWS



Only books touching some phase of social, educational, economic or political subjects will be noticed in this department, and publishers are invited to send such works to the editor.

Newest England. Henry Demarest Lloyd. Doubleday, Page & Co. Cloth, 380 pp.

Whatever one may think of the subject matter of this book, he cannot but admire its literary style. The author has taken what are practically the dry pages of blue books and made them throb with life and interest. So entrancing has he made this tale of facts and statistics that the reader clings to it when once begun as to a thrilling novel. And in this as well as many ways, "Newest England" is superior to some of the previous works by the same author, in that while it has all the charm of style and interest of his other writings it lacks the hyperbole and exaggerated form of speech which always served to fill the reader with a feeling of doubt as to the reliability of the facts presented. In the same way we do not have the same boundless adoration of all things New Zealand that is to be found in "A Country Without Strikes." It is admitted that there are many flies in the ointment. There is still suffering and unemployment; laborers are blacklisted and terrorized by their employers, and crime and poverty are not wholly banished. Just because of this the book as a whole is much more valuable than the first one named. And it must be said that the New Zealanders are doing many remarkable things in the realm of social and political affairs. They have broken up land speculation, done away with the contractor on all public works and permitted the men to be their own co-operative contractor; they have "quarantined their country against panics," made the state a gigantic loan and insurance agency and trust company, pensioned the "veterans of labor," and in general succeeded in averting many of the worst of the evils of capitalism. Whether they are now on the road toward a better organized society, and whether these movements will lead them into the "co-operative commonwealth" is another question, and one that the author does not attempt to answer. It would seem as if what had been done was to forfeit much of the economy of capitalism

in order to get the benefits of competition, and that this tends rather in the direction of the establishment of a sort of middle-class competitive paradise that would only be a sort of purgatory for the laborer in comparison with the capitalistic hell of other countries, but a long ways from the possible proletarian heaven of the co-operative commonwealth.

Plain Talk in Psalm and Fable. By Ernest Crosby. Small, Maynard & Co. 187 pp., \$1.50.

This is a book that will delight the heart of every revolutionist and lover of good literature. Written largely in the poetical style that Whitman and Edward Carpenter have already made familiar to the readers of revolutionary literature, it has a charm and a beauty all of its own. There is a thoroughness to its philosophy that sounds a clear note in the midst of a world of hollow shams. When he chooses to use the rhyme and rythm of conventional literature the author shows that he can wield it as well as the more untrammelled form in which his thought is generally cast. The socialist will find something to criticize in the philosophy that seems to underlie some of the poems. There is a tendency to follow Tolstoi, to whom the book is dedicated, into the darkness of reaction against all the good as well as the bad of modern society, while the influence of Henry George is seen in a tendency to lay all the blame for modern conditions upon the shoulders of the landlord. But one cannot argue with a poet nor look too close for logic in his lines, and the book is one that will live far into the time when the present revolution shall have come and gone. The author is certainly one of the prophets of to-day, and we agree with him that,

"Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!
 Happy the land that doth not revile and persecute them during their lives!
 Was there ever such a land?
 We are still engaged in the ancient pastime—
 Building the monuments of the prophets of old,
 And casting stones at the seers whom we meet in the streets.
 In the world's market one dead prophet is worth a dozen of the living.
 Happy the land that knoweth its prophets before they die!"

China's Only Hope. By Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, translated by Samuel I. Woodbridge. Fleming H. Revell Company. 150 pp.

This is in many ways a remarkable book. Its author, contents and occasion of composition are all out of the ordinary, and

its reception in its native land was correspondingly great. It is stated that over one million copies were sold in China and that it was in no small degree responsible for the anti-foreign outbreak that led up to the present situation,—the “boxer” movement being a reaction against its influence. The book, while from the socialist standpoint extremely conservative, is from the orthodox Chinese position fundamentally revolutionary. It advocates the opening of China to Western influences while maintaining Confucianism, the reigning dynasty and the ancient classics. Whether the Viceroy really thought this furiously fomenting new wine of the West could really be contained in these extremely old bottles, or whether he was merely trying to keep his head on his shoulders while preaching his reforms, no one can say. He advocates the transformation of the system of education by the introduction of scientific subjects and then including these same subjects in the great so-called “civil service” examinations for official appointments. There is no doubt but what this constitutes the most powerful means with which to accomplish a sudden internal revolution ever known in any country, and could his ideas be carried out a few years would serve to make the Western learning penetrate to every corner of the Middle Kingdom. He urges that the Buddhist monks be disestablished and their lands confiscated to meet the expense of the new schools this plan will render necessary,—something that sounds very much like the procedure of the present capitalist class in their early days, save that their object was much less desirable. He strongly advocates the building of railways, foreign travel and the translation of books, and shrewdly suggests that advantage be at once taken of the similarity of the Chinese and Japanese languages and customs to first secure the knowledge already acquired by the latter for the benefit of China. He often makes mistakes of an obvious character in describing foreign institutions and customs and then again he gives expression to some very shrewd observations, as when he says: “If countries are equally matched, then international law is enforced; otherwise the law is inoperative. For what has international law to do with fighting issues when one country is strong and another weak?”

Commercialism and Child Labor. By the City of London Branch, I. L. P. 16 pp., one penny.

This is one of a series of short leaflets issued by this same branch and has very much valuable information concerning the extent of child labor in Great Britain, and suggests many improvements in existing legislation. It, however, contains nothing that could not be accepted by any bourgeois reformer and

would scarcely be called a socialist pamphlet outside of England.

The *Living Wage*, and *Real Socialism*, are two pamphlets by Robert Blatchford, published by the International Publishing Company at five cents each. The first of these shows the author at his worst and is principally rot, being based neither on socialism nor any known system of capitalist economics, while the second is an excellent little propaganda leaflet and one that deserves a wide sale. It fills that "long-felt want" which has so often been attempted,—the need of an elementary explanation, easily understood, of socialism. While there are some defects in the author's position, yet these are not of a nature to cause great injury and the charm of his style will lead on to further and more scientific socialist writings. Another pamphlet of the same price and size is "A Socialist's View of Religion and the Churches," by Tom Mann. This is a keen discussion in simple workingmen's language of the subject named and is an important addition to the stock of propaganda literature of American socialism.

Expansion Under New World Conditions. Rev. Josiah Strong. Baker & Taylor Company. Cloth, 310 pp., \$1.00. Paper, 50 cents.

Without any hesitation it should be said that every socialist should at once read and master this latest discussion of the most prominent phase of capitalist word politics. Beginning with the proof of the fact that American labor is the cheapest in the world, he goes on to show the burning need of world markets in which to dispose of the surplus labor extracted from that very cheap worker. On the first point he gives the following somewhat suggestive statistics: "Reducing all energy to a common standard, it is found that in the United States the productive energy of each inhabitant is 1,940 foot-tons daily, while in Europe it is only 990 foot-tons for each inhabitant. This means that the working power of 75,000,000 Americans is equal to that of 150,000,000 Europeans." He works out at considerable length the means by which the surplus labor-power of the capitalist are increased by increased hours of labor, although he neglects to give credit to Marx for the idea he is developing. "The profits are well established according to the tonnage put through. If the run is 600 tons per day the profits are \$5,000 per month. If the run is 900 tons per day, the profits are \$20,000 per month." But it is in his descriptions of the wonderful opportunities offered by the just developing trade of the Pacific that he waxes eloquent. The resources to be developed in the lands bordering this great high-

way of commerce and the conditions necessary to its development are most graphically set forth. "Since time became the measure of distance the Pacific has shrunk until now it is only one-half as large as the Mediterranean was in the days of classic Greece. For a 21-knot vessel can steam 10,000 miles, from Cape Horn to Yokahoma in twenty days, which is one-half the time it took the old Greek merchant or pirate to sail 2,000 miles from the Phœnician coast to the Pillars of Hercules." He apparently adopts the materialistic interpretation of history in its entirety. "We are only beginning to appreciate that industry—the way in which people get their living—is the fundamental factor in civilization. . . . Different causes have had varying values in various stages of civilization, but there is one cause which is constant because there is one want which is absolutely universal. . . . and that is *something to eat*." Yet after constructing his entire book on this hypothesis he has to sugar-coat it with a sort of *Deus ex machina* and talks of all this development occurring "notwithstanding human foresight" and in general using the antiquated "argument from design." So evidently is this in absolute contradiction with all else that he says that one almost wonders if the author is in earnest and really blind to these incongruities, or whether he is only dragging them in to help the bourgeois consciences of his readers.

The following books have also been received and where their importance demands will be reviewed at length in future numbers:

"Fruitfulness," Emile Zola, translated by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly; Doubleday, Page & Co.; cloth, 487 pp., \$2.00.

"The Story of Nineteenth Century Science," Henry Smith Williams; Harper & Brothers; cloth, 475 pp., \$2.50.

"The Real Chinese Question," Chester Holcombe; Dodd, Mead & Co.; cloth, 386 pp., \$1.50.

"The Ethics of Evolution," James Thompson Bixby; Small, Maynard & Co.; cloth, 315 pp., \$1.25.

"Our Nation's Need," J. A. Conwell; J. S. Oglive; cloth, 251 pp.

"Solaris Farm; A Story of the Twentieth Century," Milan C. Edson; published by the author at 1728 North Jersey avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The World's Work, with only its second number yet published, has at once stepped into the very front rank of present-day

publications. Its department on "The March of Events" is certainly one of the best if not the best of the many attempts at summarizing current happenings. The article by Paul S. Reinsch on "Political Changes of the Century" is an historical sketch of the development of nationalism out of the Napoleonic era, the rise and fall of bourgeois liberalism, the origin and growth of the policy of expansion and present division between socialism and capitalism. But it is in the department "Among the World's Workers" that the socialist will find most of value. The sub-title of this gives an idea of its contents. It runs, "The Advance of American Commerce, Ship-building, Railway Consolidation, Financial Independence of Europe—The Movement of Prices—The Growth of Cities." Everything is treated with a masterly thoroughness and a clear-cut capitalist conception, that for him who can read it aright forms a wondrous picture of the continuous onward sweep of capitalism.

Articles of note in the current number of *The International Monthly* are "The International Position of Spain at the Close of the XIXth Century" by Arthur E. Houghton; "The Evolutionary Trend of German Literary Criticism," a masterly article by Prof. Kuno Franke, of Harvard University; and a most contemptible, but none the less interesting, article by Booker T. Washington on "The American Negro and His Economic Value," in which he carries his disgusting work of acting the decoy duck of capitalism to the extreme of demonstrating that his race have an economic value to their exploiters and oppressors.

The Annals of the American Academy contain one very important and valuable article,—"The Financial Aspects of the Trust Problem," by Edwin Sherwood Meade. In cold, pitiless analysis he sets forth the entire internal process of the formation of these gigantic concentrations. There is one phase which he points out that is particularly interesting. He shows that in the formation of the trust the owners of the original plants were paid with the preferred stock while the issues of common stock constituted simply an enormous mass of "gold bricks" to be disposed of on the unsuspecting lambs. He shows at great length the various ways in which this new South Sea bubble was floated. It is particularly interesting to note the classes who were caught. "Trust securities cannot be sold to the true investor." . . . "A minister or a merchant has a few thousands laid by, a woman has saved or inherited a small amount, a workman or a farmer has managed to scrape together a few dollars for a rainy day. . . . Their lives are hard, monotonous and infinitely barren. Before their eyes is constantly flaunted the seductive spectacle of leisure class consumption, spurring on their desires, which are certain in any event

to outrun their means. To such people the prospectus of a new enterprise is wonderfully attractive. In exchange for a few thousands it offers them a fortune. The offer dazzles them, Their desires benumb their small judgments. . . . The influence which can be exerted in favor of the new securities is something tremendous. There need be no direct solicitation; that would be undignified and might make trouble between friends if anything went wrong. . . . The underwriters and those who are interested in selling stock had only to let it be known that they considered the trust stock a 'good thing' to gather in the wool of the whole country. . . . The trust stock has now been put upon the market. . . . The firm owners, the underwriters and the promoters have the cash. The next thing in order is the payment of dividends. . . . Something has evidently gone wrong. . . . Not a single one of the combinations organized since 1898 has paid a good return on its capital stock. Out of seventy-eight combinations listed on the New York Stock Exchange there are only two whose common stock bears a price of over 50. Most of the others are worth less than 40. . . . Here is Empire Steel for which 3 is offered, U. S. Leather selling at 9, Natural Starch at 6, and Union Steel and Chain at 3. . . . It is the South Sea Company and the Louisiana bubble over again; the same prospectus, the same promises, the same pointing to the eminence of the promoters and their high character and financial standing. . . . So far as the preferred stock is concerned the result has borne out the representations. Preferred dividends have been earned and paid as promised. . . . The buyer of industrial common stock has been sacrificed on the altar of a new form of industrial organization. . . . The common stock, it is safe to say, will in the great majority of cases, be almost obliterated. . . . We should acquit the managers of any sinister designs on the common stock as stock. Their antagonism is only toward the holders thereof. If they were perfectly certain that the preferred dividends would be earned, and that something would always remain for the common, they would retain the common or buy it in after depressing its value. . . . The common stock buyer, at heavy cost to himself, has performed a most valuable service to the community in that he has paid off the mortgages on most of the plants, and has placed them in a condition where, with ordinary caution, they are safe from bankruptcy." These sentences, gleaned here and there through the fifty-nine pages of the article, give some idea of the valuable matter it contains for those who are looking for instances of the rapid wiping out of the small capitalist.



EDITORIAL



FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE MONTH

has been a fairly regular and continuous increase prices of all the necessities of life during the past as in the previous year. Trade journals and Review report an increase of from three to five per cent in all cotton goods and an average of two and a half cents each, wholesale, on boots and shoes during November and December. All kinds of meats have increased in price, pork having reached the highest price known for years. Eggs have also been at record-breaking prices, and the Philips corner in corn sent that commodity to an extraordinary height. Although fluctuations in other less essential lines have reduced the "index-number" indicating general prices, as computed by the Bureau of Economic Research somewhat below what it was a few months ago, yet it still indicates a general increase of prices of nearly 25 per cent during the eighteen months just past.

On the other hand, the Massachusetts Labor Bulletin, in a study of 72,704 of the most favored laborers belonging to unions in the skilled trades of that State, found an increase of wages during the three months ending November first (which were the months of the most rapid increase during the last year) of only a trifle over 4 per cent. Compilations from other sources show that the total increase of average wages during the past year has been from 3 to 5 per cent, which would mean a falling off in actual wages of nearly 20 per cent during this time of "unexampled prosperity." Furthermore, the papers in December have been filled with stories of widespread reductions in wages, now that election is over and laborers' votes are no more in demand.

The New York Bulletin of Labor Statistics for December, embracing 245,332 laborers, shows that the number of unemployed has increased, wages decreased and number of members of trades-unions fallen off in that state during the last three months. All these features were expressly noticeable toward the close of the quarter. Nearly all the trades show this falling

off and the report adds that "the gains are either small or else characterize trades in which the statistics are less trustworthy than the average."

This situation gives the American capitalist of to-day the cheapest labor on earth, because, while the American laborer receives a little higher nominal wage than those of other countries, he produces so much more that his relative share is much less. Says Josiah Strong, in his recent work on "Expansion," "The average American farm laborer produces four times as much of food products as the average European farm laborer. One American miner raises 400 tons of ore annually, the German 287, the English 285, and the French 210. * * * With the best tools, with the most scientific and ingenious machinery, with the most intelligent and nimble workmen, it becomes possible for us to pay higher wages and yet enjoy the advantage of the lowest labor cost." American capitalists are thus able to flood the markets of the world with the products of American laborers. German, French and English trade journals are now all complaining of a trade depression due to American competition. Many great British manufacturers are discussing the question of coming to America to share in the advantage of docile American labor.

This more thorough exploitation of American laborers is only allowed to benefit the large capitalists. The small producers are being crowded out with ever greater rapidity. Dun's Review for the month of November shows that there were 850 failures, with an average capitalization of \$14,471. As \$50,000 is the very lowest sum that can be considered effective business capital in this country to-day, it is evident that the real capitalist remains practically unscathed. The closer the figures are examined the more evident this becomes. Dividing the failures into those in trade and in manufacturing some idea is gained of the ravages of the department stores and the mail order houses. Leaving out two failures, one of \$2,000,000 in dry goods and the other of \$554,000 in liquors, and there are left for the month of November 614 failures among the trading class averaging \$2,513. That firms of this size are not even considered as constituent parts of the business world of to-day is shown by the fact that the journal publishing these comments as follows: "But legitimate business as a whole enjoyed a most satisfactory month." Poor little bourgeois, he is not even engaged in "legitimate business" if he cannot fail for more than a hundred thousand dollars. According to Bradstreets the first two weeks of December continue this tale in spite of "Christmas prosperity." In these two weeks there were 471 failures, of which not one reached \$100,000, while 416 were for \$5,000 or less. Here is a story of the slaughter of commercial innocents that should go far in convincing the small bourgeois that capitalist business is no longer "practicable" for them.

From New York, Philadelphia, Denver and San Francisco come simultaneous reports of "crusades" being waged against vice. These spasms come with about the same regularity and leave about the same results as new slang phrases, popular songs and the latest things in neckties. They are the climaxes in the great farce of enforcing capitalist morality. To be sure their uselessness is now so thoroughly recognized that even the newspapers that advocate them on the front page allow their humorists to make sport of them on the last page. Every one knows that with the approach of next season there will be more terrible exposures of what every one always knew existed; that the well-known fact will be once more discovered that the police are in league with the "criminals," and some sensational preacher will go slumming in company with the reporter for some yellow journal (who will see to it that the preacher's picture appears in the next morning's issue) and the "crusade" will be once more launched. Here and there will be found a bourgeois reformer who has sufficient intelligence to notice that it is only the vices of the poor that are to be reformed. It is the "policy shop" and not the board of trade that is to be closed up; it is the "all-night saloon" and not the all-night club that is to be suppressed; and it is the hold-up man and not the "promoter" that is to be captured. But when it comes to the so-called "social evil," which it is admitted is the one vice especially pretended to be attacked, the socialist is the only one who dares to speak a consistent word, because he alone approaches the subject in the light of the doctrine of the class struggle. He is the only one that dares to point out, not simply that the poor victims who are hounded from street to jail, and from foul dives to yet fouler police stations, in order that some notoriety-seeking reformer may pay off old political debts or create new capital, are the creatures of the capitalist system that is now persecuting them, but he also dares to call attention to the fact that prostitution itself is but the capitalistic form of the age-old tribute of virtue that the ruling classes have ever extorted from their slaves. So evident is this and so thoroughly "class conscious" are the would-be reformers that not one of these sanctimonious sensationalists has ever dared to suggest that the bourgeois men be proceeded against equally with the proletarian women. If this fact stood alone in the midst of our complex civilization with all others against it, it would still constitute an eternal and irrefutable proof of the philosophy of the class struggle.

Something over a year ago the teachers in the public schools of Chicago decided that the remuneration they were receiving for their services was altogether too small. As there was no doubt of the facts they had the "sympathy of the public" with

them at the start. So they formed a Teachers' Federation, which was much more dignified than a trade union, just the same as a "profession" is superior to a "trade" and a "position" many degrees higher than a "job." The Federation organized, asked for an increase of salary, and were met with much sympathy and encouragement but still less wages than heretofore. Mayor Harrison wrote them a very polite and encouraging note, expressing himself as being wholly in sympathy with their plans and painting some rather rosy pictures of how much it would mean to the city of Chicago and its schools and pupils if the teachers were only adequately paid. This was some time ago. The teachers began to ask annoying questions regarding the reasons why a great and wealthy city like Chicago could not afford to pay its teachers sufficient to enable them to live decently. Then they made the remarkable discovery, which almost every one has known all the time, that the wealthiest citizens of Chicago and the great corporations did not like to be bothered with such small matters as taxes and so had left their payment to the small bourgeoisie. But these latter are growing beautifully less each year and so the receipts from taxation were also diminishing. Hence the teachers set about it through their Federation to secure the taxation of this hitherto exempted property. The socialist will at once notice the line of evolution. Starting as a "pure and simple union" they were rapidly drifting into capitalist politics, and as the fight grew warmer, outlines of the class struggle began to appear. Then it was that things took another turn. The teachers secured a list of millions of dollars of property that was escaping taxation and demanded that it be placed upon the tax list. At once the attitude of the "friendly powers" underwent a change. Carter Harrison announced that he would "make it hot for any teacher that meddled too much with this taxation business." F. J. Loesch, trustee of the Board of Education, declared that the teachers had no business in politics and denounced the whole principle of a teachers' federation, declaring that "its purpose and action are destructive of discipline, good order and education." Whether any large number of the teachers will be intelligent enough to follow out the line of reasoning upon which they have entered and unite their energies with the whole great body of laborers in an effort to overthrow the capitalist domination against which they are now vainly battering their heads, it is too early to say, but the fact that it has been several times suggested that the Teachers' Federation secure a charter from the A. F. of L. and that a few were even bold enough to suggest a strike indicates that the crust of bourgeois teaching is being broken through here and there.

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The United States and World Politics



It is a commonplace for socialist writers to say that capitalism has enlarged the social unit with the expansion of the market from the village and neighborhood to the full circumference of the globe, and wiping out all lines of division has made of the entire earth one vast community. Questions of policy, lines of divergent interests, ethical, religious and governmental problems have all followed the growth of industry, and the whole social drama is enlarged to this same gigantic scale. "All the world's a stage," in which nations, armies, peoples and races are not simply players but largely puppets in the control of the tremendous industrial forces that govern the capitalist world.

While, however, these things have long been spoken of as if actually in existence, yet it has really been only within the last few years that they have been great and present facts. European writers have discussed "world politics" for a generation, but as so often happens, they thought of their own circle of existence as all of life, and never realized that not only was a great portion of the capitalist earth outside their line of vision, but that the major portion of the earth's surface was, as yet, well-nigh untouched by capitalism. While the United States had reached a greater degree of capitalist development than any European nation, it was still very largely isolated from them. Only when by virtue of the great fertility of its virgin soil combined with an extensive system of mechanical agriculture it was enabled to invade the market with cheap cereals and intensify the already almost unbearable sufferings of the European peasant, or when the Civil War created a cotton famine in English factories did the industrial or social life of America intrude itself upon the view of European eco-

conomic or political writers. The United States was considered only as a source of raw materials for the workshops of the "old world," or as an escape valve for the proletarian of Europe when oppression passed the endurance point in his native land.

The "world" of these writers was also limited by the fact that the major portion of the earth, not yet brought under the sway of capitalism, was practically outside their circle of industrial and social life. The whole theatre of the "world politics" of ten years ago was confined to what is now known as western Europe, with its farthest reach in a discussion of an "Eastern Question" having its seat but a three days' railroad journey from the other extreme limit of their world. This Eastern Question was located at the point where the capitalism of western Europe was coming in contact with barbaric Russia and seeking to block her efforts to obtain an outlet to the sea. As for Russia herself, she was only thought of as a half-savage monster that swallowed up Napoleonic armies or belched forth hordes of ferocious Cossacks, but never really played a part in the basic social and industrial drama. Africa was a "dark continent," the home of the slave trade and buried civilizations, of interest only to the just arising science of archaeology and the Geographical Society, but never thought of as an essential factor in the social life of the world. Australia, only on a smaller scale, was, like America, but an European "colony," with no initiative or individuality in the family of nations. As for Asia, embracing well-nigh one-third the entire land surface of the globe and one-half the population, this did not belong to the world of these writers at all.

Turning now to the United States, the same insular point of view is seen. A decade ago, the majority of American writers affected a sort of supercilious contempt for all other nations and prided themselves on their isolation. There was a sort of universal "Monroe Doctrine" prevailing in all lines of thought. The economic base of this is to be found in the self-sufficiency of American industrial life. This, in turn, cannot be understood without a thorough comprehension of the one great fact of American history,—the fact of its continuous westward growth. The United States has always had, upon its very industrial borders, and within its political boundaries, a larger "foreign market" than almost any other nation on earth has been able to secure. The manufacturers of the eastern seaboard of the United States, at a time when they were looked upon as practically isolated from the "world market," were really producing for almost as large and varied a class of customers as were to be found within the "world market" of England. It must be remembered in this connection that the area of the United States is practically the same as that of

the entire continent of Europe and that its climate and soil offers even a greater variety of conditions and wants to be fulfilled.

Thus it is seen that all previous conceptions of world politics have been ridiculously narrow,—narrow because they did not even include all, or even the greater part of capitalism,—narrower still because the influence of capitalism itself was confined to but an extremely small portion of the inhabited globe. Hence it was but natural that these last few years should see a sudden shifting of the scenes in this great drama, and we are presented with the view of a titanic conflict between forces hitherto outside the scope of vision of European diplomatists and political writers, and on a field not even included in their mental map of the world.

The industrial causes which led to this revolution in the political and social outlook have been mainly the resultant of what may justly be called the two great facts in capitalist development in the last half of the nineteenth century—the entrance of America into the world market and the capitalistic awakening of Russia.

RUSSIA.

The latter of these is without doubt one of the most dramatic events in the history of the world. First there is fierce brute struggle to escape from the political, climatic and geographical walls that rise on every side, and to simply secure the free breath of the outer air. To the north, Arctic rigor of climate joined hands with political enemies to keep her from the open sea. But the great ice-breaking steamers promise to extend the short summer of five months to a continuous season so far as navigation is concerned. Few things in the prosaic history of commerce reach as thrilling a height as the story of the entrance of the first of these ice-breakers into the hitherto ice-bound harbors of the north. Here is the description as published in a contemporary account: "With a roar like the bursting of an ice-gorge lifted by a spring flood the "Ermack" recently forced her way into the harbor of Kronstadt, Russia, ending an unparalleled journey of 200 miles through solid ice, all of it being at least five feet thick and that for fifty miles about ten feet in thickness. To the right and left she hurled the huge blocks as a locomotive plow throws the snow. Thousands of people on skates, on dog sleds and in large and small sleighs and sledges raced with her for the last nine miles of her course, which she passed over in about an hour. As she came grandly into port, bells were ringing from the steeples of the city and of the neighboring St. Petersburg, military salutes were echoing for miles along the frozen shores, and shouts and cheers of welcome were pouring from

the throats of an excited crowd of many thousands. Her arrival on the 17th of March begins a new era in Russian commercial and naval history.”*

Observing before her neighbors of western Europe that the “world” had grown far beyond the shores of the Mediterranean, she has abandoned, for the moment at least, her effort to secure Constantinople, and is instead pushing down the further side of the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, which will give her what no other European nation can ever hope to secure,—a route to the ports of southern Asia not controlled by British guns at Gibraltar and Port Said. She is slipping up through Turkestan to reach the Chinese Empire, the center of present world-politics, by a “back way” wholly under her own control. This she is doing by means of a double system of railways, one projected and surveyed from Moscow direct to the western borders of Turkestan, and the other already constructed to the Caucasus district through Bokhara and Samarkand to Andijan almost within the confines of Chinese territory. Then all the world knows of that mightiest triumph of railroad construction in this century of railroad building, the binding together of the greatest of continents with the steel bands of the Trans-Siberian railroad. From St. Petersburg this mighty highway stretches on through frozen Tundras and over mountains to Vladivostock and Port Arthur, more than 6,000 miles, or twice the length of the American trans-continental roads that were once reckoned among the wonders of the world. And over this great roadbed American locomotives are pulling American cars over American steel rails to the seat of the most titanic commercial conflict of the ages.

All these features give to Russia what has always been the distinguishing feature of America—a frontier—a “foreign market” close at hand, beneath her own flag and developing only as needed. As the history of America has been the story of the march of a mighty army to the West, so that of Russia is the tale of the continuous advance of a people toward the East, until now the two bodies are meeting on the eastern coast of Asia and the western shore of the Pacific.

Along with this continuous expansion of Russia there has taken place an internal revolution of no less importance. Three years before the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, Alexander II. of Russia, in freeing the serfs from their attachment to the soil and thus converting them into wage-slaves, took the decisive step from feudalism into capitalism. Domestic industry began to give place to the factory system, although the former still prevails to a greater extent than in any of the western nations,—it being lately estimated that

**Success*, May 20, 1899.

about 6,000,000 persons were still so employed. But while there are many fold more persons so engaged than in the Russian factories, their product is ridiculously low in proportion,—being estimated at about \$50,000,000 per year, while the factory output has arisen from \$452,500,000 in 1872 to over \$1,000,000,000 in 1898. Incidentally this gives a graphic illustration of the marvelously increased productive power of laborers under the modern machine system. It is needless to say that the laborers of Russia, any more than those of the United States, have not shared to any great degree in their increased product. Some idea of where this increase has actually gone is given in the following extract from the report of the United States Treasury Department on "The Russian Empire," p. 2524: "In no western country, at least at present, are such large returns obtained, as a rule, upon investments of industrial and commercial capital as in Russia. Profits of 20 per cent are hardly considered worth troubling about. As an example we may quote here the official returns of the profits made in the textile industry—the most important in Russia. The Yaroslav cotton factory has yielded to its owners an average yearly profit during 1891-1893 equal to 36.4 per cent on its capital stock and 65.5 per cent in 1895. The Ismail factory gave 45 per cent during the same year, the Russian Cotton Spinning Company 30 per cent, the Neva 60.5 per cent, Tver 40 per cent, the Baranoff Company 39 per cent, Krenholm 31 per cent, Zindel Company 46 per cent; Morozoff & Sons, the largest in Russia in their line, declared a 52 per cent yearly dividend during each of the three years previous to 1895, and 65 per cent during the latter year. Finally, the Sobin factory gave the, one might say, incredible figure, were it not for the official sources, of 144 per cent profit in 1895."

Such tremendous accumulations of "surplus value" need an outlet. But a barren land is of no value as a "foreign market" and so Russia is again imitating America in her colonization of Siberia. Just as the capitalist government of the United States held out all manner of inducements to persuade settlers to locate in the western states, so the Russian government is using its autocratic power to transport moujiks to the wilds of Siberia. In the case of the United States an empire was given to individual capitalists to secure the building of railroads, while the ruling class of Russia use the government directly to construct their transportation routes. The cheap "emigrant rates" of America are being duplicated on the Trans-Siberian railroad, and many features of the American homestead law are proving as valuable to Russian as they once did to American capitalists in securing the removal of laborers to localities where their exploitation is more profitable. Since 1894, \$2,605,500 have been spent in subventions to rural indus-

tries in Siberia. Once there these laborers prove "efficient and willing workers" at \$15 a month, who are "hardy enough to work out the year round in this climate, to sleep, if necessary, on the hard ground without tents, and to live on dried black bread and soup meat."

These are some of the characteristics of the land across which Russia is now moving to play her part in the new world-politics of the far East. In addition to these advantages of cheap labor Siberia is a land of almost boundless resources. It produces one-sixth the gold of the world, and still has countless veins richer than many of the great California mines, which are now left untouched because of a present lack of proper machinery,—which defect, however, will soon be remedied. Its deposits of iron and coal are absolutely inexhaustible within any measurable period, while it contains a forest area of some of the finest timber known to commerce two-thirds as large as the entire land surface of the United States.

THE UNITED STATES.

Turning again to America, space forbids any extended consideration of the great western movement with its leveling frontier, grinding away all social differences as the front of a mighty glacier wears down physical inequalities: the resulting panorama of historic development from savagery to civilization which a geographical section of the United States presents, or the tremendous lesson of social solidarity which the immediate presence of a hostile environment has taught to those who have made up the advance guard of the great industrial march toward the setting sun. These are the things that lie at the very foundation of American social problems, and their proper understanding is fundamental to any intelligent appreciation of American society, yet here is not the time nor place for their discussion and their consideration must be deferred to some future time. It only remains to point out that this century-long march has reached its limit and has even leaped from California to the Philippines and China, after an instant's pause at Hawaii, and that therefore the American frontier, with all that it signifies, is now a thing of the past.

It was this fact that forced the United States into the field of world politics. Her political boundaries having been reached in her economic development, while that development went on with ever-increasing energy, there was nothing left to do but to invade other political boundaries.

But before considering this point it is necessary to glance further at the economic situation within the United States. Many writers in treating of the recent trade and territorial expansion of this country speak as if it were some strange and unexpected phenomenon and especially as if it betokened

some sudden and wonderful increase in production. But while it is a fact that there has been a rapid increase in the amount of wealth created by American laborers within the last few years, it is nevertheless true that long before the present widespread invasion of the world market that has played such havoc with previously existing trade arrangements American manufacturers were already producing for a far larger market than those of any other country. Already in 1885 they were surpassed only by the manufacturers of Great Britain in the quantity of pig iron produced; the respective amounts being, for the United States 4,040,000 tons and for Great Britain 7,420,000 tons, while in 1895, when the United States was still supposed to be well-nigh shut out from the world market, the American iron workers produced 9,450,000 tons to 8,020,000 tons for Great Britain. In 1899 the figures were 13,620,703 tons and 9,251,151 tons respectively, while the output of the United States for 1900 is estimated at 13,750,000 tons, showing that the increase during this last year that has created such consternation in the markets of the world has been no more than in many of the years when production was supposed to be only for a local demand. The figures for manufactured iron and steel are even more remarkable. In 1885 the United States produced 1,710,000 tons to satisfy domestic demands, while England, who was supposed to be supplying the world, produced but 1,920,000 tons, and in 1895 the isolated American manufacturers passed far beyond the output of the "workshops of the world," producing 6,110,000 tons to England's 3,880,000, and the American output for 1898 (the latest for which I was able to secure figures) was 8,932,857 tons.

Turning to commerce, it is a well-known fact that the tonnage passing through the Sault Ste Marie canal at the eastern end of Lake Superior has for many years been far greater than that passing through the Suez, and that many of the ports on the great lakes can compare favorably as to tonnage with the great ocean ports. Besides this it is to be remembered that the railway traffic of America is each year very much greater than that of any other nation on the face of the earth.

When it comes to a consideration of natural resources, it suffices to point out that the United States is not simply the granary of the world, by virtue of the almost boundless stretch of her fertile western prairies, but that the coal measures already explored extend over a territory of 195,000 square miles, an area greater than that of the whole British Isles, and that no one has yet pretended to fathom the extent of her iron ores.

Turning to the other factors in the production of wealth, labor power, again no other country can compare with her as to cheapness, although this fact has been less widely recognized, owing to the nominally high wages having concealed the

fact of high exploitation. Yankee ingenuity is proverbial. Accustomed through several generations of labor on the frontier to continually measure his strength against nature direct, and there able to himself reap the full advantage of any improvement in production or increase of effort, the American laborer developed an inventiveness and industry which, now that he has become a wage-slave, makes him the most valuable worker to the capitalist the world has yet known. Imbued with an intense and ridiculous individualism, and ever pursuing the *ignis fatuus* of industrial promotion (which again was more nearly possible during the long years of individual exploitation of natural resources) he can be driven to a degree of exertion undreamed of in other lands. Thus it has come about that while constantly boasting of his independence he is the most exploited slave known to history. He has as the crowning glory of a century of development upon a virgin continent, the fact of having produced more millionaires among his masters than any producer the world has ever known.

Add to these facts of inexhaustible natural resources, high mechanical perfection and the cheapest labor on earth, the further fact that industrial organization has here reached its most perfect form, and some conception can be gained of the terrific competing power which can be exercised by this young giant of the West when he goes forth from his long period of growth and development into the great world of organized legalized piracy known as international trade.

This last feature—concentrated, unified and nationally non-competitive industry—is peculiar to America, and like the other features noted, owes its origin to the history and geographical formation of the country. With over 200,000 miles of railway, an extensive system of inland waterways and nearly one-half the telegraphic mileage of the globe, every portion of its vast and diversified domain constituted but a single market, and a market so enormous that none but industrial giants can maintain an existence within the scope of its influence,—it was but a short process to crush the small bourgeoisie to powder and blow their dust from the mighty wheels of commerce, leaving the field free to be occupied by the great trusts and combines.

In the discussion of Russia attention was called to the manner in which a despotic government was used to further the interests of a ruling class. In the United States we have an example of a republican form of government being used for the same ends. Through control of the means of communication of intelligence, a censorship of the press is maintained, as much more effective as it is more subtle than that of Russia. And just because this censorship is positive instead of negative in its action and performs its work under the guise of a free press it is the more difficult to combat. But at all times

and under all conditions modern governments have been but committees to perform the work of the capitalists as a class. While American capitalists were developing the "home market" their government protected them with an almost prohibitive tariff. When the time came to enter the world market, the army and navy were at once utilized to conquer distant territory, and the consular system was transformed into a system of commercial agencies, that are at once the wonder, admiration and envy of the capitalists of other lands who find despotism a much less pliable instrument for their purposes than a sham democracy.

EFFECT ON WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS.

Before making an examination of the stage on which the last act in this great drama is to be played, let us glance for a moment at the effect of these new developments on the "world" of western Europe. If these nations have received scant consideration so far it is in no spirit of revenge for their long disregard of things American, but because they are destined to play but minor parts in the scene upon which the curtain is just rising. England's long and bitter struggle with a handful of farmers in South Africa is rather a sign than a cause of her having entered upon the period of national decadence. It does her no good, as W. T. Stead has pointed out, to have colored half the maps in the atlas with red pigment, for the principle of the "open door" deprives her of all commercial advantage in her own colonies, while even if she should repudiate this principle, for which she is now contending so vigorously, it would avail but little, as customs have ever been found ineffectual barriers to the all-permeating influence of trade. This is the age and the environment of commercialism, and the nation that cannot adapt herself to that environment is not "fitted to survive." This England, Germany or France cannot do, to say nothing of the minor states of western Europe. They have not the combination of natural resources, mechanical skill and cheap and servile labor, with highly organized and concentrated industry, which the new conditions of survival demand. Hence it is that European trade journals, as well as sensational news sheets, are bemoaning the decline in industrial prosperity. Germany is on the verge of a commercial crisis, and a late governmental report contains a communication from a delegate, who had just returned from a tour of the United States, declaring that the American "will in a very little while conquer the world markets," and that "against this industrial invasion our customs impost will avail as little as our grain imposts have done." It is interesting to read further on in the same report that "the fear of the American industrial invasion should lead us, and all European countries, to a close union with Russia." But he

seems to overlook the fact that in national dealings, still less than in those of individuals, do altruistic motives prevail, and he does not mention what inducements would be held out to Russia to convince her of the desirability of the proposed alliance.

Illustrations of the sale of American products in the very centers of European production, as well as in the more distant markets that have always been considered the exclusive property of English or German factories, are now so common as scarce to need mention. American steel rails and cars for the tramways of England and coal for German factories will at once come to mind as instances of this sort, while wherever the conditions of distance are at all comparable American manufacturers are crushing their European competitors as easily as they once crushed the little firms of their native land.

THE SEAT OF CONFLICT.

As was previously stated, the focus of the world market has shifted from Europe to the far Orient, and there can be no full understanding of the mighty movement called world politics without some knowledge of the stage on which it is set. And what a mighty stage it is, with a setting well worthy of the great actors that are to appear. The old "world politics" centered around the Mediterranean, a mere inland sea; those of to-day encircle the mightiest of oceans. It is characteristic of the change that has taken place that the new forces are capable of acting across its mighty reaches with even greater ease and rapidity than the forces of a few generations ago operated on this almost infinitely smaller field. Says Dr. Strong in his recent work on Expansion: "Since time became the measure of distance the Pacific has shrunk until now it is only one-half as large as the Mediterranean was in the days of classic Greece. For a twenty-one knot vessel can steam 10,000 miles from Cape Horn to Yokohama in twenty days, which is one-half the time it took the old Greek merchant or pirate vessel to sail 2,000 miles from the Phœnician coast to the pillars of Hercules."

It must also be remembered that the Grecian vessel carried only between fifty and one hundred tons of cargo, and even to-day the Mediterranean freighters have, on the average, only increased this to five hundred or a thousand tons, while James Hill is building ships of 20,000 tons capacity to operate in connection with the Great Northern railway in the Oriental trade.

The focus of all these movements to-day is China, who by virtue of that fact becomes of paramount interest in any study of world relations. Here not only do the various capitalist societies meet in their last and most desperate struggle, but capitalism is itself confronted by its mightiest problem in the

form of the most ancient and fixed society this earth has ever known, with the largest and most homogeneous population ever gathered in one social unit. Nor is the land itself less remarkable than the people. Concerning its natural resources a recent writer says: "The mining district of Shansee extending in a southerly direction is 230 miles in length by 30 miles in width. According to the German geologist, von Richthofen, it is the richest mining region in the world, being able to furnish coal and iron for the world's manufactures, at the present rate of consumption, for 2,000 years."* With a total area one-third larger than the United States, there are, notwithstanding it contains one-fourth the inhabitants of the globe, whole provinces as sparsely settled as many of the western states of America, the lack of land transportation facilities having concentrated the vast population in a few highly congested centers on the lines of water communication. In its length of navigable waterways it is equaled only by the United States and Russia,—having over 10,000 miles of natural water routes, and hundreds more of artificial ones. Although she has to-day but a little over three hundred miles of railways, concessions have been granted and surveys made for ten times as much more, thus showing that her prime minister, Wen Hsiang, was right when he said, "China will build railroads when she is ready, and when she once begins, the work will be done with a rapidity that will astonish the world."† In this regard it is not so much what has been as what can and will be done. In a study of world politics future possibilities are often of more importance than existing realities, because the history of the competitive system has shown that once resources are discovered a way will be found to exploit them.

Not only are Chinese resources well-nigh boundless but the cheapness of her labor is proverbial. Wages are estimated by different authorities to vary from three to fifteen cents a day, and all agree that this labor is much more efficient than that of the Japanese, who have accomplished marvelous and rapid results. Accustomed through long centuries to incessant unthinking labor, he is the ideal mechanical worker, who will quickly become but a cog in the great industrial mechanism of a modern productive establishment and toil to the limit of existence.

Chinese isolation, like that of Russia and America, is now a thing of the past. Thirty-one treaty ports, some of them hundreds of miles from the sea, were already open to commerce before the present outbreak, and there is no doubt but what at the close of this war all China will be freely opened to the influence of capitalism. The Trans-Siberian route is

* Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 188.

† Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Question*.

being rushed to completion at a record-breaking rate, and as we have seen, Russia is also constructing railroad communications to the interior of China from the west. England is making a last desperate effort to be "in at the death" in the struggle for the spoils of the long chase for new fields for capitalist exploitation that has extended to the very ends of the earth. She is planning a railroad that will skirt the southern slopes of the Himalayas and utilize the lines in northern India as links in a chain of communication to connect China with English possessions in Egypt, and ultimately through the Cape to Cairo railroad with the territory she hopes to gain by her present piratical conflict in South Africa. But this route will be manifestly clumsy and expensive and inefficient in competing power in comparison with the other routes.

The great highway to China, however, and the one over which the burden of traffic will rest the heaviest in the new world life is the mighty Pacific, some of whose characteristics have already been noticed. This differs from all the other great bodies of water which have been famous as the bearers of commerce in the innumerable islands with which it is thickly studded. These vary in size from inhospitable rocks just rising above the crest of the wave, to great stretches of land sufficient for an empire. They afford countless stopping places, sheltered harbors, coaling stations, landing spots for submarine cables, and in general will serve to form a multitude of focii, from which the various arms of commercial communication will radiate.

The group of islands that now make up the newly formed Australian federation are without doubt destined to play a considerable part in future world politics. Nevertheless, although they are probably of more significance than many a so-called "world-power" of Europe, their natural characteristics and resources are such that at this time it scarcely appears likely that they will be able to act more than a minor part in comparison with other lands concerned.

A FEW CONCLUSIONS.

What now will be the resultant of these great contending forces? What will be the future evolution of America, Russia and China, and future relation of the forces these names represent to social development? Many have worded this question differently, and would make it read "What will the capitalist nations do with China?" and generally answer it by saying that they will ultimately divide it up and wipe it from the map. They do not seem to see that this answer, even if true, is essentially superficial. Changes in the atlas and forms of government are of fundamental importance only to the geographer or diplomat; to the social student they are of very secondary im-

portance. For the purpose of this discussion it makes little difference what is done to the political organization of China, or as to whether the United States, Russia or an alliance of western European powers should conquer in the great military conflict which seems imminent. However boundary lines may shift and dynasties change, the great social forces we have been considering will be but little affected. Whatever may happen to the Chinese *nation*, the Chinese *people* will remain; the mineral and agricultural resources still continue to exist, and the great routes of travel and commerce will be unchanged. This is especially true under capitalism, which has spread its dread uniformity of exploitation and wage-slavery over so great a part of the globe. For capitalism, while extremely patriotic when in need of soldiers or of votes, knows no nation or country when profits are at stake.

Knowing the all-penetrating character of capitalism, it is absolutely certain that China will be thrown open for the greatest possible exploitation. Her cheap labor will soon be applied to her marvelous resources for the benefit of a small class of owners. This will, for years to come, make an outlet for the surplus capital that American laborers are piling up in the hands of their capitalist masters. This will incidentally remove one cause which some less clear-sighted socialist writers have been looking forward to as a means of precipitating an economic and social crisis. There will be no breaking down of American industrial machinery because of a plethora of capital, at least not within any measurable time. There are opportunities in yet undeveloped portions of the earth to absorb the surplus capital of America, as enormous as it appears, for a generation to come. This fact, taken in connection with the domination of the world-market, would seem to make it probable that subsistence could be given to the larger portion of the American proletariat, by their capitalist masters, in return for enormous profits, for some years to come. To be sure when we consider this question upon its international basis, which is the only proper basis, it is seen that as ever capitalism is the only social system yet existing that is not able to feed, clothe and house its own slaves. But the bulk of the suffering seems liable to take place in other lands rather than here. Not that there will not be tens of thousands of hungry, naked, homeless members of the producing class in every great American center of population, for competitive "prosperity" is a greater hell than the adversity of any intelligent social organization.

In the struggle for the markets of the world, there can be no question as to who will win in the immediate present. No other nation can compete with the concentrated organized industry and cheap, servile but intelligent and skillful American

labor. Whether American capitalists will finally shift the seat of their production to the Orient, as the only place on earth with cheaper labor than at home, and whether having done so they will crush out the industries of the United States, is a question whose answer involves too many unknown factors to be entered upon here.

A NEW WORLD POWER.

So far these questions have been discussed, at one fundamental point at least, upon essentially the same base as they are discussed by the orthodox writers of capitalism. It has been taken for granted that the present social organization, with competition, class rule and private property in the essentials of life, is to continue indefinitely. Nothing has been said to indicate that the great producing masses of the world would not continue forever to be the mere fighting, toiling slaves of a ruling capitalist class. It has been taken for granted that governments, armies and nations would always remain mere instruments in the hands of this ruling, exploiting class with which to add to their profits.

But the last few years have witnessed the rise of a new "world-power" far greater in magnitude and strength than any hitherto existing. International socialism is the legitimate child and natural heir of international capitalism and there are many reasons for believing that it is soon to enter upon its inheritance. There are countless signs in every land that the laborers of the world are beginning to do their own thinking. This stupendous fact, which has been utterly ignored in all current discussion of international relations and world politics, is destined to overthrow many an elaborately worked out scheme of social and political prophets. The "balance of power" in world politics is again shifting and now lies once more outside the realm of what are ordinarily considered the contending forces. If soldiers and laborers dare to think, what becomes of kings and capitalists? Already a government commission reports that the Belgian army can no longer be depended upon save to repel foreign invaders, which means that the "men behind the guns" have grown too intelligent to shoot their brother laborers for the benefit of exploiting capitalists. It is notorious that Kaiser Wilhelm's magnificent military machine is also becoming too intelligent to any longer be a mere blind force in the hand of a master.

The Russian Cossack and the American volunteer stand almost alone in the modern world as examples of blind slaves of militarism. The Cossack has at least this excuse,—that he is obeying the brute force of a government in whose management he has no voice, and whose strength he is powerless to

resist, and besides he has been shut out from all opportunity of education.

But America is to-day filled with signs of the growth of this new all-conquering, international world-power. Space does not permit to give the reasons for believing that here will soon be its greatest stronghold. Suffice to say, that just as American society swept on to the highest point of capitalism in less time than many a nation has required to gain the first stage, so there is every reason to believe that the coming of socialism will be equally swift. With the domination of this new world-power a new social era will be entered upon where world politics will no longer be a struggle for mastery and extermination, but for mutual assistance and co-operation between the nations of the earth.

A. M. Simons.



The Negro Problem



O many the negro problem was forever solved when the shackles were struck from the four millions of the colored race. This act was thought to fulfill the theory embodied in the Declaration of Independence,—that all men were created free and equal. The emancipation of the negro from chattel slavery—an act necessary to modern capitalist industry—was, from the standpoint of economic progress, a great step in advance, but instead of solving the negro problem it merely changed its aspect. The negro was emancipated from chattel slavery, only to be plunged into wage slavery. This change merely altered the relation in which the negro stood to his master.

The ultimate cause that led to the Northern revolt against the chattel system was its unprofitableness. As soon as industry passed from the individual and manufacturing period into modern mechanical industry, it became unprofitable to own workers as chattels. The change at the North caused New England morality to revolt against the chattel system and inaugurate in its place wage slavery. The new order was exceedingly profitable to the capitalist class and enabled the Northern masters, when the crisis came, to conquer the South and force it to accept capitalism and the wage system. The rapid invasion of the South by capitalism after the civil war,—the industrial revolution which supplanted the crude tools by mighty machines,—completely overturned previous relations and gave rise to a new negro problem which was none other than the modern problem of labor.

At first the Southern masters looked upon the loss of their slaves as a severe blow, but they soon began to see, what the North had long since known, that the ownership of land and capital meant the virtual ownership of those who must have access to those instruments or starve. The negro had been freed, but as this freedom did not include freedom of access to the means of livelihood he was still as dependent as ever. Being unable to employ himself he was compelled to seek employment, or the use of land upon which to live, at the hands of the very class from whom he had been liberated. In either case he was only able to retain barely enough of the product to keep body and soul together. The competition among the newly-emancipated for an opportunity to secure a livelihood was so great that their labor could be bought for a mere existence wage. The negro labor had become a commodity, and

like all commodities its price was determined by its cost of production. The cost of producing labor-power is the cost of the laborer's keep. The master class were able to secure the necessary labor-power to carry on their industries for merely a subsistence wage—for no more than it cost them when they owned the negroes as chattels.

The wage slave spends his own subsistence wage, which, under the chattel system, the owner was obliged to spend for him. The chattel method was fully as desirable for the slave, for the owner, having a stake in the life and health of his slave, desired to keep him in good condition. The wage slave-owner, however, does not particularly care whether his wage slave lives or dies, for he has no money invested in him and there are thousands of others to take his place. Surely wage slavery is an improvement upon the old method of property in human beings. It saves the useless expense of owning workers as chattels, which necessitates caring for them and involves loss in case of death. The results of slavery are secured by simply owning the means of production. The new system, with its revolution of industry, gives to the masters, without expense, an industrial reserve army who can only secure employment through their grace. This secures to the master class cheap labor, for laborers, both white and black, having nothing but their labor-power to sell and thus being unable to employ themselves, must compete with each other for an opportunity to earn a livelihood.

In the days of chattel slavery capitalist production on a large scale was impossible, because it was unprofitable for the master to keep more slaves than he could profitably use all the time. He could not afford a reserve army, for he must feed and care for his workers whether he could use them or not. This difficulty is overcome by the wage system. The conditions and even the name of slavery have changed, but the fact remains untouched. Indeed, slavery is not yet abolished. So long as the laborer is deprived of property in the instruments of production, so long as his labor-power is a commodity which he is obliged to sell to another, he is not a *free being*, be he white or black. He is simply a slave to a master and from morning until night is as much a bondsman as any negro ever was below Mason and Dixon's line before the war. Slaves are cheaper now and do more work than at any time in the world's history. The same principle of subjection that ruled in the chattel system rules in the wage system.

Let us inquire here, of what does slavery consist? It consists in the compulsory using of men for the benefit of the user. One who is forced to yield to another a part of the product of his toil is a slave, no matter where he resides or what may be the color of his skin. This was the condition of the negro

before the war and it is his condition to-day, and not only *his* condition but the condition of *all* propertyless workers. That the workman can to-day change his master does not alter the fact. The negro was a slave, not because of a certain master, but because he must yield a part of the wealth he produced to a master. To-day he may desert one master, but he must look up another or starve, and this necessity constitutes his continued slavery. Under the old system he was sure of a master and consequently his livelihood. One of the greatest curses of modern slavery is the fear of the slave that he will lose his position of servitude. Many a negro wage slave, and white as well, would gladly exchange their freedom to leave their master, for a guarantee that their master would not discharge them.

The loss of the security of existence is the fearful price which the negro has been obliged to pay for his so-called liberty. The insecurity of the wage worker is the greatest curse of the present system. Closely connected with this is the dependence which inheres in the wage system. The wage worker is absolutely dependent for his daily bread upon the favor or whim of his master. Indeed, the wage earner is a wage slave. The intensity of this slavery depends upon the amount of time which the workers are compelled to work gratuitously for others. Under present conditions they must work the greater portion of their time for some one else. It is thus that the wage-earning class is a slave to the employing class. Workingmen may change their master, but they are still at the mercy of the master class. The choice of the chattel slave was between work and the lash; the choice of a wage slave is between work and starvation. The whip of hunger is all sufficient to drive the wage slave to his task.

The worker to-day, then, is a slave, bound by the pressure of economic wants to compulsory servitude to idle capitalist masters. He is obliged to sell his liberties in exchange for the means of subsistence. He is under the greatest tyranny of which it is possible to conceive,—the tyranny of want. By this lash men are driven to work long hours and in unwholesome occupations, and to live in tenement rookeries in our city slums that for vileness would surpass the slave quarters of old. The man who has no work or is compelled to submit to wages dictated by a corporation, and is at the beck and call of a master for ten hours a day, has not much personal liberty to brag of over his prototype—the chattel slave. A man thus conditioned is far from free. John Stuart Mill said that “the majority of laborers have as little choice of occupation or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixed rules and on the will of others, as they could be in any system short of actual slavery.” This is the condition into which the negro was “lib-

erated." It is quite evident that he has not yet secured anything worthy to be called *freedom*—he is still in need of emancipation.

The changed conditions which transformed the negro into a wage slave, identifies the negro problem with the labor problem as a whole, the solution of which is the abolition of wage slavery and the emancipation of both black and white from the servitude to capitalist masters. This can only be accomplished by collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Socialism is the only remedy,—it is the only escape from personal or class rule. It would put an end to economic despotism and establish popular self-government in the industrial realm. Economic democracy is a corollary of political democracy. We want every person engaged in industry, whether male or female, white or black, to have a voice in making the rules under which they must work. Under socialism the workers would elect their own directors, regulate their hours of work and determine the conditions under which production would be carried on. We may be sure that when this power is vested in the producing class, the factories will be arranged according to convenience and beauty, and all disagreeable smells, vapor, smoke, etc., eliminated, the buildings well lighted, heated and ventilated, and every precaution taken against accidents. In other words, under socialism the laborers would have absolute freedom in the economic sphere in place of the present absolute servitude. Socialists emphasize the need of this economic freedom, for it is the basis of all freedom. Intellectual and moral freedom is practically nullified to-day through the absence of economic liberty.

Not only would socialism secure to the laborers greater liberty within the economic sphere, but what would be of more importance is the liberty that the regime would secure to all outside this realm. The real restrictions to-day are economic. We are prevented from doing the things we would like to do, not by governmental restrictions, but by limited means. I would like to take a trip abroad. No statute prohibits me, but I am restricted by the lack of the needed resources. Socialism would increase resources by securing to all steady employment and the full product of their toil. To-day labor is exploited out of fully 80 per cent of the wealth it brings into being. Socialism will abolish this exploitation.

But it is not only freedom *of* labor but freedom *from* labor that socialists seek. With a scientific organization of industry, eliminating all the wastes of the present system, two or three hours a day would suffice to supply all the comforts and even luxuries of life. This would secure to the laborer the leisure necessary to enable him to develop his faculties and which could be devoted to recreation and travel.

Socialism, then, would secure to the laborers the utmost freedom both within and without the economic sphere. It would enable men to live as men and would secure to each, regardless of his nationality, the best opportunity for free development and movement. There can be no liberty in economic dependence. The man who is in want or in the fear of want is not a free man. No man is free if he does not possess the means of livelihood. As long as he must look to the pleasure or profit of another for his living he is not independent, and without independence there can be no freedom. Freedom will become the heritage of all as soon as socialism is realized, because it will guarantee to all security, independence and prosperity by securing labor to all and recompensing each according to performance. Socialism contains the only hope for either black or white. True liberty and freedom can only be attained in the co-operative commonwealth.

But it may be said that although socialism would emancipate the negro from economic servitude, it would not completely solve the negro problem unless its advent would destroy race prejudices. This is precisely what socialism would do. Of course, it would not accomplish it all at once, but race prejudices cannot exist with true enlightenment. Socialism would educate and enlighten the race. It would secure to the laborers, whether black or white, the full opportunities for the education of their children. Socialism would not only demand that all children be educated, but it would make compulsory education effective by removing the incentive to deprive children of instruction. To-day thousands of children, white and black, are robbed of the bright days of childhood simply because employers can make money out of them. The income of the parents being insufficient to keep them in school, they are withdrawn from the school and sent to the factory. It does but little good to pass laws prohibiting child labor so long as it is beneficial to both parents and capitalists; they will conspire in some way to evade the law. The lack of learning, then, is not the fault of our schools but of our economic system which deprives the poor of the opportunity of utilizing them. Socialism would secure to all children this opportunity by giving to the head of the family sufficient income so that his children would not be obliged to become bread-winners. Socialism would not only secure to the child an education but it would secure to the adult ample leisure for the cultivation of those tastes which his training has awakened. These blessings would not be confined to the white race; socialism recognizes no class nor race distinction. It draws no line of exclusion. Under socialism the negro will enjoy, equally with the whites, the advantages and opportunities for culture and refinement. In

this higher education we may be sure race prejudices will be obliterated.

Not only will universal enlightenment destroy this low prejudice but abolition of competition will aid in working the same result. The struggle between the black and white to sell themselves in the auction of the new slave market has, in many quarters, engendered bitter race feeling, and that they might bid the fiercer against each other the masters have fanned this prejudice into hate. In other sections, as in the coal mines and railroad camps, the blacks have been used by the masters as a club to beat down striking whites. This antagonism will cease under socialism, and with it the hatred which springs from all class conflicts. It will even disappear under the present system just in proportion as workingmen recognize the solidarity of human labor. Socialism emphasizes the fact that the interests of all laborers are identical regardless of race or sex. In this common class interest race distinctions are forgotten. If this is true of socialists to-day, how much more will it be true when humanity is lifted to the higher plane where the economic interests of all are identical.

Socialism, then, is the only solution of the negro problem. It offers to this much-wronged race the joys and privileges of an emancipated humanity. It proposes to make him joint owner with his white neighbor in the nation's capital, and to secure him equal opportunity for the attainment of wealth and progress. Socialism will secure to him the enjoyment of the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To-day, in common with all wage slaves, he is deprived, by an economic system of inequality, of the privilege of exercising such rights. In the new economic environment where the negro will enjoy equality of opportunity, he will take on a new development.

The only hope for the colored race is in socialism, that system of society that gives to every individual, without regard to race, color or sex, an equal opportunity to develop the best within him. In such a society an individual's social position will be determined by the use he makes of his opportunities—by what he becomes.

Socialism, then, is the only hope for the negro and for humanity. To realize this ideal is the mission of the working class. Modern production is wiping out all distinctions of race and color and dividing society into two classes—the laborers and the capitalists. The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed, and the time has come for the black and the white to join hands at the ballot box against the common enemy—capitalism.

The Socialist party is the only political organization that has anything to offer the colored race. The Republican and Dem-

ocrat parties are both parties of capitalism and could not help the negro if they would and would not if they could. There is absolutely no choice between these two parties so far as the rights of labor are concerned. They both represent the interests of the capitalist class and their sham battles are for the purpose of dividing the laborers into various factions lest they unite to secure their freedom.

The experience of the negro since the civil war has proven that the colored race will never secure equal opportunities so long as the present system exists. They were given the ballot by the Republican party, because that party wished to use them as a tool against the Democrats. The white laborer was originally endowed with the franchise for precisely the same motives. When the mercantile class wished to wipe out the last thread of landed aristocracy they gave the ballot to the workers and used them as a weapon to accomplish that end. The laborers have been continually deceived and intimidated into doing the master's bidding ever since. The negro, perhaps, has been the most deceived of any branch of the working class. He has been taught that he is the special ward of the Republican party, and he has turned in the midst of the barbaric outrages committed by Southern fanatics and asked his supposed friends for help, but his appeals have fallen on deaf ears. The recent disfranchisement of the negro in the South is but an indication of what capitalists will soon try to do with all the workers regardless of color and regardless of location. The conditions of forty or fifty years ago have changed. The capitalist class of the North and the South have now joined hands as the owners of wage slaves, and while the Democrat party represents the interests of the small capitalist and the Republican party the interests of the large capitalist, the interests of both are opposed to the laborer.

May the negro wage slave become awakened to his own interests, the interests of the class of which he is a member, and cast his ballot for the only party that stands for human emancipation—the Socialist party. When socialism supplants capitalism the negro problem will be forever solved.

Charles H. Vail.

The Anthracite Coal Strike



NY history of the great anthracite coal strike would of necessity include a philosophical inquiry into the evolution of industry in general; a study of ethics; an exposition of man's laws and religious creeds, and a detailed examination of our political and business institutions and a multitude of minor details of geography, topography, geology, chemistry, electricity, mathematics, surveying and transportation by wagon, railroads, steamships, sailing ships and canal boats.

The energy of preparatory ages is stored in the vast beds of coal and an almost equal amount of human energy has been expended in studying all the foregoing subjects and applying their results to convert stored and latent energy into the active forces that are urging mankind on to the highest state of human perfection.

Light, heat, life and power are now dependent upon the production and distribution of coal but little less than on the production and distribution of food, clothing and shelter, without which men might still be sitting naked and chilled in mental and spiritual darkness.

A coal strike, therefore, comes nearer being a slipping of foundations than any casual observation would discover, and it may easily be imagined without any "baseless fabric for the vision" that some day when capital has made its last great central organization it will be met by the compact forces of organized labor, and out of that tremendous last struggle will come emancipation for the capitalist and the workman, for "where there is one slave there are always two," and coal lands, one of the great sources of productive wealth and enlarged happiness, will pass from private ownership to public ownership and displace the present slow processes of confiscation of accumulated values and daily privations for the vast army of men who daily go into the bowels of the earth, exposed to unknown and unavoidable dangers to produce what is fundamentally necessary to human progress. To briefly view the anthracite coal strike as something more than an industrial bubble to be burst by the breath of a political dictator,—something more than a mere evidence of capitalistic greed on the part of the mine-owners—something more than an indication of organized tyranny on the part of the miners—is the task of patience enlarged by some personal contact with miners and children in the mines and owners in their homes and offices.

It is too common to say of these miners, struggling for better conditions, that "they are a rabble," "a ragged crew," "the scum of the people," a "gang of wretches well worthy of their condition," "deluded by agitators and walking delegates"—"ignorant, disorderly, improvident and intemperate," as if their poverty were their fault, as if their ignorance were not the fault of their betters.

It is also quite too common to hear the most abusive denunciations of capitalists and to see fingers of scorn pointed at their seeming greed and cold indifference while a full knowledge would require pity for both and not angry condemnation of either man or master. That there are capitalists whose hearts seem to have the functions of a liver secreting bile instead of doing the office of a human heart to send warm, pulsing blood to move hand and brain to do for and think of others, is not to be denied. That there are miners and men whose degradation is of the lowest is not less true, but society produces both and deserves all she produces and must mother her own until she so readjusts her system of industry as to evoke the best that divinely dwells in all hearts, instead of producing monsters of greed and selfishness in the capitalist class and atrocious assassins in the proletaire.

The anthracite coal regions of northeastern Pennsylvania include about 400 square miles of territory and is the only considerable anthracite coal field known in the world. The surface is broken into parallel ridges conformable with the geologic anticlines and synclines. In the latter are contained at depths varying from surface exposures of coal to veins more than 1,500 feet below the valley surface, very many almost inexhaustible veins of coal. The ridges of surface are vast barrens of moor and rocks, huge as the pyramids, void of vegetation, save brush and huckleberry bushes. The veins of coal lie from an almost perpendicular pitch to a nearly flat level and vary in thickness from three feet to seventy feet. At Lattimer, for miles the great mammoth vein is workable from the surface and the rapid explosions of dynamite and the flying rock and coal is one of the most impressive sights in the world of industry.

Scientific engineering has built railroads along the windings of the valleys, upon the sides of the mountains, through them and over them. Huge stationary engines pull vast quantities of coal in cars, from one plane up to another having some natural outlet to the world of demand. Canals wind along the rocky Lehigh to carry the black treasure to the seaboard for factories, homes and ships that sail all seas over. The great puffing hoisting engines draw the coal from the lowest veins with incredible speed, four or five hundred cars a day being the quite ordinary capacity of an average hoisting shaft. The

most wonderful machinery is found in and about the mines. In the gangways and many parts of the mines are electric lights, electric motors for hauling coal to the foot of the hoisting shafts and throughout the mines great volumes of pure fresh air are constantly blowing, driven by enormous fans running night and day. All the machinery, all the air, every department from surface to the remotest depths is under inspectors appointed and paid by the state. Men of practical knowledge, bred and trained in the mines, and I believe from personal acquaintance with them, men of high character, with humane feeling for the men whose dangerous avocation they thoroughly know. There is everywhere evidence not only of the Creator's power and beneficence, but also an inspiring exhibition of divine intelligence on the part of "unknown, unhonored and unsung" inventors, engineers and mechanics who seem to have mastered the hard conditions of nature's mountains and rocks and waters piled over and high above the precious treasures stored to bless mankind.

It is at once apparent that but for the coal, neither canals, railroads nor wagons would find traffic of freight or persons, for the whole region is void of any other value than its stores of matchless fuel. In the valleys and on the mountains are villages and cities quite comparable with like places anywhere in any other sections of this country. Nearly all are connected not only with steam railroads but with scores of trolley lines of high power and capacity. There are schools for children who should be in them and not in or about the mines. There are churches of all denominations, many of them with only one redeeming feature, namely, "the redeeming feature," and this feature is used with full force to exact contributions that have erected superb edifices easily matching those to be found anywhere else. Saloons, parks and beer gardens flourish almost as thickly there as in any of our old or new possessions. Banks paying 50 per cent annual dividends, that boast a par value of \$50 and a market price of \$1,200 per share, flourish and fleece poor and rich alike. All these are not extraordinary accompaniments; they are the ordinary accompaniments of the modern system of industry almost everywhere.

To the presence of many of these accompaniments may (the superficial thinker might say) be ascribed much of the poverty, intemperance and degradation of the miners and laborers who undertake indescribable dangers, perhaps with little conscious thought of the purpose of their toil and bravery, but in reality nevertheless for the betterment of the race. The laws of the land give full legal right to individuals, partners and corporations, railroads excepted, to acquire by purchase or inheritance, a fee simple title to the coal lands to the center of the

earth and perpendicularly to the stars if such possession in either direction should be necessary to the holding of the treasures between the two points mentioned. It is safe to assert that such laws did not contemplate the possible ownership by one man or by one body of men corporated or unincorporated of all this immense body of land. The laws of the state of Pennsylvania do not permit railroad companies to own and operate coal lands, and yet there are nine huge, excessively capitalized railroads directly or indirectly engaged, not merely as was intended in hauling coal to the markets, but in operating coal lands and exploiting the people in anarchistic violations of such laws. So that by methods known and unknown competition for the carrying of coal has been destroyed because of this greed for owning the lands, and the small individual operations, so called, now 28 per cent of the total production, are *doomed* in the near future to utter absorption into one, namely, the nine combined railroads. Sixty per cent of tide water prices is all that is now allowed to the individual or smaller producing companies, and all these are forced to play the old children's game of "thumbs up and up she comes, and now, Simon says, thumbs down, and down she comes."

Several of the larger railroad companies' lines of the anthracite regions extend into and far beyond the bituminous coal regions in central and western Pennsylvania and openly carry bituminous coal to any and all eastern markets at from one-half to one-third the carrying charges put upon like tonnage of anthracite coal. Most of the railroads haul and consume bituminous coal even in their passenger engines. The individual operators have often, when they were still numerous and powerful, tried to build railroads to take their production, but soon their numbers would be again diminished by some long-headed brother selling out and transferring property, brain and individuality to the larger combine, and so the individual operators have been forced again and again to practice newer and closer economies at the expense of miners and consumers, and left powerless to advance wages, and in most desirable ways to make needed improvements or provide essential safeguards to protect the men in and about the mines. If he seeks to recoup himself by increasing the output of his mines, thus putting the men on fuller time and increased income, he is met by the "limit of production," as if under proper conditions there could be a limit to the production except as limited by the capacity to produce and consume, and thus far he has blindly agreed annually to limit the output of coal. In fact he could do nothing else, since the power to fix prices and output is and has been for years in the hands of the coal carrying roads. But here it must be seen that the sales of anthracite

coal reach a limit very quickly because of the cheaper carrying charges given to the larger output of bituminous coal, and as both coals are mined and carried for money only, the effects of unfair treatment of either producers or men engaged in the business can under the system have no sympathetic or any other consideration. This feature of the impossibility of exercising the better instincts of the human heart and mind is the most discouraging of all. The managers of such huge industries where thousands are employed become mere captains of industry and can seldom see or know the sufferings of the man "hard pressed in the ranks."

One thing that strikes the observer from bituminous fields is the fact that in the anthracite coal fields consumers fill their cellars with that clean beautiful coal at from \$1.25 to \$2.75 per ton as against \$2.20 to \$3.00 for our dirty, smoking coal here,* and so the puzzle is not less easy to solve when he sees the larger cost of producing anthracite coal as against bituminous or block coal. He sees moreover that as near as sixteen miles from the mines in the anthracite regions the consumer is charged the same price for his coal as is charged in New York, 150 miles farther away. He looks with curious sadness upon the methods of exploitation of labor on the one hand and consumers on the other, and half amusedly when he considers, if he thinks at all, of the almost wild political enthusiasm of both these classes, who honestly seem to think that either the gold standard or the demonetization of silver, or imperialism or any old demagogicalism that leads to the spoils and emoluments of office is the *paramount issue*, and whenever a brilliant speaker tells them of the "march of the flag" they choke with patriotism and become forgetful of the real things that concern them most. How long! how long! will the children follow the beckoning hands of leaders who laugh while they gently sift the dustman's sand in their eyes?

All these railroads to which I have briefly referred were exceedingly costly, built when material and labor were costly, built in a country whose topography required the most expensive construction. Their capitalization is greatly disproportionate to their cost. There are vast holdings of lands in fee simple and on royalties, payable annually whether coal is mined or not. All these things are a tremendous burden which must, according to the simplest rules of arithmetic, be charged to production account, thus taxing the consumer on the one hand and labor on the other. There are more roads than are necessary to do the work of transportation, and so this ponderous weight of cost and capital and water, requiring dividends and bonds and rapidly compounding interest and taxes, must be

*Terre Haute, Indiana.

saddled somewhere, somewhere! The burden has but two places to rest. First, upon the consumer; but the price to the consumer has now reached the highest limit, because if this limit is exceeded, the consumer will use soft coal. So neither the individual nor the combined railroads *can* exact, demand or extort much above the prices that have ruled for the last few years, since the coal roads reached out, in order to pay, high salaries, dividends and interest, into the fields of rapidly increasing production of bituminous coal.

Where else could the burden fall? Not, certainly, upon the Vanderbilts—not upon the Morgans—not upon the Rockefellers. No, indeed; society need not look for sacrifices from these or any of their co-operators. If they should take less from the sweat and toil of humanity, how could the castles at Newport, Asheville and New York be maintained with all their fortunate ducking and bowing servants? Would any one expect that the yachts and private railroad palaces and equipages could be docked or sidetracked, and the church,—what would the church do without Rockefeller's income and contributions? Surely the spiritual body of the blessed Son of Man must be domiciled. And what would become of Chicago University? Ah, there is the everlasting obstacle. It must be maintained to teach the youth of the land the way to become one of God's trustees, in not only this but in the religious and political institutions of the country. Surely no one would believe that these should participate in easing the hard conditions of existence here so as to have human hearts prepared to believe in a merciful God and a loving Christ.

Where else then must these burdens rest if not upon the consumers of wealth—if not upon the exploiters of values? Logically, certainly, unavoidably, absolutely upon the miners and men who dig and delve and blast and haul the coal from its deep and dangerous beds into the sunlight of commerce.

Included with the last class of sufferers, as participating producers of coal wealth, are an army of book-keepers, clerks, stenographers, superintendents, bosses, and lastly, general managers, bowed with the unsolvable problems of keeping profits, by all manner of economies, up to a dividend point, having to bear the ever-increasing interest charges, eating the money value of the coal far faster than interest and taxes devour vacant lots in Terre Haute, *driven* to take a hand in the devilish windings of politics to prevent the extortions of politicians, placidly riding on passes and nevertheless seeking to impose ever harder and harder conditions upon these and other public corporations in local, county and state legislation, or have a price for forbearance; obliged to constantly increase their watchfulness to protect the property from those who wrongly

but none the less *naturally* come to feel embittered by the burdens of managerial economies being placed too heavily upon their galled and wincing shoulders.

High-board fences with barbed wire on top are now considered a necessary additional expense. Special deputies at high prices, with detectives at higher prices, are still greater burdens and the state at large, the producer and consumer *must*, under the conditions now existing, in the end pay the whole wasteful expense.

On October 1 one of the largest coal companies in the region,—a company boasting a surplus of \$6,000,000, a market value of \$520 per share, with annual dividends of 21 per cent,—removed men of life-long service, men of the highest talents, of the gentlest character and of approved ability, proved by having given this company the very values I have quoted. These men were summarily displaced by new and cheaper men, men who declare their intentions of disposing, p. d. q., and in that abbreviated symbolism fully set forth, of the old foggy kindness and sentimentalism of the deposed management, guilty of no offense save being humane and sympathetic with their men and of being unwilling and unable to go farther in unjust exactions to maintain under constantly increasing difficulties such excessive dividends. The fact, without doubt, will soon be admitted that this great company, hitherto independent and loyally standing with the few remaining independent or smaller producers in their everlasting fight for freight concessions, more cars, and being now engaged in building a new railroad to tidewater, has passed into the hands of the Vanderbilt-Morgan and Standard people, and what has been accomplished in the oil business, the sugar business, the gas business, the street car business, the meat business and many other prime sources of employment for brains and muscle will have been done in the anthracite coal business.* Then the larger task, already under way, the completion of the destruction of competition in the bituminous fields, will the sooner and easier be accomplished.

All the minor grievances of excessive charges for powder bought in the open market at from 90 cents to \$1.50 per keg, and charged to the miner at \$2.75; the long ton, 2,240 pounds required and 3,360 pounds insisted upon, the consumer getting, of course, a short ton—very, very short, often less and never an ounce more than 2,000 pounds; the dockage at the surface; company stores, company houses, company doctors—all these minor grievances seem unfair, foully unfair, to the public because they do not understand the reasons for such strange things. All these, whenever they exist, and they do not exist

*According to recent newspaper report, this prediction is now fulfilled.

at all collieries, are unimportant and for any great length of time impossible to settle or arbitrate or dispense with without being replaced by diminutions in other ways that would seem quite as unjust. The whole trouble, the everlasting trouble, lies with deeper causes, some of which I have indicated in passing. I say now, fairly, patiently, kindly and with love in my heart for the men and children who work and for the men who manage that vast industry, the causes of your differences and hardships are beyond your brains and hearts to permanently adjust. Instead of opposing each other you should join hands and strike together against the forces that are blindly dividing you, and some day such a strike will come. It will, sooner or later, be impossible for one family, or two or three joined in a corporate wedlock as the Vanderbilts, Morgans and Rockefellers now are, to order and control managers, superintendents and men and exploit on the stage of life eighty millions of people, for *the people* will be forced ere long to know what the paramount issue of life really is. Then these pathetic grievances and scenes that are now pounding the hearts of unnumbered men, women and children who work, and of mine owners who justly believe themselves to be fair-minded men, will become impossible. It is moreover certain that not a man in the Vanderbilt family or in the Morgan family or in the Rockefeller family ever saw a coal mine. Not one of them, male or female, old or young, Democrat or Republican, Methodist or Baptist, ever heard the awful, terrifying roar of exploding gases in those dark depths, ever even thought of the horrors of being entombed and hopeless of rescue, or ever wondered how strangely unfair and illogical the system is that rewards the doer of the meanest and most dangerous work with the smallest pay. They do not know how black God's beautiful earth must seem to a man or a child crushed by falling rock, having, alas! too often and unfortunately enough life left in his poor maimed body to live and in this supposedly Christian land and know that society would pension him had he gone from father, mother, wife and home to plunge bayonets into quivering human bodies to extend the commerce of his employers and to continue the "march of the flag" to lands where nuggets of gold may be had for the products of his toil. He knows, alas! too well, the little value of a human life in the grinding necessities of an industrial system that has dollars, not human happiness, for its object. How much love and human kindness can remain in the hearts of a generation that are learning to know that a "mule dead" is a loss of \$100 or \$150, while a "man dead" requires only another to fill his place. It is a dreadful thing, more pregnant with awful meaning than any one can guess. When one goes down in the earth with men and boys and mules and realizes, per-

haps for the first time, that a mule is worth all that it costs, and that a man—! Ah, how quickly every tool is dropped, whether from the hands of the Hun, the Italian, the Welshman or the Irishman,—no thought on their part of a lost hour or day; how tenderly and with such tears as even a Mary would hasten to dry with the hairs of her head,—when some comrade falls or is crushed and must be borne to the ones who live in constant fear and expectation of such common sorrows, do all these blackened children of toil and ignorance fly to help the unfortunate brother. The calm serenity of a Vanderbilt, a Morgan, or a Rockefeller can never be disturbed, because they have never felt the blessed happiness of being in sympathy with the weak and lowly children who toil that they may live and spin not, and be clothed like God's lilies and then piously accuse God of having entrusted them with money to farther and farther exploit God's children. What could one believe or say of such judgment on the part of God if the blasphemous accusation could be known to be true? These men are more to be pitied than condemned, and we should "judge not as the Judge judges, but as the sunlight falling around a helpless thing."

This side of any radical change in our social system many necessary reforms are possible, but not likely to be adopted. The hungry might be made a little more contented than they have of late years been with their privations. A moderate, even a very slight reform, in the conduct of the great railroads might greatly tend to something like a tranquil basis, but driven as they are by the conditions observed, there seems no stopping place except through suffering of all the classes.

The true test of the value of all institutions, whether business, religious or political, is their utility and conformity to justice, reason and the establishment of happiness here on earth. Ignorance and prejudice stand strongly in the way of reformation. The timid are prevented from approaching its consideration by the cry of theory, theory idealism, dreaming, impossible of accomplishment by reason of the badness of human nature, and so they cling to some old superstition and placidly fold their arms and appeal to the law of the survival of the fittest, and all the while are forced to see that it means only the survival of the slickest. They decry innovation as an encroachment upon individual liberty, lift their inquiring voices to ask what will become of incentive and hear the echoes answer, "What will become of incentive?" But the echo adds the wiser query, what opportunity will remain for incentive? when nearly all men are forced to acknowledge a master now, so that preachers dare not preach, teachers dare not teach and business men feel the fear of business losses if they speak their soul's thought

in condemnation of the noisome nastiness that our present social system is breeding faster than all the reformers of whatever ilk or name can influence or hinder. In such circumstances it is answer enough to such, that the principles of freedom are really the most ancient and longest established and were first contemporaneous, with joint interest in the results of human toil. That tyranny and corruption, constantly submerging the morals of our dear people, are but another form of enslavement that must have abolition, and that those who now in this and other lands bestir themselves for a more rational system of promoting life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the right to work, are aiming only at a restoration of rights which were once universally acknowledged and of which the value will be demonstrated not only by the evils that must flow from our present social order, but by the happiness, glory and prosperity that will continue to result from a scientific social order of industry that must soon be almost universally demanded.

S. M. Reynolds.



The Century of the Workingmen

Address by Prof. Emile Vandervelde at the Maison du Peuple, Brussels,
on the evening of December 31, 1900.



WE celebrate to-night the final establishment of the new International, the outcome of the whole working-class movement of the nineteenth century, the starting point of the decisive social struggles which will mark the century so soon to begin. Symbolizing in the program of our festival the essential progress accomplished in the last hundred years, we began with the Marseillaise, we shall end with the song of the International.

The Marseillaise is the song of triumph of the third estate, it is the Revolution, only national as yet; it is the hymn of republican France defending her free institutions against the coalition of Europe.

The International is the song of the hopes of the proletariat, it is the hymn par excellence of the world party which, to quote the fitting words of the Austrian Social Democrats, "condemns the privileges of nations like those of birth, of sex, of possession, and declares that the struggle against exploitation must be international, as is exploitation itself."

Over the whole surface of the globe, indeed, capitalist exploitation is spreading, wallowing in blood or in mire.

WORLD POLITICS.

The great American trusts hypocritically menace the independence of Cuba. Two hundred thousand soldiers, the passive instruments of an aristocracy of financiers, are trampling under their feet the South African republics. And while the wounds of Armenia still bleed, with no intervention from Europe, the capitalist governments are calling truce to their commercial antagonisms to hurl themselves upon China—worse mongols than the Mongols themselves,—answering massacre by massacre, pillage by pillage.

But these atrocities, no matter how just the horror they inspire, should not blind us to certain significant phases of the transformation which has been working under our eyes for twenty-five years, though it be through fire and sword, it is the conquest of the world which is being accomplished, it is world politics which is taking the place of national politics.

The United States have now entered into the concert of

powers. The six English colonies of Australia are forming themselves into an autonomous republic. The partition of Africa is completed. The iron bands of the Trans-Siberian railway already traverse the whole of Asia; everywhere capitalism penetrates, bringing exploitation and war, but everywhere socialism also is not slow to follow, promising freedom and peace.

Japan had scarcely introduced the parliamentary forms of Europe before a socialist journal, which reaches us regularly every fortnight, was started at Tokio. Moreover, a glance at the bulletin of the department of labor at Washington will convince any one that under the pressure of unions and strikes, wages have tripled in Japanese industry since the introduction of the factory system. So without despising the dangers and the crises that may take their rise from the internationalization of the market, we may fairly believe that the addition of the yellow workmen, joining their low wages to their inferior producing power, will never have more than transient effects on the standard of life of the white workmen. On the other hand, those who in view of the triumphs of brute force, the aggravations of military despotism and the disgraces of colonial politics might be inclined to pessimism and discouragement, need only look back to the first days, infinitely more somber, of the century now drawing to a close, and in a comparison of the two epochs they will gain renewed confidence.

THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

It was on the morrow of the Eighteenth Brumaire. The French republic had accomplished the death of Gracchus Babeuf, and his friends of the conspiracy of the "equals," guillotined in 1796, seemed to have carried with them their yet unchristian child, socialism, into the common grave of revolutionary ideas. The bourgeoisie, tearing up the Declaration of Rights, contented itself with the civil code. Universal suffrage, which gave birth to the convention, had been abolished since the first Vendemiaire of the fourth year of the republic. In England, the members from rotten boroughs were diminishing in the House of Commons. Absolutism held undivided sway in all the other countries. The noise of the cannon of Marengo drowned the plights of liberty. And yet, just when the revolution seemed dead, another revolution, more destructive and more fruitful than all the revolutions accomplished for eighteen centuries, was beginning in the depths of the social organism and was preparing the formation of the most revolutionary class of all, the industrial proletariat. It is in fact from the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the midst of the turmoil of the wars of the empire, that the reign of the machine has been established.

It is the machine, daughter of industry and commerce, which, adding prodigiously to the social forces which gave it birth, goes on to establish the world-market, to occasion the concentration of capital, to group the laboring population in cities, to accentuate the antagonism of the classes, to create modern socialism.

It is the revolutionary machine, to use Lassalle's striking phrase, which in quick succession is to transform the cotton and wool industries, to multiply a hundred fold the product of the extractive industries from coal to petroleum, to metamorphose metal-working by substituting coal for vegetable combustibles, to revolutionize transportation and communication on land and sea by the locomotive, the steamship and the electric telegraph, and finally to develop a new agriculture by throwing upon the markets of Europe the meats and cereals of the whole world.

Here is a transformation without parallel in history, and belonging almost wholly within the limits of this century. The spinning machines and looms do indeed appear during the last third of the preceding century, but they do not spread on the continent till after the restoration (1815). The steam engine, applied first to coal mining, then to all forms of manufacturing industry, dates from 1790. It was in 1819 that the "Savannah," the first steamer making regular trips between the United States and Europe, entered the port of Liverpool; in 1830 the railway between Liverpool and Manchester was opened; in 1838 Morse announced from New York to the Academy of Sciences his invention of the electric telegraph; in 1840, at the instance of Rowland Hill, penny postage was extended over all England; and each of these innovations or inventions, spreading with increasing rapidity, brought on countless revolutions in all fields of social and political life.

THE GENESIS OF SOCIALISM.

The postal reform, coinciding with the general introduction of the rotary press, created the cheap newspapers. The formidable network of railroads, of trans-Atlantic navigation lines, of postal communications, of telegraphs, land and sub-marine, brings individuals and nations together, annihilates local peculiarities, and contributes powerfully toward developing a universal conscience. Large-scale manufacturing, at first English, later European, pursues its triumphal march across the world, crushing under its steps the primitive forms of production, and grouping in its factories a proletariat ever growing in numbers. Colossal fortunes are built up, monstrous miseries are unveiled. Socialism leaps forth at once from the pity of some and the suffering of others. Owen, Fourier, St. Simon and the brilliant throng of their disciples preach the new gospel. The

Lyonnaise in 1832 raised the banner of revolt. The Chartist movement grows. All Europe trembles. Finally, at the very hour when the revolution of 1848 groups the bourgeoisie and the working class together for the last time, in a common revolutionary movement, Engels and Marx sum up and co-ordinate in the Communist manifesto the socialist thought of the first half of the century, affirm the inevitableness of the class struggle and bring to the toilers the formula of the International, "Workingmen of all countries, unite."

It is from this moment we may say that the history of socialism is linked inextricably with the history of the nineteenth century. Against it, thenceforth all the privileged classes are to combine, all governments are to arm themselves.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIALISM.

They attack it with exceptional legislation, they take away from it in Germany and in Austria the universal suffrage that had been won by force of arms; they imprison its leaders, they prohibit its meetings, they drive it to desperate insurrections.

On two occasions, in June, 1848, and in May, 1871, its adversaries flattered themselves that they had crushed it. Twice it was born again, fuller than ever of life and strength,—in the first International, founded in 1864, and in the new International, proclaimed in 1899, consecrated by the festivals of the first of May of the following years, and organized definitely on September 24, 1900. Henceforth we may affirm that it rests on indestructible foundations,—the national working class parties which exist in all parts of the world, in all countries where capitalism has penetrated.

Everywhere, in fact, from Russia to New Zealand, the proletariat has organized, publicly or secretly; everywhere, under different forms, but with the same final end, the Social Democracy is arranging itself against the old-time powers; it is wrestling from them political rights; it is imposing upon them social reforms; it is constraining popes and emperors to make it concessions in the vain hope of arresting progress.

THE CENTURY OF THE WORKERS.

In all the domains of thought and of action, in the works of artists as in the writings of poets, in the books of scientists as in the text of laws, in the millions of newspapers, pamphlets, publications which the democratized press spreads daily through all houses and families, the socialist idea is penetrating, filtering into brains, crystallizing into purposes, conquering minds and hearts with its sovereign power.

We see it forbidden in all parliaments, preached in all cities of workingmen, its feasts kept with religious zeal with each recurring year, by all the nations of workers. And in this cen-

ture, which will appear to future generations, perhaps, as the greatest ever lived by men, in this century, which might be called the century of music since it gave us Wagner and Beethoven, the century of poetry since it saw the death of Goethe and the birth of Victor Hugo, the century of science since it was illumined by Darwin, socialism has awakened such hopes, has opened so magnificent an era, has stirred such mighty movements in the proletarian mass that the nineteenth century will remain in history under the name Gladstone gave it, the century of workers.

Citizens and comrades, in the name of the International Bureau I extend to all our companions in struggle, all those who work and suffer for the cause of the revolutionary proletariat, our most fraternal wishes for the year which now begins, for the century which opens, and which shall be the century of triumph,—

THE CENTURY OF SOCIALISM.

—(*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*)



The Relation of Instructor and Student

through the halls daily, one cannot but hear: ed him dead, and yet hadn't looked at the -Ha, ha, lucky man!—He won't get to me to-day, so I'll risk going in.—If you hadn't braced me up I'd been a goner.—Lend me your cribs.—Oh dear, oh dear, I really can't get this stuff, and I'm deathly afraid of him.—I'll get square with old—” And coming up the stairs, one must wind his way amid sighs and spiteful laughter, and through final paroxysms of x , y , z 's and thumbing of logarithms and lexicons ere the dreaded knell summons the guilty to the modern inquisition. The trial endured, there is a rush for the lockers and escape. But even fresh air and changed surroundings cannot dispel the incubus of goading duty from the conscientious and the rankling self-defense of independence. The prevalent attitude of student and teacher is characteristically shown in one of our collections of imaginative number forms where only the weekly holidays and vacation months are bright colored, while all the college days of the year are dark and dismal. On these days of supposed culture study many a conscientious student, in whom open antagonism has been suppressed by habitation in the mill-stone of duty, despairs with Faust:

“Nur mit Entsetzen wach' ich Morgens auf,
Ich möchte bittre Thränen weinen,
Den Tag zu sehn, der mir in seinem Lauf
Nicht Einen Wunsch, erfüllen wird, nicht Einen.
Der selbst die Ahnung jeder Lust
Mit eigensinnigem Krittel mindert,
Die Schopfung meiner regen Brust
Mit tausend Lebensfratzen hindert.
Auch muss ich, wenn die Nacht sich niedersenkt,
Mich ängstlich auf das Lager strecken;
Auch da wird keine Rast geschenkt,
Mich werden wilde Traume schrecken.”

Another picture. A crowd of 150 German students is struggling for places nearest the door of the lecture room. It is an hour before the lecture time, and in the hot summer vacation, too. The door being finally unlocked, there is a rush for front seats; this is repeated daily. The unfortunate upper rows of the amphitheatre are aided with opera glasses. The instructor finally enters leisurely, good-naturedly acknowledges the storm of applause, throws up some human vertebrae to each couple of students, takes up a spinal column, and without more introduction begins to point out and explain on the real material,

the descriptions of human anatomy in the books and cuts. For two continuous hours daily for four weeks he thus shows with an invaluable collection of preparations all the main anatomy of our wonderful bodies. Helpful models, charts, blackboard drawings and lantern slides add to his demonstration of the real material. Every eye is on him, with or without opera glasses. For the cell anatomy, a long row of microscopes are ready with real preparations and with schematic drawings under each microscope's foot for guidance. In small groups he repeatedly demonstrates the visceral organs on the "Leiche." After each lecture students crowd about him with real questions and for personal examination of the material, which, together with the whole anatomical museum, was open all day for their study. Out of lecture hours he was to be found all day in his laboratory, and, though always busy, he ever had leisure for a caller who really wanted to ask and learn anything. The students honored him for his knowledge, were grateful to him far beyond the large fee they gladly paid, and always felt deeply the privilege he offered them in thus gaining a most valuable introduction or review to the most important organism on our earth.

As a participant in this group of students, I naturally fell to comparing these contrasting attitudes of instructor and student. As undergraduates in college we never clamored for an hour to get in Trigonometry, Philosophy, Herodotus and Livy. Our anxiety was to get back seats instead of front ones. The instructor was always waiting for us, and this attitude of lying-in-wait seemed to be his main occupation and happiness. We appeared at the last moment, because he called the roll with military punctuality, not because it would have been our own most detrimental loss to have missed his hour. No applause and kindly welcomes were exchanged. His function was to find out whether we had learned anything alone from the text-book rather than to demonstrate, explain, and supplement the matter in the books. To be sure, his bringing in real demonstration material was usually out of the question, for it was either an intangible abstraction or was still in the monasteries. No helps to the gaining of knowledge were allowed,—his object was to make it hard and not easy. We always found fifty minutes too long instead of a couple of hours too short. If we lingered after the hour, it was to steal a look at the inquisitor's judgment book, to raise our mark by feigning questions, or to receive a penalty. He was never in his class-room except during "business hours," and we never knew nor cared what he did with the rest of his time. It was understood through the janitor, however, that, aside from getting up his catechism each evening for the next day, he shaved himself, read French novels, and sat. Thus we naturally had no respect for his hand-to-

mouth knowledge and no gratitude for his keeping our nose down to the grindstone.* Our emancipation day came with passing our final examination by any means escaping detection; while in the other case no examination had been given,—the instructor's part was to offer valuable knowledge with the best known methods; how much each student had profited by it was his own concern and not the instructor's.

An effort to break through this antagonism I can never forget. Having been attracted to the character of Spinoza in some outside reading, I ventured to call on the Professor of Philosophy—though never having been invited by him nor any professor to visit them out of class hours—and expressed my interest in Spinoza and desire to know more of him. But after shifting about in his chair the professor said that really his notes on Spinoza were not at hand, but when he got around to him again in his course he would be better prepared to talk of him. So, with apologies for interrupting him, I withdrew and left him to continue his "book-making," as he expressed it, with a smile which displayed clearly the commercial motive of his industry. Walking away, I wondered if his knowledge of Spinoza could be more than parrot-deep, or if his interest in him went beyond his adaptability for making our lives uncomfortable. And later, on finding the inspiring modern companionship of Spinoza's Theologico-Political Treatise and the nobility of his life as shown in his letters, I naturally believed that one who showed no knowledge of or interest in these highest parts of a subject he taught must be an impostor or my enemy.

What, now, are the reasons for these contrasting attitudes of teacher and student? First of all, the one taught a subject which to him personally had been for years of great interest and worth. Not to the exclusion of other kinds of knowledge, but, after a considerable and varied trial of other kinds of knowledge, he had been attracted to this as his life field of specialization. Every year his love for and devotion to his subject increased, though the ever-enlarging bounds of its material and possibilities seemed to dwarf his progress, and made him more cautious and modest. Though he gladly gave up part of his day and year to those who genuinely wanted to try the worth of his field and took the highest delight in the sympathy and companionship of the few who finally joined him in this "Hauptfach," yet he specially looked forward to his own daily hours of study and to his vacation months for their fullness of work and their most deep and inspiring happiness.

On the other hand, the students either seriously wanted

* Two honorable exceptions should in justice be mentioned,—two of the highest type of teachers, and for whom we all had much gratitude then and far more now. But the ungenerous field for their valuable subjects was shown in the fact that the one was forced to leave the college, though bitter opposition could not expel the other.

to test the worth of his subject, or, having already found it valuable, wanted more. They came to him because he could give them more real knowledge than the books and more than other teachers of the same subject. Realizing the great advantages thus offered, with the wealth of helpful material and experience for gaining the most real knowledge with the least labor, they concentrated their hours and interest with an enthusiasm and glad devotion which was contagious and most inspiring.

How did the mercenary task-master regard his subject? Did he stand at his private office blackboard on Saturday or Monday developing the beauties of the binomial formula and spherical triangle, or solace his weariness on the car trip home by fondly taking from his breast pocket his book of logarithms, or forego church on a peaceful Sunday morning that he might demonstrate to the children on his knees why they believed one line was equal to another?

Did the philosopher loafing in his summer hammock feel his heart thrill with the thought that those very leaves and birds and skies above were constructed on the Hegelian dialectic principle of Nothing + Being = Becoming? Did he ever value his "life work" enough to possess his own Kant, or did he permanently borrow the library copy? Are the Greek teacher's steps made buoyant with gladness for the message he brings his impatient students as the morning air revives the scenes and associations of entuthen' exelaunei? Perhaps, though, the Latin teacher is reminded, when winds are high, of his beloved Cicero, and thus amid the turmoils of life feels the constant presence of a rhetorical strength. For his lighter moods he takes up his well-worn Livy, heaving a pharisaical sigh at the incomparable joy which the original language adds to those charming ideas.

But, seriously, the foundation cause of this unfortunate antagonism is because so many required subjects are of such comparatively small or even trivial importance in genuine culture. The engineer will seek mathematics for his bridges and surveys, the scientific philologist and translator the original Greek and Latin, and in metaphysics the literary student will always find much beautiful literature and poetry but no short-cut "systems of knowledge." If the teacher of such subjects has, perchance, more than a mercenary interest in them, it is usually because he has had no experience with better kinds of knowledge and has become attached to them on the pleasure-pain habit principle by which one can come to feel lonely for any kind of torture, if it's only kept up long enough, and in this educative process the ascetic devotee is not killed.

Now, of course, the reason which is given by teachers of

such subjects for forcing so many students into this attitude of antagonism is because they need "discipline"—"Entbehren sollst du! sollst entbehren!" This reminds one of the usual pursuit of technique among musicians—always "practicing"—and how few ever get to Beethoven and Brahms. But in an intellectual art, even less than in a partly manual art, is any long exclusive training necessary. For culture as well as for specialization one gets all the necessary discipline and training by working directly at a subject which will also give some worthy result. The deductive reasoning training of the "disciplinary studies" can, on the other hand, be shown to be positively vicious, for they scarcely touch on the processes of observation and induction of cause and effect by which our real as against our verbal knowledge is gained. Many a lesser and younger man laments with Darwin: "Nothing could have been worse for the development of my mind than Dr. Butler's school, as it was strictly classical, nothing else being taught except a little ancient geography and history. The school, as a means of education to me, was simply a blank." (Darwin's *Life and Letters*, I. p. 29. See also pp. 353 and 354.) "During the three years which I spent at Cambridge my time was wasted, as far as academical studies were concerned, as completely as at Edinburgh and at school." (Ibid, p. 40.) Contrast this with his experience where he had some valuable knowledge to learn. "I have always felt that I owe to the voyage (of the *Beagle*) the first real training or education of my mind. I was led to attend closely to several branches of natural history, and thus my powers of observation were improved. * * * I discovered, though unconsciously and insensibly, that the pleasure of observing and reasoning was a much higher one than that of skill and sport." (Ibid, pp. 51 and 53.) The qualities of mind to which he modestly attributes his success are a most touching and suggestive commentary on our educational methods. "The most important have been, the love of science, unbounded patience in long reflecting over any subject, industry in observing and collecting facts, and a fair share of invention as well as of common sense." (Ibid, pp. 85 and 86.)

But the fetish of discipline also extends to too many subjects of real value in themselves, and the student coming to Physics, Astronomy, Zoology or Economics, e. g., with anticipation of profit and pleasure, is too often here repulsed into antagonism by the disciplinary form in which such knowledge is given. How vividly I recall again my anticipations as a senior in learning something of the wonderful workings of our own minds. But on being forced to learn a lot of abstract definitions, to stumble through the Latin topography of a disreputable brain model, to perform algebraical juggles with "intellect," "sensi-

bility" and "will" to produce the "Ego," with the final harrowing of our souls by a tricky examination on such nonsense—this was enough to turn one's anticipations into bitterness against the subject as well as its teacher. But when with other teachers I found an inexhaustible store of most fascinating and companionable facts and inferences of our mental life, I naturally felt not merely contempt for the former teacher, whose superficial knowledge was coached up daily for each "recitation" by a medical school physiologist, but a righteous indignation at such an imposition on culture. Also in Greek we were disciplined with the deduction process of pigeon-holing the kaleidoscopic stream of words into their proper compartments in Hadley's Grammar and in laboriously acquiring through the Lexicon a new set of visual symbols for our perceptions and ideas. So that even the few great plays and little Plato we did read amidst the mass of commonplace stuff was not for the great ideas and poetry. And, later, on giving up the pretense of using a set of symbols whose difficulties prevented our getting beyond the mere words, I found in English translations of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and in Jowett's Plato a world of beauty and greatness which either had been conscientiously hidden from us, or which—as I much more suspect—most of the Greek teachers themselves had never known.

The important subject of astronomy was our most hated enemy, for a sour face and gruff voice welcomed us with, "Get out your logarithm tables!" With groans we reached under the seats for those blue-colored horrors (they haunt me still through the fifteen intervening years), and under watchdog guard we struggled to plot the eccentric paths of comets. This was a much more disciplinary ordeal than our out-of-class-room plots which we copied or bought from the one man in the class who could really work them. As for getting any idea of the vastness and wonders of descriptive astronomy—so essential to the heliocentric modesty of the scientific standpoint—or any demonstration of the apparatus and methods used, or any encouragement to look up from the logarithm books to the marvelous stars above,—that was considered as yielding to original sin. That might do for boarding-school girls, but for college men it was too interesting and easy.

Now, when one studies psychologically the problems of pleasure and pain—the feeling element of our mental make-up and the basis of our so-called "will"—one finds quite enough evidence for the important function of self-denial, i. e., a necessary endurance of pain for future happiness. No one realizes this important and inexorable law more than the utilitarian in ethics. Read the autobiography of Mill himself, the letters of George Eliot, Darwin and Tennyson for heroic examples. But

as all persons with any decent home life will get some experience in self-denial, instead of emphasizing it as the main principle of our higher education, ought we not rather to cultivate the complementary principle of present happiness for future happiness? It is the contrast of motives of pain versus motives of pleasure. Not merely German scholarship and English culture are made by leading and not driving, but if we want such scholarship and culture engrafted on our generous and energetic American nature we must outgrow this American school-boy heritage of Puritanical asceticism and militant force. Where experience finds that a lack of foresight for one's better happiness is positively dangerous to all concerned, as in small children and in criminals, there we are forced to use motives of pain. But let us fashion our higher educational systems less for the exclusive benefit of these weak classes and more for the stronger characters who really want more knowledge to guide their foresight for the greatest happiness of all concerned and in whom the inevitable fatigue and self-denials are more than compensated by their daily springs of happiness. At the end of such culture days one's deepest heart modestly exclaims:

"Verwelle doch, du bist so schön!
Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdentagen
Nicht in Aonen untergehn.—
Im vorgefühl von solchem hohen Glück
Genies ich jetzt den höchsten Augenblick."

Summary: The prevalent attitude of antagonism or even enmity between the American undergraduate and most of his teachers is due chiefly, (1) to the continued presence among the required studies of so many subjects of comparatively small or trivial value, and (2) to the continued teaching of these for their fallaciously supposed value for the mind and heart as discipline, and (3) to the extension of disciplinary methods to more worthy kinds of knowledge. Were these causes removed by the better education of the teachers and the introduction of more German university freedom, this deplorable antagonism would cease.

Harlow Galc.

(Reprinted from the Minnesota Magazine.)

❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

AUSTRIA.

The elections in Austria are now practically over with, and it is possible to give most of the results. But in order to in any way appreciate the facts, some knowledge is necessary of the difficulties under which the socialists have struggled. In the first place there is a scheme of election embracing first and second ballots and secondary electors that is so complicated that all explanations that we have been able to find have only made it more unintelligible. This system was purposely so planned in order that its complications might be used to defeat the socialists. Then all the power of private and governmental intimidation was set in motion to influence those who might be lucky enough to get a chance to express their opinions. In one election district in Galicia the election was only announced late in the evening before it took place, and only eight voters appeared to elect the four members from that constituency. In another case a crier was sent through the village, and when the people assembled only those favorable to the government were permitted to register, and a socialist who protested against this procedure was promptly arrested. The most outrageous gerrymandering of districts was resorted to. Schnodika, in Galicia, with a population of 6,000 and entitled to twelve representatives, being found to be strongly socialist, the prefect declared that the population was only 1,500, and hence entitled to but three representatives. Then it must always be remembered that Austria is simply a geographical expression for a certain extent of territory, with no homogeneity of language or race. This fact has been taken advantage of to exploit race hatred to an extent unknown elsewhere on earth. Under all these conditions the socialists were prepared for defeat, and were more than satisfied when they made substantial gains. In Bohemia they suffered their worst check, losing several seats. This was because the appeal to nationalities found more dupes here than elsewhere. In Cracow, Dazynski was returned by a vote of 13,153, out of 22,103 votes cast. In Lemberg, Ernest Breiter, Socialist, received 14,057 out of 23,338. "In Vienna," says the correspondent of the London Times, "notwithstanding the doctoring of the electoral lists to the advantage of the Christian Socialists, that faction received an irretrievable reverse." It should be said that this "Christian Socialist" party is what we in America would call a

"fake" party to mislead the Social Democrats. Nevertheless, the socialist vote in Vienna was raised from 88,00 to 95,000, and while Adler was defeated for a seat in Vienna, he was elected from Brunn. We shall try to secure tabulated figures of the vote and representation for our next number.

The Austrian government has been so frightened by the growth of socialism that the ministry has proposed the nationalization of the mines and the coal trade as a means of fighting it.

The Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung has just published a remarkable general order recently issued by the imperial minister of war concerning the treatment of soldiers suspected of being socialists. It provides stringent punishment for any attempt at circulating revolutionary literature, and urges the making of frequent searches of the premises and effects of officers or privates who have been known to have any connection with revolutionary bodies. Meantime bread riots are prevailing in the textile districts of Hungary, and the troops have been called out to shoot down the people who are marching the streets crying "Give us work or give us food." Several persons have already been killed and wounded in these riots, and their number and extent are constantly growing.

* * *

ITALY.

The following interesting little incident somehow escaped the notice of American capitalist newspapers, although their correspondents had no difficulty in finding out every time the Prince of Wales sneezed. In the city of Genoa there is a laborers' hall, with which is connected a judicial tribunal for the adjustment of difficulties between laborers and capitalists. Lately speeches were being made there by the socialists that were decidedly displeasing to the governing powers, and the mayor, Garronni, summarily disbanded the laborers' organization and abolished the court of arbitration. The following is taken from the account of the resulting events as given by the Genoa Arbeiter Zeitung: The hard and unjust order of the Prefect Garronni first became known at noon of the 17th of December; by evening the great harbor was deserted. By the evening of the 18th the number of strikers had reached 10,000, and 200 coal ships lay deserted in the harbor unable to receive a cargo. Telegrams were sent to Port Said and Messina to notify the Indian steamers not to stop at Genoa, but to land at Marselles instead. The Board of Trade immediately began to recognize the far-reaching significance of the strike and to calculate their losses: The first day cost them a million francs; the second, two million; the third, four; and the fourth, seven million.

As soon as opportunity offered the government sent in great bodies of soldiers, and ordered the man-of-war "St. Bon" into the harbor, and immediately a large number of laborers throughout the building trades laid down their tools, and finally the street car workers joined, raising the number of strikers to 17,000. Then the weather came to

the assistance of the laborers. The thermometer began to fall, and millions of francs' worth of choice wine on the docks and in the ships was threatened with destruction. Telegrams began to pour in upon the government from the wine merchants all over Europe demanding that the strike be ended. The government was compelled to act, and finally removed Garronni from office. The disbanded organizations were reorganized with practically the same membership, and the strike was declared off as a complete victory for the laborers.

* * *

GERMANY.

In our last issue we referred to the speech of Auer in regard to the letter sent by Graf Posadowsky, of the Imperial cabinet, to Herr Bueck, a wealthy manufacturer, demanding 12,000 marks to assist in pushing the "Penitentiary Bill" through the Reichstag. The socialists have made such an exposure of this and other similar acts that Posadowsky has at last been driven into retirement—not, as the Vorwaerts explains, because he was corrupt, but because he was so unfortunate as to be unsuccessful in his corruption and to meet with exposure, and, worst crime of all, because he did not succeed in passing the bill for which he was paid.

At the elections which have just taken place for the Parliament or Landtag of Wurtemberg 300,000 electors voted. The Reactionaries obtained 95,000 votes; the Anti-Catholics, 72,000; the Democrats, 71,000, and the Socialists, 60,000. The Socialist vote has nearly doubled itself since 1895, while the Democrats have lost 20,000 votes. Two Socialists have been returned to the Landtag, while ten have a place in the second ballot.

German Socialists have been very successful in the municipal elections this year. All the Socialist candidates were elected at Reichenheim, in Saxony, while others were returned at Marienthal, Altenhain, Hohenkirchen, Schedewitz, Rotschau and Leisnig—all in Saxony. News of a Socialist victory comes also from Jonitz, in Anhalt.

* * *

BELGIUM.

The socialist municipality of Liege has appropriated 1,500 francs to be distributed among the various unions for the benefit of their unemployed members. In Ghent the socialists are establishing a special municipal fund for the same purpose, which will result in a yearly annuity of 60,000 francs, which will be divided among the unions in proportion to the number of members already receiving out-of-work benefits from the union itself. The municipal council of Naast has begun the feeding of the school children, and that of Schaerbeck has prosecuted a number of contractors who violated the minimum wage law recently enacted by the socialist council of that city.

The Clericals of Brussels are just seeking, through a law which

has been nullified for twenty-five years to secure control of the communal schools. Against this the socialists are making a strong fight. The socialist women especially are holding large gatherings, and the agitation is serving to introduce them to the movement for universal suffrage, regardless of sex. Madame Gatti de Gamond has been exceptionally active in this work, and was recently arrested by the police for distributing circulars against the clerical influence in the schools.

* * *

FRANCE

Word now comes from France that all the terms of unity between the different socialist parties have been arranged save as to the manner of organization in the Department of the Seine, and this is being discussed with every probability of an amicable settlement being reached. It is hoped that this statement will once for all settle the falsehood which has been industriously circulated in this country, that the Parti Ouvrier ever contemplated entering into a "new international" with the DeLeonites.

Vaillant brought forward a motion in the French Chamber last week asking for full powers of self-government to be given to the City of Paris. Many important unanimous resolutions passed by the municipal council have repeatedly been annulled by the government officials. Vaillant's resolution was lost, not because of its tenor, but because he coupled it with a vote of censure on the government. The terms of his resolution were brought forward afterwards by another deputy, with the omission of the clause of censure, when it was passed by 360 to 153 votes, the premier himself declaring in its favor.

* * *

DENMARK.

A recently published report shows that of 100,300 male laborers 76,800 are organized in unions and, in some sections, as many as 95 per cent and 96 per cent are organized. In the larger cities and towns the intellectual as well as the manual laborers are organized.

The Socialists in the Folkething have introduced a proposition for a hospital for consumptives, providing for an appropriation of 40,000 kr. to expend in the preparation of plans for the erection of the same. Con Klausen showed that of the 8,000 deaths from consumption, in Denmark, each year 5,000 were among the laboring class, who could not afford to pay the charges necessary to receive accommodations in existing sanitariums.

The recent municipal elections have been a magnificent triumph for the socialists. The number of socialist municipal councillors has been raised from 30 elected in 1894 to 170, and nearly every large city is now in the hands of the socialists.

The socialist members of parliament are pushing a bill providing for old age pensions. The Social Demokrat, of Copenhagen, has recently been enlarged from fourteen to sixteen pages, and now has the largest circulation of any paper in Denmark.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

There never visited this country a British trade unionist and labor agitator who became such a universal favorite as Pete Curran, one of the fraternal delegates to the A. F. of L. convention. Curran, who is an intellectual and yet modest and sociable chap, made a brief tour of the country after the Louisville meeting, speaking in the principal cities in the interest of the Social Democratic party, and with the exception of one or two places had good audiences everywhere and added to his host of friends. His advice to American trade unionists was timely and is causing much comment among organized men and women and even thinking outsiders. "You can never solve the social problem by strikes," Curran told our people everywhere. "That is my opinion after twenty years' experience in the labor movement. After spending more money in England during the last twenty-five years on the industrial battle-field than would keep 700 men legislating in our interests in the House of Parliament, we have come to the conclusion that we must have something to say about the making of the laws under which we have to work, and we must get away from the old orthodox political parties if we hope to secure what we seek. The only possibility of our securing labor legislation is by sending our own men into the governing bodies, not as our masters, but as our servants. There is only one solution of the labor problem, and that is the democratization of industry, the common ownership of the means of production, for as long as we allow the land and the machinery of the country to be held as private monopolies by the few, so long will we have industrial disputes and upheavals." Curran assured the writer that all the active young men in the British trade union movement are Socialists, and that if the English workers enjoyed the franchise as freely as do their American brothers, the former would roll up two million votes for Socialism without a doubt. At the coming Parliamentary election the trade unionists of the other side will undoubtedly cut a respectable figure in increasing the Socialist vote.

The big strikes of building craftsmen in Chicago and molders in Cleveland are dragging along their weary way. The Chicago Building Trades Council issued a statement showing that before the lock-out a year ago 20,000 members were affiliated with that body, of which number 14,680 still remain. Six crafts withdrew, leaving

twenty-five still in the Council. The Cleveland molders won a point, when the Bowler Co., one of the largest concerns in the bosses' association, withdrew and signed the scale, after having lost \$20,000. All the other foundries look like small forts, and it is hardly probable that any decisive change will occur before another six months.—East Side bakers in New York are on strike for more wages, shorter hours and better sanitary conditons. Several large concerns yielded. Bosses organized an opposition "union," which they industriously nursed, when one day Joseph Barondess and other bona fide union agitators secured the floor, and, after delivering speeches burning with eloquence, the 600 pets of the bosses formed in line and marched to union headquarters and joined the organization.

Cigarmakers are disturbed at the action of the American Tobacco Co., the trust, in entering the cigar business. The combine has secured control of several factories and incorporated a \$10,000,000 offspring, and it is stated that strong inroads will be made on the trade through wholesale houses and distributors that it controls. The trust also controls much of the raw material and the latest labor-saving appliances, while the capital behind it is reported as being Rockefeller's pile. The American company's treatment of the tobacco workers is too well known to need elaboration, as it never hesitates to smash unionism wherever it appears, and at present desperate struggles are being waged in Louisville, St. Louis and New York state, while it has raised prices 116 per cent, absorbed the big factories and driven out the jobbers by the score. The trust will have nothing to do with the blue label of the organized cigarmakers, and far-seeing craftsmen fear trouble. The union is in good condition, however, and will never yield to the dictation of the trust.

National Secretary Butscher, of the Social Democratic party, has issued over forty charters to locals in as many cities and towns during the last two months.—The total vote of the S. D. P. has reached nearly a hundred thousand. The old Socialist Labor party polled 34,000, a loss of 52,000 in two years.—Rev. Vail has been nominated for governor by the S. D. P. in New Jersey and is stumping that state, and Job Harriman is on a speaking tour through New York state.—Chicago N. E. B. held convention in latter city last month, and the Socialists in favor of complete organic union are now voting on the question of holding national convention at some central point within a few months, many independent and unattached bodies favoring the step.

Sixteen large boot and shoe manufacturing concerns are forming a trust, having been forced to combine by the leather, shoe machinery and other trusts. It is the plan to establish stores in the leading cities and to sell to the trade direct, thus abolishing middlemen and absorbing their profits.

Steel pool has been organized and thousands of commission men are to be let out.—Railway consolidations, it is estimated, will do away so thoroughly with competition and centralize work that 25,000 agents and employes of various kinds will be discharged.—Preliminary steps are being taken to consolidate four or five of the large iron and steel trusts, and in Eastern financial circles it is declared that in the near future there will be a close combination of the railways, hard and soft coal, coke and certain iron and steel companies, with a few steamship lines thrown in to add power and strength to the gigantic "community of interests." The comrades who are thus splendidly organizing industry do not wear red buttons.

Add following new Socialist publications to the long and growing list: The Missouri Socialist, St. Louis, Mo.; Wage-Worker, Detroit, Mich.; Social Democrat, Williamsport, Pa.; The Challenge, Los Angeles, Cal.; Propaganda, Central City, Colo.; Industrial Democracy, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Southern Socialist, Blum, Tex.

Factory inspectors of Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, Ohio and other states are issuing their annual reports, and in not one of them does it appear that woman and child labor is decreasing. On the contrary, the increase in every state is marked. Neither are any remedies advanced to solve this grave problem. The criminal, pauper and insanity statistics, also showing increasing tendencies, reflect the situation correctly.

Glass trust and the independent concerns came to an agreement and shoved up prices 30 per cent.—Fruit and vegetable growers in Florida and Cuba are combining.

Laborers in the mills in the Mahoning and Shenango valleys, to the number of 5,000, had a New Year's present stuffed in their "full dinner pails" in the shape of a reduction in wages from \$1.90 to \$1.65 a day. Now they are talking strike, but not at the polls. National steel trust also handed its employes a Christmas present, 10 per cent cut. Iron workers are in a sadly demoralized condition.

Nothing much has come of the Ice trust scandal in New York except to give the Supreme Court of that state an opportunity to hand down a decision that practically annuls the anti-trust law.—Another decision of the same court knocks out the law compelling contractors to have stone for public buildings cut in the state, which law was passed at the request of granite cutters and other craftsmen, and the latter decision was probably made to please the Standard Oil interests, which are said to be absorbing the quarries of New England. The "labor laws" fare poorly when they come in contact with the stone wall of the "communism of capital."

Street railway strikes in Reading and Scranton resulted in satisfactory compromises in which the workers received important concessions. The national union is enjoying healthy growth.

National Building Trades Council held largest convention in its history in Cincinnati last month. Some bitter criticisms were aimed at the A. F. of L. for the latter body's practical repudiation of "trade autonomy" and apparent attempt to absorb the building unions and combine them as a trade section, but cooler counsel seemingly prevailed and the threatened war was averted.

Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, a splendid edifice, was destroyed by fire recently and the unionists' interests sustained a heavy loss. An attempt will be made to rebuild it, and to that end every union in the country will be asked to donate one dollar. It's a worthy cause.

Textile workers are dumping "trade autonomy" overboard, having suffered enough defeats. Representatives from mule spinners, loom fixers, carders and pickers, weavers and clash tenders held convention in Washington and organized the American Federation of Textile Operatives. Other branches of the industry will also join the new amalgamation.

Along in May the metal trades, headed by the machinists, are going to ask for the nine-hour workday with the same pay they now receive for ten hours. The bosses demur and in some cases demand that the men accept a reduction, and there is liable to be trouble before the matter is settled.

Printers are negotiating with National Newspaper Publishers' Association to establish joint arbitration and conciliation board.

Robert Rives La Monte, the well-known young author and lecturer, has gone to New Zealand to study the conditions of the laboring people in that much-talked-about little country.

Reports come from "our" new possessions to the effect that the building trades in Honolulu are winning the eight-hour day, and that several more labor agitators and organizers in Porto Rico have succeeded in getting out of jail. In the Philippines our new fellow-citizens are still on strike in the cigar industry, while some continue to strike against Uncle Sam, thus making work for American laborers who manufacture guns, bullets, beer, whisky, etc.

Miners held their national convention, showed up stronger than ever numerically and financially, re-elected old officers, and are now negotiating with operators for adoption of new scale.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

I.

*There is a common root and identity between the philosophy of socialism and the philosophy of Jesus. Whether it knows it or not, the socialist movement is preparing the material for the realization of the love-life of the world. The socialistic stage of development is a necessary training of men in mutuality of responsibility and service. Socialism is the body in which the soul of love must learn to express and liberate itself; and the kingdom of heaven can no more pass by the co-operative commonwealth than the spirit of man can dispense with his physical body while fulfilling the functions of earth-life and labor. Putting it on no other grounds, socialism is a spiritual necessity to the race; through no other than the socialistic experience can the race come to its true self-consciousness, and blossom in the fullness and glory of its power and liberty. Men must learn how to live together; how to work together for a common good; how to combine for free and creative ends, and not under the mere stress of defense. Man's discovery of power, and of how to use it in making the kind of a world he wants, can never far outrun the development of his co-operative or spiritual sense. Power is co-operation; love is co-operation; spirituality is co-operation. It is only through the socialistic experience of the world that this co-operative or spiritual sense, this mind or will to love, can come to its realization; it is only from the association and unity of all men and interests that the free individual can at last emerge. And it is for this reason that some of us are socialists; not because socialism is our goal, but because we see in socialism a conservative and constructive preparation of the way of the Lord of love; we are socialists en route to the liberty which love brings.

II.

Even the class struggle, at which so many ignorantly take offense,

* Taken from one of Mr. Herron's Central Music Hall lectures.

is at bottom a love-struggle. The class-consciousness of the socialist movement is a profoundly spiritual revelation, a most significantly Christian experience. The conscious solidarity of the working class is an indispensable prelude to the ultimate solidarity of the world. For socialism to give up its class-conscious philosophy would be for it to sell itself out—to sell out not only all that makes socialism potent and possible, but to sell out as well that experience which alone can train labor for the leadership of the will to love, and prepare society for the kingdom of heaven. Those who object to the class-conscious appeal on the ground that it is divisive and anti-Christian would do well to read their New Testaments with open eyes; for no such alignment of class against class, no such intensive class-conscious appeal, has ever been made as that of Jesus. There is no such class-conscious movement in history as that which Jesus initiated. First and last and all the time the disciples and friends of his idea were told to stand together; to be true to one another with a love that would never be beaten and a loyalty that would never fail. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another, even as I have loved you. By this shall all men know that ye are socialists, if ye stand together as workers, true to one another with a comradeship that cannot fail or betray, asking not your freedom from any masters, but finding freedom in your own unity of interest and faith and devotion. Do you not see that the call of socialism to workingmen to unite is but the modernized and economized appeal of Jesus to his disciples to love one another? Do you not see that the class-conscious command of the socialist is identical with the class-conscious command and experience of the early communities or brotherhoods of the sweet and brave Christian springtime? You will find how radical is the identity, if you go deep enough into the class-conscious philosophy, and then read the burning and divisive commands and warnings of Jesus and his apostles in the light of that philosophy.

III.

But there is a philosophical analogy that goes deeper into the human fact than the mere identity of appeal. Jesus distinctly regarded the wealthy and priestly and governing orders as belonging to a robber class; the horrible fact that these gained their luxury and power through oppressing and exploiting both the labor and the souls of the poor was always before him and sometimes loaded his words

with terrible denunciations. His intensely class-conscious feeling was profoundly scientific; it was not a mere sentiment of justice, but a plain and clear-sighted recognition of the fact that one class of people was living off another class; that the small class which did the living and the robbing ruled the large class which did the producing without living; that the class which really had no faith and obeyed no law gave religion and made laws for the class which was always insurgent with faith and yet submissive to every law which injustice could enact. He saw that it was impossible to rationalize or spiritualize a world-order that was a huge and hideous parasitism; so his friends and disciples were told to stand together as a class until they should increase unto the power to overcome the world for the kingdom of heaven. His class-conscious attitude and command was precisely that of the modern socialist, however different his outlook and philosophy in other things. The early Christians were bidden never to forget that they were the poor, the disinherited and the despised; that they were the oppressed, the enslaved and the outcast; that they would be hated of all men and persecuted and slain by all institutions, as the cost of their daring to be men in the image of God. Against the rich and the powerful, the capitalized and governing class, the vested interests of institutions, they were to stand together as one man, and stand as against the destroyers of the world, the despoilers and slayers of souls and bodies. Only by the power and joy of their class-conscious unity could they truly love one another and form a common defense against treason and lovelessness.

IV.

I am not forgetting that the socialist rather ostentatiously insists that his working motive is his own personal good; and I am sometimes reminded of the cant phrases of professional pietism by the way in which the socialist thrusts this personal good of his into the foreground. He makes so much of it that he gets to be an inverted pietist, just as a friend of mine so insists on his democracy that he has become a sort of inverted and flagrant snob. But—so full of strange things is our world—the socialist who insists on the motive of his own personal good, will give up his work, suffer starvation, and make every conceivable sacrifice in order to be true to his comrades and his cause, while we Christians who pivot our religion on the idea of self-sacrifice will often not make the slightest real sacrifice of self for our Christ or the common good. I am afraid that the

personal good of the socialist is more significantly Christian than the self-sacrifice of those of us who call ourselves Christians.

V.

But, after all, this is a question of words. Most of our discussions about the antithesis between self-sacrifice and self-interest are idle definitions. In the end it is every man's personal good to sacrifice himself for a common good. The highest self-interest of the individual, his real joy and liberty, lie in pouring himself out in the service of his brothers; in throwing himself away for them, if need be. And so every man's true self-sacrifice lies in presenting the richest and noblest possible individuality to the world. True self-sacrifice and true self-interest are merely different names for the same principles of being—different names for self-realization, for wholeness and freedom of life. On the whole, our attitude toward ourselves and our brothers is about the same. We not only must love our neighbors as ourselves; that is about what we generally do, whether we know it or not. If we try to live the life of free sons of God ourselves, we shall have most sensitive and sacred regard for the free individuality and divine worth of others. If we truly love our neighbors, we will nobly love ourselves for their sakes, and for their sakes make our lives whole; and if we truly love ourselves, we will seek to awaken in our brothers the strongest and loveliest selfhood. A cross-section of our feeling, our thinking and doing, taken anywhere and at any time, will reveal about the same quality of love and life in relation to self and to others. Neighbor-love and self-love will always register the same quality in the spiritual thermometer. Love is the true and final equilibrumizer.





BOOK REVIEWS



Socialism and Modern Science. Enrico Ferri. Translated by Robt. Rives LaMonte. Cloth, 213 pp., \$1.00.

Since the translation of Marx' Capital there has been no greater contribution to the socialist movement of the English speaking world than is afforded by this work. Under the title "Socialisme et Science Positive" it had already become one of the classics of the French, Belgian and Italian movement.

Beginning with an extract from an address of Prof. Ernest Haeckel, who attempted to show that Darwinism was hostile to the socialist philosophy, Prof. Ferri takes up one by one the various phases of the subject, and demonstrates that not only are the premises of socialism in perfect accord with the doctrines of evolution, but that Darwinism, biology and socialism in the science of society are but expressions of the same thought principles in different fields. Taking up the various alleged contradictions between Darwinism and socialism, he shows that "the equality of individuals" proposed by socialism is only one of equality of opportunity, and that "socialism does not deny inequality; it merely wishes to utilize this inequality as one of the factors leading to the free, prolific and many-sided development of human life." The "struggle for life," is discussed and he shows that when the means of existence are assured to all the members of society the principle of social solidarity will be increased and the struggle will no longer be between the members of that society. "The survival of the fittest" is shown to mean the elimination of such social abnormalities as are represented by the present capitalist class, and hence this law is a natural corrolary socialist philosophy.

But it is in the positive and constructive side of the work that its greatest contribution to socialist philosophy is made. The chapters on "Socialism as a Consequence of Darwinism" and "Evolution and Socialism" constitute the most logical exposition of the fundamentals of socialism to be found in the English language. It is difficult to see how they can be read by anyone with reasoning power and not convince him of the truth of socialism. The book is a perfect arsenal of ideas for socialist writers and speakers, and must form a part of the equipment of every well-armed socialist.

Fruitfulness. Emile Zola. Translated by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. Doubleday, Page & Co. Cloth, 468 pp., \$2.00.

In this latest work of the great French writer, the population question, that is now such a burning one in France, is taken up and handled without gloves. Indeed, it is handled so openly and frankly in the original French that the translator has found himself compelled to cut out large portions of the original. At first sight it seems as if he had done more of this than was required, even by the ridiculous prudery which reigns in Anglo-Saxon countries. But we understand that a translation of an earlier work of Zola's caused him to suffer arrest and imprisonment, and hence he cannot be blamed for being over-careful. But in spite of the censor, an extremely powerful novel remains, which in its dramatic strength almost reminds one of Hugo's in some places. At the same time it is a sociological treatise, which no one who wishes a thorough grasp of the population question can afford to neglect. The central theme of the book is the story of the conquest of a fruitful earth by a fruitful race. There is much of the idyllic about it and much that is almost ridiculously impossible under present conditions, but there is every now and then a hint that the author realizes this fact, and as his next work is announced upon the subject of "Labor," it is probable that this phase will be there treated.

The Real Chinese Question. Chester Holcombe. Dodd, Mead & Co. Cloth, 386 pp., \$1.50.

We have not the slightest hesitation in saying that this is by far the best work yet published for the general reader upon the situation in China. The author was for many years Interpreter, Secretary of Legation and acting Minister of the United States at Peking, and hence speaks with the authority of knowledge. He is the first of the English speaking writers that seem to have been inspired with any desire to tell the truth regarding the Chinese. His discussion of native characteristics and customs throws a flood of light on a much beclouded subject. He points out how the *litterati* with the system of promotion by examination make possible an extremely rapid transformation of every portion of the Chinese Empire once that it is decided by those in power to introduce capitalism. But it is in his discussion of the relations of China with the outside world that the most valuable portion of the book is found. He notes that the Chinese "have never understood nor admitted that the main purpose for which governments were created was to foster commerce and money making." The story of the invasion of China by the capitalist barbarians of the nineteenth century is one that may well rival the similar invasions of Europe by the Huns and Vandals. This work points out how treaties have been interpolated, harbors bombarded in time of peace, gambling dens established on Chinese soil against the will of the government, outrageous foreign

"claims" collected by force, her high officials grossly insulted by capitalist representatives, territory extorted from her by all manner of deceit and force, and finally how the horrors of the opium traffic were forced upon her at the muzzles of cannon in spite of the most thorough and determined efforts to save her people from this awful scourge. "The recital reminds one rather of the practices of a card-sharper and his confederates, than of the broad-minded statesmanship which deserves respect and honor. . . . Here are to be seen the Great Powers of the earth squabbling among themselves for influence and prestige with China, then, by turns, choking her, holding a revolver at her head or a knife to her heart, and lecturing her upon the inestimable benefits to be derived from western civilization, and all the time wondering why China hates the foreigner so bitterly, and why it is so increasingly difficult to make any money out of her."

Light on the Deep, A Tale of Today, by George Henry Grafton. The Neale Co., Washington, D. C. Paper, 128 pp., 25 cents.

A very clever little satire on present conditions that will carry the gospel of discontent into many places where a more pretentious work would not find entrance.

The Fall and the Restoration, by Imogene C. Fales. Peter Davidson, Loudsville, Ga. Paper, 55 pp., 30 cents.

In a most excellent literary style the story of man's evolution is traced in graphic outline from geologic times down to the present and the inevitableness of the co-operative commonwealth as a result of this evolution is pointed out. The author deals much in symbolic and mystical thought, and the work is a queer but interesting and suggestive combination of materials and mysticism.

The Story of Nineteenth Century and Modern Science. Henry Smith Williams. Harper & Brothers. Cloth, 475 pp., \$2.50.

The nineteenth century has been pre-eminently the century of material achievements, and there have been many attempts to tell its story, and this book is certainly one of the best, if not the best, of these. It is technical enough to be exact, but not too technical to be easily understood by the ordinary reader. The work opens with a review of "Science at the Beginning of the Century," then a chapter is given to the century's progress in each field of knowledge, and the final chapter is devoted to "Some Unsolved Scientific Problems." It is wonderful story of advance from the time when scientists were discussing "phlogiston," "imponderables" and "fluid forces" to the day of the X-ray and experimental psychology. It forms an inexhaustible storehouse of knowledge to those who wish to trace the progress of the increase of knowledge. It is impossible in a review of such a work to give any summary of its contents, for it is already condensed almost to the limit. Perhaps the most interesting chapter of all is the

one on "The Century's Progress in Experimental Psychology," because this really seems to be coming closer to some of the great mysteries of nature, but all are interesting and all are valuable.

The Inalienable Rights of Man. J. R. Rogers, Governor of Washington. Printed by the author. Paper, 35 pp.

Starting from the eighteenth century philosophy of "inalienable rights," it is shown that private ownership of land is incompatible with that philosophy, as worked out by the founders of this government. The author, like thousands—and, indeed, some millions of others, as the last campaign would seem to show—does not appear to realize that philosophies do not make history, and that private property in land (and capital, as well) will not be abolished because of conflict with the philosophy of either Rousseau or Jefferson, but because it is in conflict with economic progress.

Shattered Idols. "A Lawyer." Schulte Publishing Co. Cloth, 82 pp.

This author would trace all the ills to which our present society is due to Judge Marshall's "doctrine of implied powers," and in so doing is apparently all unconscious that instead of tracing a line of legal interpretation he is really tracing a line of economic evolution. But he does his work well, and brings to light much that is valuable to the student of American social history, and has produced a little work that is well worth the reading of those who are interested in seeing how capitalism has entrenched itself in the legal machinery of this country.

Beyond the Black Ocean. Rev. T. McGrady. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 304 pp., \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

Both by reason of its author, who is the pastor of the Roman Catholic Church at Bellevue, Ky., and because of the character of the book itself this is one of the most significant socialist publications of the year. The story has a plot of considerable strength and great interest, and there are many passages that are bound to be widely quoted as gems of socialist thought. There is also a vein of humor running through it that makes it quite distinctive from the majority of so-called socialist romances.

Solaris Farm; A Story of the Twentieth Century. Milan C. Edson. Published by the author at 1728 N. Jersey avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. Paper, 747 pp.

Of writing Utopias there is no end and never can be while imagination continues to be easier to exercise than investigation. So far as the utopian character of this book is concerned, it contains some things that are of value on the land question. There is a great amount of speculation, much of which is extremely interesting and

suggestive on advanced methods of agriculture. So far as the story is concerned, it is but a framework on which to hang the philosophy, save that there are a few well-wrought-out incidents. Whether the suggestions as to the means of securing the utopia described are to be taken seriously or not we do not know, but if they are so intended it argues a grievous ignorance of social laws and development on the part of the writer.

Books received too late for review in this issue:

The Philippines, the War and the People. Albert G. Robinson. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, 405 pp.

The Trust Problem. Jeremiah W. Jenks. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, 279 pp., \$1.00.

The Communist Manifesto. Marx & Engels. New edition issued by the International Publishing Co., San Francisco. Paper, 48 pp., 10 cents.

The Awakening of the East. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, 298 pp., \$1.50.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The World's Work for January is a perfect store-house of information for the student of modern capitalism. "Great Tasks and the New Century," by J. D. Whelpley and R. R. Wilson is an exhaustive and interesting summary of the work which must be done to open up the highways of commerce demanded by the larger world life of today, and its reading will satisfy anyone that there is ample scope for all the capital that will be exploited from the workers for some years to come. "Among the World's Workers" tells of the greatly increasing foreign trade of America, the opening of new methods of transportation, the relation of America to the Oriental trade and the development of the "New South."

The International Monthly has an extremely valuable article on "England at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," by Emil Reinsch. It is largely based upon what has been called the "physiographic conception of society," which finds an explanation of social phenomena in geographic and climatic conditions and hence is in accord with, and supplementary to the "economic interpretation of history," upon which the philosophy of socialism is based.



EDITORIAL



FINANCIAL NOTES

The American public has become accustomed to sudden and gigantic combinations of capital, but the events of the last month have been of such a character as to attract widespread attention even in the home of the trust. As socialists have been freely predicting, no sooner were the small firms competed out of existence than steps were taken to solidify all industry across trade lines. Capital today seeks only profits, is purely impersonal and cosmopolitan and knows no trade nor national lines. So it has come about that by a mere shifting of stock, more far-reaching and significant consolidations of industry has been brought about during the past month than in any previous year. We are now advancing with mighty strides toward a time not far away when one enormous syndicate shall control the entire American industrial situation. Indeed we are not far from that point today as it is doubtful if any great industrial change could be brought about without the consent of the Morgan, Vanderbilt, Rockefeller clique of closely united financiers.

The center around which this "trust of trusts" is crystallizing is the great railroad combine. Taken as a whole this is by far the mightiest aggregation of capital this planet has ever known. Indeed no other time nor place could have furnished the necessary conditions for its appearance. The mileage that is already definitely included within this single combination exceeds 78,000, or more than the total railway mileage of any other nation. But this is but a small portion of the total possessions of this syndicate. These roads embrace all those systems that control the anthracite coal situation and the ownership of the mines is vested in these carrying systems. It will be possible for a traveler to start at Southampton and travel across the Atlantic to New York, cross the continent to Portland, Oregon, and taking passage on a 22,000-ton steamer land in Yokohama without ever leaving the property of this gigantic combination of capital. The financial review in the Chicago Record (one of the most conservative papers in the country), for Dec. 31st, says of this consolidation:

"The interlacing of dominant financial interests throughout the railway network goes far to insure such community of policy and such

a uniformity of practice as was never before deemed possible. The several units of the railway organism will maintain their identity as now, but the executive voice of each will be heard in the affairs of the rest, and the interests of each will be assimilated with the interests of all to a degree hitherto thought too utopian for this world. There will remain Vanderbilt, Gould, Harriman and Hill chains and systems, but a common executive genius will henceforward assist in directing them for the good of each and for the good of all.

"The manipulation of the many varied factors whereby this far-reaching design has been furthered has been of a like masterful character. It really seems as if the whole scheme had been elaborated in the brains of a few men two years ago and patiently worked step by step toward a stage where its realization depended only on one political chance—the election of McKinley. The money market has been managed adroitly, the public has been artfully enthused, the international bookkeeping has been nicely managed and every passing condition has been availed of to gain the one great end—harmony."

In the midst of such movements as this the organization of an International Wire Trust, which took place during the past months and which one year ago would have occupied columns in the daily press, is scarcely noticed. There have been rumors of all kinds afloat concerning the further and complete consolidation of the steel and iron interests. It is reported that Carnegie and Rockefeller are about to lock horns in a titanic combat for mastery and some idea of the size of the contending parties is furnished by the statement that the former is reported to be prepared to invest \$300,000,000 in such a combat, while the Rockefeller strength is said to exceed a full billion of dollars. Some conception of the prizes won by the successful ones in these struggles may be gained from the fact that it has been estimated that twenty-three men added almost \$300,000,000 to their combined fortunes during the year just passed.

With such industrial organizations the invasion of foreign markets goes on at a rapid rate and simultaneous complaints of deadly American competition come simultaneously from Switzerland, Austria, Germany and England, where native industries are being crushed out. So it comes about that while the financial journals of America are rejoicing over the fact that American exports for 1900 for the first time in the history of the country were greater than those of any other nation and that New York bank exchanges have repeatedly broken all previous records, the London and Berlin commercial papers are predicting an early and severe crisis for their respective countries.

Prices and wages have remained fairly stationary save that the approach of winter increases the amount of unemployment and the cost of living and hence the amount of suffering among the laboring population. An interesting item in this connection is seen in the recent statement from the national mint that it was unable to supply the

demand for pennies. The student of social conditions sees in this one of the well-recognized signs of increased economy among the producing classes. In every country the closer exploitation of the laborers has been marked by an increased use of coins of the smallest denomination and the present situation in the United States offers a striking contrast with the time remembered by many a frontiersman when the five-cent piece was the smallest coin in circulation, to say nothing of the "flush times" in California when nothing less than a dollar was recognized as constituting a medium of exchange.

The January number of "The World's Work" points out that there has been an extensive shifting in recent years of the commercial interests of the United States toward the South and the far West. The first of these is much the more important at present, although the rise of the Oriental trade may later bring the Pacific coast into the foremost place. The cotton-crop of 1900, although not as large as some of those in former years, brought the hitherto unheard of price of \$500,000,000. This was owing to the fact that the demand in the southern cotton mills was sufficient to fix the price against the foreign and New England buyer. The owners of the inhumanly exploited wage slaves of Alabama and Georgia were able to go into the market and raise the price from five and six cents last year to seven and eight this.

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Weissmannism and Its Relation to Socialism

IN 1883 the biological theories of August Weissmann split the camp of evolutionary science in twain, and for the following thirteen years the factions waged a merry war which was somewhat felicitously dubbed the "Battle of the Darwinians." The controversy was carried on in the leading scientific journals of the world, and was not altogether conducted in the calm, passionless manner to be expected of the votaries of immutable law. The warring scientists splashed like irate cuttle-fish in clouds of their own ink. They were sometimes unscientifically impolite, and occasionally sarcastic and unkind; but when the pother was over, and the muddy waters had cleared, it was seen that Weissmann and his theories were still very much to the fore. About 1896 a halt was called. The reading public was beginning to tire of the arguments, and editors were frowning upon further contributions to biological lore, wherefore the scientists retired to their laboratories and prepared to win by experiment the battles denied to their logic. Since that time, some progress has been made toward the settlement of the question and much light has been thrown upon the method of evolution. Weissmann has come out of the fight with flying colors, and though some slight modifications have been made upon his general theory, the underlying principle is almost universally conceded by biological experts, and his researches have had a most stimulating effect upon evolutionary science.

The question at issue between the Darwinians is: What are the factors of evolution? What are the processes which have caused the differentiation of life? What is it that has developed simple protoplasm here into a pansy, there into a palm; here into a minute infusorium swimming in the water, there

into a gigantic elephant crashing through the jungle? To what, in fact, is due the origin of species?

The older school of evolutionists are termed the Neo-Lamarckians because they hold partly to the theories of development first propounded by La Mark. The factors of evolution discovered by him are: (1) The effects of use and disuse, on parts and organs; and (2) the influence of environment in bringing about changes in an organism. All changes so acquired were supposed to be transmitted to offspring, for La Mark's fourth law of development reads: "All that has been acquired, begun, or changed in the structure of the individuals in their lifetime, is preserved in reproduction and transmitted to the new individuals which spring from those who have inherited the change." To these two laws of development the Neo-Lamarckians have added what are termed the Darwinian factors of evolution: Natural selection, and sexual selection; but these they assign a secondary place in the production of species.

In 1883, Weissmann published an essay on heredity in which he vigorously attacked current doctrines. He denied that species have arisen by the accumulation of acquired characters transmitted from one generation to another, and positively asserted that the Darwinian factors of evolution were sole and sufficient causes of the origin of species. Here then is found the fundamental difference between the two schools. One is a theory of direct descent, the other a theory of fortuitous descent. One asserts that species were produced by the transmission and accumulation of acquired characters; the other that they arose by the selection of types possessing favorable variation. On these lines the battle was fought, and the inheritance of acquired characters is the moot point around which raged the fiercest of the fight.

It will be well, before examining the claims of the contending factions, to specifically define an acquired character, and this can be best done by illustration. If, on coming of age, a young man receives from the estate of a dead parent one thousand dollars—that is inheritance. If at his death he bequeaths to his son one thousand dollars—that is still inheritance. But if, during his lifetime, he acquires an additional five hundred dollars, and leaves fifteen hundred dollars to his son—the extra five hundred may be termed an acquired character of a financial nature. Putting this illustration into biological terms it reads as follows: If a man inherits a certain constitution—that is heredity. If he hands down the same constitution to his offspring—that is still heredity. But if, during their lives they acquire certain peculiarities of mental or physical structure and hand down those to descendants—that would be the trans-

mission of acquired characters. And it is in this manner that the Neo-Lamarckians believe species originated. Use and disuse enlarged or diminished parts or organs; the environment forced new characters upon organisms; all variations so produced were transmitted to offspring, and by the accumulation of such characters, species arose.

This theory Weissmann utterly denies, and in 1884 he published an essay entitled the "Continuity of the Germplasm" in which he set forth his own theory. Briefly outlined, its leading features are as follows: The germ cell, from which all multicellular organisms develop, is early changed by a process of cell division into two different kinds of cells—somatic cells, from which by further division the body of the organism is built up, and germ cells, from which at some future time will come the offspring of the matured organism. Thus at the beginning of the process, a bit of the germinal substance from which the parent cell is derived is set aside to form the basis of future reproduction. This bit of germ plasm is the bearer of heredity, and descends generation after generation, continuous and without change. Now as all the possibilities of the future animal are wrapped up within the germ, it necessarily follows that if acquired characters are to be inherited, the substance of which it is composed must undergo some slight change. This, at any rate, must be true, but its admittance places the Lamarckians in a very difficult position. It so happens that the germ cells of any animal are separated from enviroing agencies by a multitude of body cells which effectually guard it from the impact of external forces, and as yet no machinery has been found by which changes initiated on external surfaces may be communicated to the germ.

The known facts of heredity very much favor this theory of the continuity of the germ plasm. Some species have existed and reproduced themselves since the beginning of time without altering their characteristics, and this could not have happened unless the germ plasm was an extremely stable substance. Ten thousand years ago, the Egyptian sculptor wrought on the walls of his cave the semblance of animals which browse around its mouth to-day; and in the Silurian rock are found the counterpart of living creatures. When it is remembered that a little germ, sometimes not more than the one-millionth of an inch in diameter, passes through all the complex processes of cell division, adding cell to cell in such definite ways that a specific structure inevitably results; and that the descendants of this creature continue this process generation after generation through untold ages, the conclusion that the germ plasm must be almost unalterable becomes almost irresistible.

Weissmann's theories found many able critics. Chief of whom, and naturally so, was Mr. Herbert Spencer. A man

does not readily give credence to a philosophy which saps the foundation of his life work, and the demonstration of Weissmann's theory would certainly call for the re-writing of a large portion of the synthetic philosophy. In several essays Mr. Spencer brought forward cases of adaptation to environment which, he asserted, could not be explained by the operation of natural selection. One of the most notable instances was the supposed degeneration of the small toe in civilized man, as a consequence of boot pressure continued through many generations. This, it was argued, could not have benefited the individual in the struggle for existence, and its condition could only be explained by the theory of the inheritance of acquired characters.

This argument was, however, shown to have no basis. Measurements of the feet of savages who wear no shoes, and whose ancestors never wore shoes, showed the same difference in the size of the first and fifth toes. Then again any person who will take the trouble to stand erect with the feet placed in a natural position, may, by throwing his weight to the right and left, easily find the mechanical cause for the formation of the human foot. All the weight, when standing, falls upon the inside of the foot. Thus it came about that variations tending to produce an arch in that portion of the foot increased the springing power and were preserved by natural selection; and thus it was that variations toward a larger and more solid bone and toe on the inner foot, were preserved by the same agency.

Another instance of the formation of a pronounced character by variation and accumulation through descent was instanced by Cesare Lombroso. The camel's hump, according to his theory, is an acquired character which has been brought into existence by the bearing of loads. His supporting arguments are based principally upon analogy. From the fact that the elliptical cellular structure of the hump-backed camel is the same as that of the smooth-backed llama, he draws the conclusion that camels are true llamas and were once humpless; and on the fact that Cairo porters become slightly humped from the bearing of loads he builds the assumption that humps may be acquired. These two principal arguments were bolstered up with a little information concerning the callouses which form on the hips of Hottentot women, who habitually carry their children pick-a-back, and then the question was put. The camel is a llama, llamas have no hump; porters gain humps by the carrying of loads, and Hottentot women get callouses in the same way; consequently the camel acquired his hump. Unfortunately for the continued existence of this ingenious argument, the geological record of the camel is, perhaps, the most complete and goes the farthest back of all mammalia. The testimony of the rocks proves conclusively that the humped camel

antedates man, and it is hardly to be supposed that in the ancient times, when according to Lombroso the camel was a smooth-backed llama, he commenced to cultivate a hump by placing loads upon his own back.

Then according to Lombroso's own statement, the humps of the camels of to-day are no larger than those depicted in the cave, sculptures of Egypt, and surely, if there were anything in his argument ten thousand years of burden bearing ought to have resulted in the development of a slightly larger hump.

On the other hand much evidence can be adduced against the inheritance of acquired characters. If they are transmitted, surely language, which has been practiced by man for thousands of years, ought to be handed down, yet the fact remains that every infant has to acquire the faculty of speech for itself. And more than one experiment goes to show that when language and education are withheld during early youth, the normal endowments are as idiotic as though these characters had never been possessed by parents. Then again the Jews have practiced circumcision for three thousand years without acquiring a desired character; and though the Chinese have crippled the feet of their women for a much longer period, their female children are still born into the world with normal feet.

On the other hand, the Darwinian factors of evolution, natural selection and sexual selection, afford a reasonable explanation for the presence of the great majority of existing characters. Animals which reproduce sexually, mix, at every mating, the separate and distinct individualities of two creatures; and as the conditions which determine the development of the germ may favor the molecules derived from one parent more than those of the other, variation is bound to result. Variations produced in this manner will, if of such a nature as to aid the animal in the struggle for existence, be seized upon and preserved by natural selection. As these variations originate in the germ plasma, they will be transmitted to offspring, and by their accumulation, generation after generation, types and species arise.

It remains to notice some of the later criticisms of Weismann's theories. It was pointed out that natural selection alone was not sufficient to produce species. If, for instance, a single favorable variation occurred in an individual, it must immediately be swamped by cross-breeding and could be of no advantage to the race. Actual observation and experiment with wild animals, however, furnished an answer to the objection. It is now known that variations, instead of being exceptional, occur in immense numbers; that in fact, variation is the rule. Observation disclosed the fact that natural selection acts principally upon averages. If, during a time of famine, a longer beak assists a bird to procure food, the birds with longer beaks would naturally survive. But it is not at all likely that all the short-

beaked birds would perish. After the famine was over they would breed indiscriminately as before, but the average length of beak of the next generation would fall below that of their parents, but would exceed that of the generation of their grandparents. It is thus seen that in general, natural selection operates on averages grouped around a mean.

The answering of this objection opened up another. If the law works upon averages, and not upon individual variations, it could only advance the race as a whole. There would be no gaps, in fact no species. A reasonable solution of this difficulty was found in the phenomena of isolation, segregation, sterility and organic selection. Wherever geographical divisions isolated parts of a race, divergence would be bound to appear. The fact that natural selection works upon averages alone would produce it. Unequal numbers would produce unequal averages, and natural selection working upon unequal averages would select unequal characters. And then special characters would assuredly arise in the two groups and there would be no opportunity to swamp them by cross-breeding. The phenomena of segregation are allied to those of isolation. Wherever a species covers wide territory, it will necessarily be more populous within certain limits. There is no geographical demarkation, but abundance of food in one place, and scarcity in another, will draw the population to centers. Breeding will then take place toward centers. Unequal averages will result, and new types originate. The factor of sterility would materially aid such a process. Some animals possessing certain variations may be fertile when bred to others possessing the same characters, but unfertile to other members of the same species. Observation has shown this to be of constant occurrence, and it forms another method by which the differentiation of species may be accomplished.

Last of all comes the factor of organic selection with a reasonable explanation of the formation of correlative characters. Until the egg from which an animal develops is fertilized, all variations which arise from changes in the germ are congenital. But after fertilization the animal is potentially complete. It has received all its heredity, and all further variations must be acquired. Now we know that the Lamarckian factor of use and disuse is a powerful agent in the production of temporary characters. When therefore a congenital variation like, say, the sudden enlargement of a stag's horn calls for a more massive supporting neck, the factor of use provides a temporary one. This is renewed at the birth of each generation, until among the immense number of congenital variations, one occurs in the direction of a thicker neck. This is at once seized upon by natural selection and enters into the heredity of the race.

The factors thus enumerated afford a reasonable explana-

tion of the origin of species, and the summary as here given covers broadly the Weissmann theory and the modifications which it has undergone up to the present time. And though, through the limitations of the instruments of investigation, some of Weissmann's philosophical conclusions may be incapable of proof, yet his investigations have wonderfully aided the progress of evolutionary science, and furnish a simple and credible theory of heredity.

It is hardly likely that, when elaborating his theory of the continuity of the germ plasm, Dr. Weissmann knew that he was laying a biological foundation for the economic science of the socialist school of philosophy. But, whether he knew it or not, that is exactly what he did! "If Weissmann's theory be true," says Dr. Starr-Jordan, "the whole literature of sociology will have to be rewritten!" And another writer said that Weissmann reopened the case for socialism. There is an exact identity of opinion between Weissmann and the socialist writers concerning the influence of environing forces upon man. The socialist teaching might be condensed in the phrase: "Man is the product of heredity and environment, and heredity is the summing-up of past environments"; and this is the Weissmann theory in a nutshell. According to it, the racial characteristics, the fixed characters which stamp this creature as a man, that as a monkey, alone are handed down. All the arts and graces, the virtues and vices, the elegancies and gaucheries, exhibited by different men and women, being temporary characters forced upon them by surrounding conditions. Natural selection preserved first the physically strong, and then the mentally strong. Each child commences its education at exactly the same place as its grandfather commenced his, but with a larger capacity for acquiring knowledge and a larger stock of knowledge to acquire from.

The old theories of heredity, however, do not and cannot be made to agree with the socialist philosophy. Their exponents agree that acquired characters are inherited, and that after they have been transmitted through a certain number of generations they become fixed and enter into the heredity of the animal. If this were true the habits of a man forced by hard conditions into the slums would be transmitted to his children; and if they continued to live in the slums the habits would become fixed and enter into their heredity. Such people would then be congenitally bad, and though removed from the evil environment, would continue in their evil ways.

"Now," says the critic of socialism, "you socialists propose to establish and operate an industrial system based on co-operation; and this you propose to do by the help of a class of people which is made up of hereditary inefficient, and the least intelligent members of society. You are attempting the impos-

sible. These people have a strain of criminal or inefficient heredity. Natural selection has graded society from top to bottom, and they are where they are, because of what they are. And were you to succeed in establishing such a society it must inevitably go to pieces, the inefficiency of its units insuring its early death."

To criticism of this kind, the Weissmann theory furnishes a ready answer. If the racial characteristics are alone transmitted to offspring, it naturally follows that the great majority of the people can in one generation be raised to a higher mental and physical plane—to a degree of intelligence and usefulness required for the operation of a co-operative society. And though it is true we have congenital defectives amongst us, and hereditarily inefficient people, they are few in comparison to the number of unfortunates who have been dragged down by hard conditions. Natural selection is operative everywhere, and in the slums the criminal is the most favored in the struggle for existence. Normal persons, driven to the slums, are slowly exterminated and the beggar and the thief survive to reproduce their kind. But under proper conditions the great majority of the slum people could be made into good and useful citizens.

This conclusion is borne out by the investigations of Professor John R. Commons, late of Syracuse University. In treating the subject he used three methods of investigation, and the compared results show: that 1.75 per cent of the population of the United States are congenital defectives; that 3.25 per cent are induced defectives, that is those who have not inherited their inefficiency; that 2 per cent are possessed of genius and will make their way in spite of the hardest conditions; that 2 per cent are below the average Aryan brain level; and that the remaining 91 per cent are normal persons who are neither good nor bad, brilliant nor stupid, criminal nor virtuous, and whose future is entirely decided by the environment which surrounds them during the first fifteen years of life.

Professor Commons maintains that the majority of the denizens of the slums can be saved by proper treatment. Elmira Reformatory saves 30 per cent of its charges, and home placing institutions save nearly all. This statement coincides with the experience of the writer. During a period of eight years, some two thousand boys on the farm colony of Dr. Barnardo, in the Province of Manitoba, passed under his observation. They were all taken from the London slums, and most of them had served terms in jail; yet not more than 1 per cent reverted to their former habits. They were not expert farmers, and it could not be expected, yet this may be said for them: they were more efficient than the scions of the English aristocracy who were living in Manitoba on keep-away allowances.

It would not be difficult to collect facts of the above kind

sufficient to fill a work as voluminous as the Encyclopaedia Britannica, but it is not necessary. They are the commonplaces of every-day life. Men are made by conditions. Not one man in one million is indifferent to the opinion of the society in which he lives, or greater than his opportunities. He is born, he lives, he dies; and from the cradle to the grave his life is one long chapter of accidents. Is he born in the slums? A thief he will surely be, unless some unforeseen contingency arises to thrust him forth into more favorable surroundings. A hundred thousand slum children will be born in London the present year. Dr. Barnardo, a great and beneficent accident, will turn the current of a thousand lives into decent channels; the London police, stern and forbidding as the hand of fate, will direct the remaining ninety-nine thousand to the jail and gallows. It will be well, then, considering that environment plays such an important part in the making and marring of men, to carefully examine the claims of a reasonable theory of heredity, which promises much for the immediate advancement of mankind.

The great distinction between the new and old theories of heredity, and the one which, therefore, appeals to the socialist lies in this: Weissmann holds out more hope for the present generation. He tells us that the great majority of men are pretty much the same; but the old doctrine of heredity says that we are widely different, and that the differences are getting wider. One theory teaches that men instantly respond to the stimulus of good conditions, the other that bad habits contracted during evil times will persist though earth become a heaven. The one theory tends to raise, the other to lower.

A few words on the action of natural selection in modern society will form a fitting conclusion. The old struggle, which secured the survival of the physically fit, has been replaced by a form of social selection which is partly natural and partly artificial. This process may be divided into direct and indirect social selection. All the conscious efforts of man to apply within society the principle he has observed at work without constitute direct social selection. The segregation of the mentally, morally and physically unfit, in lunatic asylums, prisons and hospitals and the association of charitable societies to defeat the aims of the unworthy, are measures of direct social selection. So far the principle has been applied in a purblind, groping sort of a way, and the work accomplished is small in comparison to that which remains to do. The task is too great for the individual. Prisons and hospitals merely deal with the effects of disease, and leave unchecked the sources from which they spring. Present methods of dealing with criminals are inadequate, antiquated and unjust. The innocent victims of a perverse economic system who have been driven to the slums by hard conditions, receive exactly the same treatment as the

congenitally bad. The out-of-work is punished with the tramp; and so long as these evils can be charged to heredity, just so long will the people be blind to the share chargeable to public injustice.

Under indirect social selection may be grouped all the blind automatic forces which are at work within a society. Under existing conditions, the political, industrial and social institutions of a society affect the personality, and mold the character of its units without regard to that which is fair or fit. The laws of property, for instance, so favor the landlord that an unfavorable environment is often forced upon the workers. Great rookeries are packed with human beings in order that one or two men may reap enormous ground rents; filthy Orientals are crowded into a congested district and menace the health of an entire community, and prominent members of a society derive large incomes from the renting of streets of brothels. Long hours of work, low pay and irregular employment are all forms of indirect social selection and it cannot be said of them, nor of the profit-making saloon, that they tend to produce a higher type of man. Social selection as it exists to-day will have to give place to a higher form if the twentieth century is to fulfil its promise.

The injurious forms of social selection here treated are survivals from a lower society and have no warrant in reason for their continued existence. In primitive times man had little or no control over the forces which acted upon him. There was no social selection, for there was no society worthy of the name. But when family groups massed into tribes, and tribes into nations, and a highly complex social organism evolved, man gained the power of partially molding environment to his will. Every step in the organization of society increased this power; and in the modern state, the process of organization and differentiation is almost complete. Industry is organized on a vast scale. Enormous aggregations of capital control enterprises of international importance, and millions of laborers band together to protect their interests and secure better conditions.

This organization of economic power has made possible the complete control of the systems of production and distribution. Waste labor is rapidly being eliminated from the business of production. But if this labor is to be utilized, instead of becoming a menace to society, it is absolutely necessary that the systems of production and distribution shall be brought into harmony. And when this final triumph of social organization shall have been accomplished, new forms of direct social selection will replace the old injurious, indirect selection. With freedom, security in the means of livelihood, and equal opportunity, the premium of brute force and cunning will be withdrawn and

the human personality will work out its own survival. Personality will become a keen selective principle, based not on over-population and competition, but on the self-destruction which comes from drunkenness and disease; whose degraded offspring will perish, or feed the ranks of the degenerates to be properly segregated and ended.

With education and opportunity, higher forms of human character will increase and survive, and with the independence and freedom of women, sexual selection will become a refined and powerful agent of progress. The blind god of chance will be dethroned, and a conscious humane social selection, inflexible in decree but gentle in methods, replace the present imperfect process, and the individual struggle of man and man will be transformed into a collective struggle against the forces of nature.

Herman Whittaker.



Municipal Socialism*



WHAT should be the nature of the fight in which the socialists will be engaged for the purpose of gaining control of the municipal powers?

Once this control is secured, what use will the candidates elected make of their powers?

These are the two questions corresponding to the two phases of the fight that is waged wherever international socialism undertakes to conquer the political powers. Shall we give the campaign a simple progressive, radical or democratic tinge, only more progressive, radical or democratic than that of our adversaries? Or will it be more advisable to show in this fight, as in all others, that the collectivist socialist party is essentially different from other political parties in that the immediate reforms demanded by us are only the first stones of an immense structure, connected as they are with the grand idea of a new social structure?

The answer, it seems to me, is not doubtful. The more we can prove our practical ability in realizing reforms in the order of their evolution, the more we must show the revolutionary character of our tendencies and conceptions, and above all we must take care that the working class does not make any mistakes in this matter.

As these fights offer the best opportunity to spread our doctrines, would it not be a great mistake not to proclaim the latter in a definite manner showing their whole wide scope? A mistake, not to show that our fight is a class-struggle, and that the reforms realized by us in the municipalities are far from giving us the final victory? This has been expressed with the following words in the eighth resolution of the International Congress, held in Paris last summer:

"Seeing that the term "Municipal Socialism" does not signify a special kind of socialism but simply the application of the general principles of socialism to a particular department of political activity;

"And seeing that the reforms connected therewith are not and cannot be put forward as the realization of the collectivist state, but that they are put forward as playing a part in a sphere of action which socialists can and should seize upon in order to prepare and facilitate the coming of the collectivist state;

"And seeing that the municipality can become an excellent

*It must be remembered that this article is intended as a plan of action for socialist municipalities after such have been elected, and not a series of "demands" to be made of capitalist municipalities.—Ed.

laboratory of local economic activity and at the same time a formidable political fortress for the use of local socialist majorities against the middle-class majority of the central authority, when once substantial local powers have been obtained;

"The Congress declares:

"That it is the duty of all socialists, without misunderstanding the importance of the wider political issues, to make clear to all the value of municipal activity, to recognize in all municipal reforms the importance which attaches to them as "embryos of the collectivist state," and to endeavor to municipalize such public services as the urban transport service, education, shops, bakeries, medical assistance, hospitals, water supply, baths and wash-houses, the food supply and clothing, dwellings for the people, the supply of motive power, public works, the police force, etc., etc., to see that these public services shall be model services as much from the point of view of the interests of the community as from that of the citizens who serve it;

"That the local bodies which are not large enough to undertake themselves any of these reforms should federate with one another for such purposes;

"That in a country where the political system does not allow municipalities to adopt this course, it is the duty of all socialist elected persons to endeavor to obtain for municipal bodies sufficient liberty and independence to obtain these reforms;

"The Congress further decides that the time has come to convene an International Congress of socialist municipal councilors.

"Such a congress should have a double purpose:

(a) To make publicly known what reforms have been secured in the department of municipal administration and what moral and financial advantages have resulted.

(b) To establish a national bureau in each country and an international bureau, entrusted with the task of collecting all the information and documents relating to municipal life, so as to facilitate the study of municipal questions.

"The Congress also decides that the business of convening the Socialist Municipal Congress shall be left in the hands of the permanent international bureau appointed September 25, 1900."

But once our candidates are in power, what will be their policy

In the first place and always as we have already indicated—to show in all the projects, in all the reforms what distinguishes the socialist solution from other solutions; to submit to the municipal council such questions of general interest as must attract the public attention.

As to the reforms themselves, they are innumerable and of very diverse kinds. There are such, and they are numerous,

as are found in the platforms of the old parties, but have not been introduced by them at all or only imperfectly; for instance:

Education: Scientific instruction for all grades free of charge (the only condition for admission to higher classes being fitness); physical maintenance of the children that attend school (meals, clothing); professional schools—libraries and lecturing halls—museums, scientific and art collections, theatres and concerts. Special attention must be given to the care of orphans.

Public Charities: Admission of laborers to their administration; transformation of charity into mutual benefits and above all insurance where feasible—lodging houses—labor bureaus.

Hygiene: Public baths, wash-houses, public closets, parks, control of alimentary commodities, laboratories for chemical and bacteriological analyses, municipal drug stores, street cleaning, sprinkling, sewers, etc.

There are, furthermore, certain reforms to which the old parties offer more or less resistance in different countries.

Labor Regulations: Minimum wages, maximum hours of labor, insurance for all laborers employed for or by the municipality; intervention of trade unions for the purpose of realizing these conditions.

Finances: Taxation of revenue; during transition securing of funds by exploitation of franchises.

There are, besides, a number of reforms giving industrial functions to the municipalities and thus replacing private enterprise. These constitute a step toward the expropriation of the capitalist class. True, the field where it can continue its parasitism is still very large, but a beginning must be made in everything.

The avenues of transportation (roads, canals, rivers, bridges, ports, landings) have not always belonged to the communities. To-day we want to bring the means of transportation (railroads, tramways, telegraphs and telephones) under their control.

The markets, the slaughter houses, are becoming more and more municipal property.

The lighting of public and private places (by gas and electricity) passes from the hands of joint stock companies into those of the municipalities.

The distribution of water becomes a municipal service.

Numerous municipalities have built homes for laborers, but hitherto this was due mainly to sanitary or charitable motives. We should, therefore, extend our activity in that direction and establish a public building service for the accommodation of others besides laboring men; so that the municipality absorbs the capitalistic rent which it could abolish later on.

Restaurants have also been opened for the purpose of charity, and on account of this characteristic the laborers often did not derive any benefit from such institutions, because their self-respect was wounded. It would be important to develop this service, but at the same time giving it another character.

In those countries where alcohol is not a monopoly for the benefit of the state, it has been suggested that the municipalities monopolize its sale. In England some municipalities have demanded permission to open grocery stores. In Glasgow the municipalization of the milk trade has been proposed.

Another important department is that of insurance, especially that against fire. Such departments have existed for a long time in Germany and Switzerland.

Still another field of activity in which the municipalities could nowadays replace private societies is that of the banking service. In Russia there are about two hundred and fifty towns that have municipal banks. The question is being studied in Glasgow. Here we have to indicate a very important matter to those who might be tempted to introduce this reform. In order to break with capitalist precedent and to suppress the parasitism of money, they should establish in their banks the true system of the future: *Ametalism*, that is the suppression of metallic money, for which they should substitute *account money*, representative of exchanged commodities.*

In regard to those services that can yield a benefit to the town, should the latter turn the realized benefits into the municipal treasury, where they would add to the income of taxation, or should the town trade at the price of production without making any profits?

In view of the difficulties nearly everywhere obstructing the establishment of an equitable system of taxation at the present time, it seems to be sufficiently legitimate for the municipalities to replace private industry and to realize for the benefit of the community all or a part of the profits that were produced for the benefit of a few individuals.

But it is essential that from now on the evident abuse practiced in certain towns be stopped, where the public services, such as water for irrigation, fire departments, etc., gas or electric light for streets or public buildings, are supported solely by the consumers of the water, the gas and the electricity. Not alone that the municipality makes profits on its private consumers, it also forces them to pay all the expenses of the public necessities.

The remedy lies in administering the public services in an

* Those who wish to study this interesting question should read the works of M. Solvay on social accounts (*Comptabilisme social*) published in the *Annales de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales*, Brussels, Hotel Ravenstein, Secretary E. Vinck; also the fine book of Alfred de Westrup: "The New Philosophy of Money," Minneapolis, Leonard, publisher, 1893.

autonomous fashion. Every service must consider the others as customers with whom it has to open accounts. The public ways, the fire department, the public buildings, will pay for their water and their gas like a private person and these expenses will be charged to the account of the general budget.

One more department remains to be indicated, one of the most interesting—the Works Department—such as the London City Council has established. For several years this has been its own architect and its own contractor. But the interesting feature about it is that the Works Department maintains to the other services, for which it has some work to execute, the relation of a third party, like any contractor. The work is publicly offered to the highest bidder and the contractors may compete with the Works Department. It is generally the latter that carries off the palm.

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We believe to have thus detailed the different points of municipal activity as we see them and understand them to-day. Every one of these points would be worthy of special study comprising the experiences in already realized departments; but in order to do this it would be necessary not to write an article of a few pages for this review, but a volume.

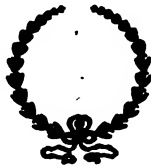
In conclusion we accentuate the enormous benefit that socialist councilors may derive from periodic meetings in sections. These meetings are of the greatest value not alone on account of their uniting the efforts of our candidates in the same direction, but also because they are a veritable school of mutual education.

It must also be our endeavor to create a permanent secretariat whose duty it would be to furnish to the councilors such administrative and economic information as they may be in need of.

Emil Vinck,

Secretary of the Federation of Communal Councilors of Belgian Socialists.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)



Theology or Science?



UGUSTE COMTE divides the history of human development into three periods: the theological, the metaphysical and the positive or scientific. Whether we fully and unqualifiedly accept his classification or not, it pretty accurately reflects the history of philosophical thought. The primitive belief in miracles and in the infallible truth of the church dogmas, cast off by up-to-date theology, is quite apt to revive in a new-born sociological doctrine, of which the article "Evolution or Revolution?" (in the January issue of *The International Socialist Review*) furnishes a fit illustration. That it is admirable as a Sunday sermon, to be preached from a Christian Socialist pulpit, is beyond question; but that it is not Marx-inspired in origin, as claimed, of this the following passage is proof conclusive:

"Lack of education is precisely the reason why socialism is making slow progress, wherever it is first taught. Given a thoroughly educated nation and we could have had socialism long before the progress of invention and science had made private monopoly possible. Suppose, for a moment, that the nations of the world had had the necessary intellectual enlightenment at Christ's time, and socialism would have been established then and there. Economic evolution, instead of being the means of enriching the few at the expense of the many, would then have resulted in shortening the hours of labor and creating better surroundings for all. But the people were too ignorant to grasp the import of Christ's doctrine, and the ruling classes held them down under the iron rods of religious superstition and military force—as they do now, with the added force of economic pressure, fallacious science and a lying press."

The author of these utterances believes in all earnestness that this is Marx's "materialist conception of history" and undertakes to criticise the writer's paper on "Trusts and Socialism"—"from the standpoint of a Marx socialist." It is painful at this advanced date to debate such elementary propositions; to attempt it in an *international* socialist review would require an apology but for the fact that they can be traced to no less eminent a writer than Edward Bellamy. Says he in his "Equality," which can be fairly characterized as the encyclopedia of home-made American socialism:

"Nothing, surely could be more self-evident than the strictly Christian inspiration of the idea of this guarantee (of economic equality). It contemplated nothing less than a liberal fulfill-

ment on a complete social scale of Christ's inculcation that all should feel the same solicitude and make the same efforts for the welfare of others as for their own. The first effect of such a solicitude must needs be to prompt effort to bring about an equal material provision for all, as the primary condition of welfare. One would certainly think that a nominally Christian people having some familiarity with the New Testament would have needed no one to tell them these things, but that they would have recognized on its first statement that the program of the revolutionists was simply a paraphrase of the golden rule expressed in economic and political terms. One would have said that whatever other members of the community might do, the Christian believers would at once have flocked to the support of such a movement with their whole heart, soul, mind and might. That they were so slow to do so must be ascribed to the wrong teaching and non-teaching of a class of persons whose express duty above all other persons and classes was to prompt them to that action,—namely, the Christian clergy." (pp. 340-341.)

Both quotations are identical in sentiment. How remote this is from "the standpoint of a Marx socialist," I shall let another state, who has for a score of years been recognized by the German Social Democratic party as the official interpreter of the Marxist doctrine, and whose opposition to Bernstein and all his works is beyond suspicion. The following lines are from Kautsky's chapter on "Primitive Christian communism," which forms part of the "History of Socialism," published by authority of the German Social Democratic party:

"For Christianity in its beginnings the controlling class was the tramp-proletariat of the large cities, which had got out of the habit of working. Producing was regarded by these elements as a fairly indifferent matter; their prototype was the lilies of the field which neither sow nor weave, and still thrive. If they strove for a different distribution of property, they had in view not the means of production, but the means of consumption. . . . Practically this kind of communism reduced itself to this, that all means of production were to be converted into means of consumption, and the same were to be divided among the poor; this would mean, if universally carried out, the end of all production. However little the first Christians, as genuine beggar-philosophers, may have cared for production, a lasting greater society could not be built upon this foundation.

The state of production in those days required private property in the means of production, and the Christians could not get away from that." (a)

The belief in "absolute truth" is the fundamental character-

(a) Die Geschichte des Socialismus, Vol. I., pp. 24, 26.

istic of every theological system. Absolute truth is not limited by time or place; its revelation is consequently independent of historical conditions; its perception requires only "common sense" and an unbiased mind. The reign of eternal "justice," which is but another name for absolute truth, may therefore be inaugurated at any time and place, as soon as the light is seen by the people. It need not wait for "the slow course of economic evolution." A revolution may "fulfill Marx's prophecy long before any one will have time to consider the question of providing a sinking fund for the claims of capital." This is the philosophy underlying modern communist anarchism.

After listening to the impatient appeals in behalf of the "millions of our fellow-citizens" who "are forced to starve, to live by stealth, to strike, to fawn, to sell themselves into bondage," of "children of tender years and women pregnant with growing life," who "are forced into the ranks of wage-slaves," of those "whose wan faces greet the dawn of every new morning with the consciousness of another day's slaving in store for them," of "their invalid wives and their offspring doomed to perpetual drudgery, starvation and want," of the "invalid, exhausted by excessive exertion in the service of soulless corporations and unable to counterbalance the waste of his tissue by regeneration of healthy molecules, for want of means of subsistence"; of the "young girl with traces of former purity and loveliness in her face, now degraded and vulgar beyond conception," of "the young toiler at the plow. . . who is now dwarfed and crippled physically from premature hard work beyond the endurance of his growing body," of the "young artist, haggard and crushed and doubtful of his own talent,"—after reading this long list of those who cannot be "forced" to wait for the process of gradual evolution, one is naturally prepared to hear the bugle call, "Aux armes, citoyens!" What a disappointment to discover that the latter-day Patrick Henry is a law-abiding American citizen, who places his sole reliance in the ballot and would shoulder his grandfather's musket only to quell a new rebellion against Old Glory!

Now, there will be no presidential election until 1904,—can a woman in delicate condition wait as long as that?—and even then a socialist is not certain to get into the White House, since the job has been promised by Hanna to Teddy. So, the earliest date for which an extra session of a socialist congress may be set down by a socialist president is some time in 1909; and for aught we know, it may take another term or two, perhaps more. Will the "invalid, unable to counterbalance the waste of his tissue by the regeneration of healthy molecules," live to see the happy inauguration day? What has the gospel of law-abiding revolution for the thousands of degraded girls, to reclaim them from their lives of shame, pending the estab-

ishment of socialism, while they are young? "Words, nothing but words!"

Compare those Fourth-of-July pyrotechnics with the plain, business-like language of the Kautsky resolution adopted at the latest International Socialist Congress at Paris:

"In a modern democratic state the conquest of political power cannot be accomplished at one blow, but only as a result of slow and arduous work devoted to the economic and political organization of the proletariat, as a result of the physical and moral regeneration of the working class and of a gradual conquest of the municipalities and legislatures."

If this means anything, it means that the physical and moral regeneration of the working class must precede the conquest of political power by the proletariat; that is to say, that it will advance under capitalism, apace with the gradual conquest of the municipalities and legislatures.

Modern science has no room for miracles in human society any more than in the physical world. The scientific merit of Karl Marx does not consist in the invention of a panacea, of a socialist idea of "justice," nor in that he "emphasized the birthrights of the toiler, dwarfed and crippled physically from premature hard work," etc., nor even in "conceiving of the transformation of capitalistic private property as a revolution." All that had been thoroughly done before him by the great founders of Utopian socialism,—Babeuf, Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier and their schools. The historical merit of Karl Marx, which has immortalized his name, is that he has shown that capitalistic society is growing into socialism, whether we like it or not, by force of economic development; that our opinions are themselves shaped by the inevitable course of events.

"No social formation perishes before all productive forces for which it affords sufficient room have been developed, nor do new and higher relations of production ever come into the world before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of old society. Therefore, mankind always sets to itself only such problems as it is able to solve, for upon close analysis it always appears that the problem itself is raised only then when the material conditions requisite for its solution are already in existence, or at least in the process of incipience." (a)

This is the materialistic conception of history. If this conception of history is correct, a revolution cannot supply that which could not develop without it.

We know from Marx that the dissolution of the primitive community was the result of inter-communal relations, which introduced exchange, first between communities, and subse-

(a) Karl Marx. *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*. Preface.

quently within the community. The individualism of the handicrafts and of peasant farming, which succeeded primitive communism, led to the development of division of labor within the workshop. This brought about the beginnings of capitalism; the invention of machinery expropriated the artisan, destroyed home industries in the country, built up the factory system and international capitalism. Competition between capitalists led to centralization of capitals in a few hands. This is as far as Marx has gone. He dwells upon the various methods of violence which attended all these social changes, yet he is clearly of the opinion that these methods were only incidental and that the same changes were bound to spring forth from the development of the economic contradictions inherent in each of those phases of social evolution. Engels, in his "Anti-Dühring," goes into the question at length and ridicules Dühring's "theory of violence," which seeks the cause of social changes in acts of brute force.

All these changes were the resultant of individual energies directed to the satisfaction of individual ends, and quite unconscious of their effects upon the fabric of society. The primitive tribe meant only to exchange its products with its neighbors, but did not intend to bring about the dissolution of its own village community. The cotton manufacturer sold his goods to make money for himself, he did not anticipate that it would result in the downfall of peasant agriculture, less did he intend it. The early inventor of machinery intended to save cost and labor, but he never dreamt that the machine would expropriate the workman and send his wife and children to the factory. As economic conditions changed, so did economic opinions change, usually somewhat lagging behind. And now suddenly all must be reversed; capitalistic society *cannot* pass into socialism as a result of individual activities directed towards individual ends; socialist ideas, it would seem, *do not* develop as a *result* of the development of socialism in economic relations, but, on the contrary, socialist ideas must anticipate socialistic institutions. Unlike all earlier forms of economic organization, socialistic institutions must be created by the conscious will of a class, determined that there shall be socialism. It is the old familiar cosmogony: "In the beginning was the Word. . . . All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made." It is evident that this story of the creation of socialism is incompatible with the "monistic" view of philosophy of history. (b)

This contradiction does not in the least detract from the greatness of Marx; it reinforces, on the contrary, his theory

(b) The term, in its application to the theory, reducing the development of society to one primary cause, viz: the development of the methods of production, originates from G. Flechanow.

by showing that even its author, unquestionably the greatest economic thinker of the nineteenth century, could not rise too far above the economic conditions of his own age. To foresee, in the days of the "Communist Manifesto" that the course of economic evolution irresistibly led society towards socialism, required a mind of a genius. But even a genius, while grasping the tendencies of the age from a few embryonal phenomena, could not supply by his imagination what had no existence in the actual economic conditions of his day. Had he attempted to do so he would have been a Utopian, not the founder of *scientific* socialism. Competition was in full bloom; individualism, the *laissez-faire* theory, was the gospel of the bourgeoisie. There was nothing to indicate how the chasm between the two worlds, that of Capitalism and that of Socialism, could be bridged over; it was the only natural thing for Marx to assume that it had to be crossed by a bold leap into the Unknown, by a revolution; it was too doubtful "that the capitalists would part with their spoils without a struggle."

Could we, like Joshua, tell the sun to stop while we are fighting our battle for socialism, the prophecy would be fulfilled even as it was spoken by the prophet. But "the world do move"; and so within the decade just past we have witnessed the rapid growth of a middle-class movement toward municipal socialism. This is not on the program; it fills the socialists with anxiety lest their thunder might be stolen by intruders, and involves them in a tangle of theoretical contradictions, which but reflect the economic contradictions to which the development of capitalism has given rise since Karl Marx's death. In vain do they search his writings for ready answers to problems which had no existence in his day. Marx strictly confined himself to outlining broad, general tendencies, leaving it to succeeding generations to take care of the details, and to meet new conditions as they arise. To deal with them intelligently we must "know more than our intellectual fostering hen, Marx." To pretend that we cannot or dare not know more than he knew a third of a century ago, is in keeping with the theological spirit which burned the library of Alexandria, because—said Caliph Omar—if those books contained the same doctrine as the Koran they were "worthless," since the Koran contains all necessary truths; but if they contained anything contrary to the Koran, they were "criminal" and ought to be destroyed.

The writer has attempted to define the present situation from what he understands to be the Marxist viewpoint, in showing that "public ownership of natural monopolies becomes the instinctive platform of the small capitalist class." The writer has further said, and he believes it will be almost universally concurred in, that this platform will be carried out by one of the

two capitalistic parties, which consequently precludes confiscation. So far only two schemes have been suggested for reducing "natural monopolies" to public ownership: duplication or redemption. In either case the municipality, the state, or the nation, must issue interest-bearing bonds, either to construct competing plants, or to buy out the corporations. There is now a plan on foot, proceeding from interested capitalistic quarters, to nationalize the coal mines in Germany. The scheme has been the topic of a discussion between Kautsky and Bebel in the German party press. Kautsky, who is opposed to the plan, takes the stand that it will increase the cost of production by the interest on the bonds and the payments on account of the sinking fund upon an inflated capitalization; as the state would nationalize the mines with an eye only to the interests of the consuming public, the price of coal would likely be reduced, and the miners would have to foot the bill. Speaking for the miners, he therefore prefers a law reducing the hours of labor and securing better inspection of the mines, and other kindred demands of the miners. Bebel, on the contrary, favors nationalization, even though carried out by the capitalistic state, and bases his position upon the familiar arguments of the advocates of municipal socialism.

Suppose public ownership should be taken up as a campaign issue by one of the capitalistic parties in this country, Bebel's argument would then be urged in support of that party. Would not the labor vote be divided between the old-party candidate and the socialist candidate? "Class-conscious proletarian" socialist education would afford no remedy, since the leading educators themselves disagree as to what is the class-interest of the proletariat in the premises. The issue would be, in fact, "proletarian class-consciousness" against "public ownership." And that must continue so whenever it is proposed to reduce a new private monopoly to public ownership, until the day when the party of the "class-conscious proletariat" will obtain control of all branches of government. To assume in the face of it without further proof that the education of the proletariat up to "class-consciousness" must lead to the general introduction of public ownership, is therefore out of date.

Moreover, "class-consciousness" itself is a mere scientific abstraction, like a mathematical lever; its only manifestation is in the minds of individuals. It means the recognition by the individual of the identity of his private interest with that of his class. Such identity of interest presupposes identity of economic condition. Is there actually such an identity of economic condition within the proletariat to-day? The history of the great strikes in the coal mines within the last few years has shown how difficult it is to reconcile the interests of the competing coal-producing fields, which enables the operators

in some districts to play off their workmen against the union. The frequent conflicts between unions represented in the same central body, the failure of so many great sympathetic strikes, are likewise evidences of the existence of heterogeneous groups with distinct interests within the great body of wage-workers.

On the other hand, the attitude of the trust towards labor is still an unknown quantity. That the trust has the power to crush a union may be assumed, but has the trust the same interest to haggle with labor, as the individual capitalist who is pushed to the wall by competition? So long as the trust has the power to raise the prices as high as 100 per cent and even more above the competitive price, it really matters little what wages have to be paid, the additional cost being shifted to the consumer. It is, of course, premature to predict the possibilities of this situation. We cannot overlook, however, such significant facts as the latest movement towards combination between trusts and trade unions in England. In substance, the trust agrees to employ the entire membership of the union and none but union labor, at "fair" wages, in return for which the union agrees to supply no labor to outsiders not in the employers' trust. In the United States there is a similar agreement in force between the flint glass trust and the union of the flint glass workers.

Suppose now, a hostile trust which is a large consumer of flint glass, is engineering a new tariff bill which will open the market to foreign competition in that particular industry. That the trusts are apt to fall out between themselves, is familiar to every newspaper reader, as well as that they employ Congress as a tool to further their schemes. That foreign competition would compel a reduction of the price of flint glass and may, for a time at least, break up the trust and its combination with the union is fairly probable. What would be the chance of a socialist candidate for Congress, in a district where the voters are mainly flint glass workers, between a Republican candidate backed by one trust and a Democratic candidate backed by the other? Would not the workers regard it as a matter of bread and butter to vote for the candidate of the flint glass trust, any amount of socialist discourse on the class struggle between capital and labor notwithstanding?

This example demonstrates that "class-consciousness" is not the product of socialist education, but must be the outcome of economic evolution which will eliminate sectional friction within the body of wage-workers; and that presupposes the elimination of antagonistic interests within the capitalist class. The present sectional conflicts between individual capitalists or private corporations and "their men" will develop into a "class struggle" between capital and labor, only then when capital, on the one hand, and labor, on the other, will actually become unified

into distinct classes, i. e., not until "the people" (the municipality, the state, the nation) will assume control, partly directly, partly indirectly, of the main lines of business. In fixing the price of the manufactured article, the state will represent the interests of "the public." This will create an issue directly between the class of bondholders and the class of workers, as to what shall be the rate of wages and the hours of labor. The scientific term "class-interest" will then acquire a concrete meaning in every-day life.

It has been my aim to show that the full realization of socialism must come as the product of purely economic forces, in spite of the inertia of the human herd. The objection that this theory leads to oriental fatalism and quietism is by no means a new one. The discussion of this question has filled volumes in German, Russian and French. The answer of the advocates of the "monistic" view is this:

All human knowledge is but the knowledge of natural processes; man cannot create a single atom, but the knowledge of natural processes enables him to make them serve his ends. Cucumbers grew ages before man learned how to plant them. No amount of devotion to the cause of horticulture will produce a cucumber from pumpkin seeds. But the knowledge of the soil and the temperature in which cucumbers naturally grew suggested the construction of the hot-house, which enabled the gardener to raise them months before they could ripen in a wild state. Such examples might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Similarly, human societies exist and develop spontaneously, according to certain historical laws; we cannot change those laws; but by inquiring into them and consciously applying the results of our study, we may shorten the time required for the full growth of social institutions, or remove such obstacles as may retard their development. The growth of capitalism in Japan is an example in point. What it took Europe centuries to arrive at, Japan has accomplished within barely forty years.

So the Marxist whom the study of industrial monopoly has led to the apparent paradox that state socialism will be the outcome of the conflict between antagonistic divisions of the capitalist class, need not spend his days in passive contemplation of how "the free play of evolution's laws will in due time land the world in a paradise of perfection." Seeing that state socialism means primarily public ownership or public control of monopolies for the benefit of the consumer, not of the producer, and that there is a class struggle ahead between labor and capital under state socialism, a Marxist will concentrate his efforts upon the organization of wage-workers for the protection of their interests as wage-workers. He cannot change the course of evolution, but he can make time (and with mortal man time is all!) by brushing aside all relics of old-fashioned theology,

such as the belief in the day of final judgment, relabeled "Social Revolution," which is supposed to bring about social "perfection," or "an epoch of rest."

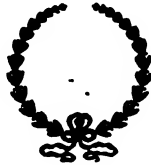
This is one of the most harmful theological superstitions, because it leads the faithful to neglect the duties and opportunities of the day, and the zealots to despise the trivial struggles of the living and to sacrifice them, without mercy or remorse, to eternal salvation (remember the attitude of some socialists toward the trade unions).

The day is past when we could content ourselves with the bare knowledge that the co-operative commonwealth is somehow going to be established at some distant date, by the revolutionary class-conscious proletariat. We are living to-day in a period of "Revolution" (in the Lassallean sense of the word). Trusts, municipal socialism, public ownership in general, combinations between trusts and unions,—all these are new forces which cannot be approached with the old nostrums. It would be, indeed, damaging evidence of barrenness of thought against Karl Marx if his work could not stimulate the spirit of research among his own followers. Difference of opinion, not infrequently repudiation of long-accepted theories, mark the development of every science. Marxism, if it would maintain its position as a scientific school, must calmly face the indignant outcry of the sectarian, of which the following is a sample:

"To invite strife and schisms in a party by continually shaking its foundations with worthless discussions actuated by superficial understanding is criminal."

Substitute "church" for "party," and you will smell the stake upon which was burned John Hus. Happily, we are told that we live in an enlightened age, so we may speak without fear of being "roasted alive," except in a figurative sense.

Marxist.



Civilization in Southern Mills



HE miners and railroad boys of Birmingham, Ala., entertained me one evening some months ago with a graphic description of the conditions among the slaves of the Southern cotton mills. While I imagined that these must be something of a modern Siberia, I concluded that the boys were overdrawing the picture and made up my mind to see for myself the conditions described. Accordingly I got a job and mingled with the workers in the mill and in their homes. I found that children of six and seven years of age were dragged out of bed at half-past 4 in the morning when the task-master's whistle blew. They eat their scanty meal of black coffee and corn bread mixed with cottonseed oil in place of butter, and then off trots the whole army of serfs, big and little. By 5:30 they are all behind the factory walls, where amid the whirl of machinery they grind their young lives out for fourteen long hours each day. As one looks on this brood of helpless human souls one could almost hear their voices cry out, "Be still a moment, O you iron wheels of capitalistic greed, and let us hear each other's voices, and let us feel for a moment that this is not all of life."

We stopped at 12 for a scanty lunch and a half-hour's rest. At 12:30 we were at it again with never a stop until 7. Then a dreary march home, where we swallowed our scanty supper, talked for a few minutes of our misery and then dropped down upon a pallet of straw, to lie until the whistle should once more awaken us, summoning babes and all alike to another round of toil and misery.

I have seen mothers take their babes and slap cold water in their face to wake the poor little things. I have watched them all day long tending the dangerous machinery. I have seen their helpless limbs torn off, and then when they were disabled and of no more use to their master, thrown out to die. I must give the company credit for having hired a Sunday school teacher to tell the little things that "Jesus put it into the heart of Mr. — to build that factory so they would have work with which to earn a little money to enable them to put a nickel in the box for the poor little heathen Chinese babies."

THE ROPE FACTORY.

I visited the factory in Tuscaloosa, Ala., at 10 o'clock at night. The superintendent, not knowing my mission, gave me the entire freedom of the factory and I made good use of it.

Standing by a siding that contained 155 spindles were two little girls. I asked a man standing near if the children were his, and he replied that they were. "How old are they?" I asked. "This one is 9, the other 10," he replied. "How many hours do they work?" "Twelve," was the answer. "How much do they get a night?" "We all three together get 60 cents. They get 10 cents each and I 40."

I watched them as they left their slave-pen in the morning and saw them gather their rags around their frail forms to hide them from the wintry blast. Half-fed, half-clothed, half-housed, they toil on, while the poodle dogs of their masters are petted and coddled and sleep on pillows of down, and the capitalistic judges jail the agitators that would dare to help these helpless ones to better their condition.

Gibson is another of those little sections of hell with which the South is covered. The weaving of gingham is the principal work. The town is owned by a banker who possesses both people and mills. One of his slaves told me she had received one dollar for her labor for one year. Every weekly pay day her employer gave her a dollar. On Monday she deposited that dollar in the "pluck-me" store to secure food enough to last until the next pay day, and so on week after week.

There was once a law on the statute books of Alabama prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age more than eight hours each day. The Gadston Company would not build their mill until they were promised that this law should be repealed.

When the repeal came up for the final reading I find by an examination of the records of the House that there were sixty members present. Of these, fifty-seven voted for the repeal and but three against. To the everlasting credit of young Manning, who was a member of that House, let it be stated that he both spoke and voted against the repeal.

I asked one member of the House why he voted to murder the children, and he replied that he did not think they could earn enough to support themselves if they only worked eight hours. These are the kind of tools the intelligent workingmen put in office.

The Phoenix mill in Georgia were considering the possibility of a cut in wages something over a year ago, but after making one attempt they reconsidered and started a savings bank instead. At the end of six months the board of directors met and found out that the poor wretches who were creating wealth for them were saving 10 per cent of their wages. Whereupon they promptly cut them that 10 per cent, and the result was the '96 strike. I wonder how long the American people will remain silent under such conditions as these.

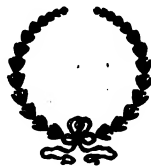
Almost every one of my shop-mates in these mills was a

victim of some disease or other. All are worked to the limit of existence. The weavers are expected to weave so many yards of cloth each working day. To come short of this estimate jeopardizes their job. The factory operator loses all energy either of body or of mind. The brain is so crushed as to be incapable of thinking, and one who mingles with these people soon discovers that their minds like their bodies are wrecked. Loss of sleep and loss of rest gives rise to abnormal appetites, indigestion, shrinkage of stature, bent backs and aching hearts.

Such a factory system is one of torture and murder as dreadful as a long-drawn-out Turkish massacre, and is a disgrace to any race or age. As the picture rises before me I shudder for the future of a nation that is building up a moneyed aristocracy out of the life-blood of the children of the proletariat. It seems as if our flag is a funeral bandage spotted with blood. The whole picture is one of the most horrible avarice, selfishness and cruelty and is fraught with present horror and promise of future degeneration. The mother, over-worked and under-fed, gives birth to tired and worn-out human beings.

I can see no way out save in a complete overthrow of the capitalistic system, and to me the father who casts a vote for the continuance of that system is as much of a murderer as if he took a pistol and shot his own children. But I see all around me signs of the dawning of the new day of socialism, and with my faithful comrades everywhere I will work and hope and pray for the coming of that better day.

Mother Jones.



Social Defense and Class Defense in Penal Law *



FINAL objection to the conception of social defense, in so far as it serves as a basis for the penal function, consists in the assertion that "the object of criminal laws thus far has not been to defend society—that is, all the classes which compose it—but, on the contrary, to protect the interests of the minority, of the small number of persons for whose profit the political power is established."

In a note to the third edition of this book, I took occasion to refute the one-sided absoluteness of this objection. I pointed out that what truth it contained did not weaken my conclusions on the defensive reaction against crime, for the essential thing in those conclusions was and still is that the defensive reaction against acts which interfere with the conditions of existence is passing over by a natural sequence from the offended individual to the collectivity. It is to this that the defensive reaction belongs, first through its representative and later through the organs of its judicial or political establishment.

Let me add that since the publication of my second edition (1884) I have always held that "social defense" corresponds to the defense of the judicial order in its concrete aspect. By this expression it is not denied that at every epoch, as M. Vaccaro says (not without some exaggeration), "justice, reason and law exist solely for the advantage of the rulers," or if you prefer, for the sole advantage of the ruling classes. Nevertheless, it can not be denied that a civic evolution is being accomplished in the sense that the most flagrant inequalities in the law as between the ruling and the subject classes are being eliminated or gradually softened. Thus at first the struggle was to suppress civil inequality (masters and slaves), then came the triumph over religious inequality (orthodox and heretics), and finally political inequality disappeared (with the triumph of the third estate or bourgeoisie over the aristocracy and the clergy). To-day the struggle is for the suppression of economic inequality (proletariat and bourgeoisie), as I explained more explicitly in another book.†

Thus, then, M. Vaccaro's objection is in no way conclusive,

*This article is taken from the fourth Italian edition of Enrico Ferri's book on Criminal Sociology, just published by Bocca Brothers, Turin, and is translated from the December, 1900, issue of L'Humanite Nouvelle.

†Socialism and Positive Science, a translation of which is published by the International Library Publishing Co., New York.

and scarcely weakens the solution that the positive school has given of the problem of responsibility and of penal justice. But if it does not at all weaken the substantial content of our theory on the defense and preservation of society, considered as the sole positive foundation of penal law, the objection of M. Vaccaro serves nevertheless to define its limits and tendencies, when, as I have done lately, we join the idea of *social defense* with the idea of *class defense*.

Since the positive school insisted in its beginnings upon the importance of the anthropological factor in the natural genesis of crime—and the genial innovation of M. Lombroso consisted above all in that—the systematic attention of the positivists was quite naturally and inevitably brought to bear upon the social factors in criminality and their relations with penal law. Moreover, that is the very thing I have always done from the beginning with the classification of the anthropological, physical and social factors of criminality, and consequently with the bio-sociological classification of criminals.

Following this evolution of the positivist school of criminology certain near-sighted individuals predicted the speedy end of the Lombrosian doctrine. The matter really involved, however, as was evident even to foreign observers, nothing but a necessary integration. At the same time certain politico-social events which ensued in Italy and elsewhere (the anarchist outbreaks, the Panama scandal, the popular movements in Sicily and Lunigiana, followed by a repression involving a state of siege) showed, as if magnified by a lens, the most secret springs of the penal mechanism.

In sociology there are always some of these significant facts which serve to throw light on the defects and the spirit of certain institutions. Thus, the Dreyfus trial exposed the defects and the spirit of military jurisprudence, subjected to militarism allied with clericalism, and finding itself in conflict with civil jurisprudence, with the work—however incomplete—of the Court of Cassation in the same trial. Judicial errors and victims of military justice were and are a daily phenomena, yet it needed the tremendous clamor raised by the Dreyfus trial to make them evident.

The study of the Marxian theory of sociology, to which I devoted myself after the issue of the third edition of this book (1892), had brought me to the conclusion that scientific socialism is the logical and inevitable outcome of sociology, which without it would stand condemned to a purposeless sterility. On the other hand, I reached the discovery in criminality of two great categories of facts, differing from each other in their nature, their motives and their consequences, and likewise I observed in the penal function two spirits, more or less antago-

nistic, one of which prevailed over the other according to the different forms of criminality which had to be repressed.

Messrs. Sighele and Jerrero, in their studies of crime in Italy, had brought to light, with regard to criminality, the distinction already laid down by the Roman jurisconsults and by Dante in the eleventh canto of the "Inferno." They each separated the crimes based on fraud from the crimes involving violence, calling the first "evolutionary criminality" and the second "atavic criminality," according as the crime took the primitive forms of muscular struggle for existence, or the more progressive forms of the intellectual struggle, which show a tendency to become more frequent day by day in contemporary civilization.

But this distinction and this terminology had only a morphological value. They related only to the manner in which crimes were committed, and did not search deeply into the motives and the nature of the different forms of criminality.

It is at this stage that I gave to the distinction between atavic and evolutionary criminality its genetic value, separating offenses against the conditions of individual and social existence from egoistic and anti-social motives (atavic criminality) as opposed to offenses from altruistic and social motives (evolutionary criminality).

Murder for personal vengeance, or with the intention of robbing or violating the victim (violent form),—murder with a view to securing a heritage, and effected by driving the victim to suicide or exposing him to danger (fraudulent form),—and likewise the violent or fraudulent forms of crimes against property (highway robbery, burglary, theft, swindling, etc.), are so many characteristic examples of atavic or anti-human criminality, toward which the criminal finds himself impelled by a motive exclusively egoistic and anti-human and consequently anti-social in the fullest sense of the word.

Political association, even with a revolutionary end in view; propaganda by word and pen; organization into a class party; strikes; opposition to certain institutions or to existing laws, even when to the setting forth of ideas, which can never be considered a crime, is added a physical aggression against society—these are the characteristic forms of evolutionary or politico-social criminality. It is determined by altruistic and humanitarian motives, even though these motives be erroneous and visionary.

There may be also an intermediate category which includes certain acts having the nature and the motives of evolutionary criminality, but with exterior forms, violent as well as fraudulent, borrowed from atavic criminality.

In this class belong, among others, murder, regicide, revolt,

the whole series of crimes committed by politico-social fanatics from Orsino to Caserio, and even, though these cases are rarer, theft, forgery and fraud.

Thus, then, the distinction between atavic criminality and evolutionary criminality, which finds a psycho-social foundation in the nature of its motives, is complicated in real life, perhaps because of its forms of execution, which may be atavic in evolutionary criminality and *vice versa*, perhaps also in consequence of the anthropological category of the criminals.

Atavic criminality, in fact, while ordinarily represented by born criminals or madmen, may also be the work of criminals of circumstance or passion. It then takes on the less grave forms of violence or fraud. Moreover, evolutionary criminality, while ordinarily the work of pseudo-criminals—that is to say of normal men (when we deal with forms of simple politico-social heterodoxy), and also of criminals excited to passion by fanaticism (like Orsini and Caserio) or of circumstance (especially in collective crimes)—may be sometimes represented by born criminals like Ravachol or by insane criminals like Passanante.

Thus, the practical problem concerning the measures to take against the author of a crime can only be solved by the simultaneous application of different bio-social criteria. It will be necessary to study the conditions of the *act*, of the *agent*, and of *society*, the law which has been broken, the determining motives and finally the anthropological category of the criminal, following the method which is applied by every physician in his clinic. Here the diagnosis and the treatment are determined by taking account of a very complicated mass of symptoms, each of which, if it had to be considered separately, might lend itself to different interpretations and might answer to different states of the individual and his environment. Just so in the criminal clinic, the offense committed is only one of the symptoms. The classic school of penal law is in error when it accords to this an importance that is absolute and exclusive. To the attentive study of the crime should be added the examination and the exact appreciation of the other symptoms of the person and his environment, in order to complete the diagnosis and arrive at the correct legal and social treatment of each criminal.

Meanwhile we may conclude that in all manifestations of crime, there is always a material menace, an actual violation, for the individual as well as for the community, of their present conditions of existence. The individual is threatened and disturbed in his bio-social personality, and society in its historically concrete make-up. But what separates them completely is the difference existing between the motives which have urged the criminal to act, since in one case we find motives of an egoistic

and anti-social interest, and in the other, on the contrary, of an altruistic and social interest. The inference is that there is a general interest in self-defense against atavic criminality, while for evolutionary criminality, the interest concerns only a minority of the ruling class.

Corresponding to this distinction between criminality that is atavic or anti-human, and criminality that is evolutionary or anti-social, in the narrow sense of the word only, there is the distinction between social defense and class defense. This last may even degenerate into class violence.

The first conception of social defense, which I gave as the basis and motive of the penal function, is not erroneous, as Mr. Vaccaro asserted, but it is incomplete. And likewise, the idea that criminal law is a simple mechanism for the defense of the interests of the ruling class in all the phases of politico-social evolution is not false, but it is also incomplete in its one-sided absoluteness.

The synthesis which unites these two conceptions is that which I have given in my "Justice Penale," namely, that the spirit of primitive vengeance and of class oppression conceals itself, under the cloak of judicial formalities, around the positive and legitimate nucleus of social preservation as against acts which attack not only the political and social order, but also the conditions of human existence, whether individual or collective.

That amounts to repeating that the penal function is the expression and effect of a double natural necessity which had its first manifestations in the primitive vengeance adopted as a principle of individual or family defense. On one side it was necessary to protect the whole community against the inhuman forms of criminality, and on the other side was the defense of a single part of the community, the ruling class. Preservation or defense will predominate by turns according as atavic or evolutionary criminality is being dealt with. For the former attacks the underlying conditions of human existence, while evolutionary criminality sets itself against the political and social order, which is always transitory.

In view of this synthesis, we may, following many other writers, separate in criminal law what accrues to the transitory interests of the ruling class from what has to do with the necessity, for individuals and society, of insuring themselves against criminality. It is only in this way that criminal and penal science can have a more efficacious influence over the practical exercise of the penal function on the part of the state, by taking its stand on this complete truth, which hitherto had escaped the classical school, as well as the positive school.

The classical school, indeed, had at first considered crime as a species of revolt against tyranny, and had thought it needful

to defend criminals against the excesses of the state. That was a consequence of the historical events of the nineteenth century during the marvelous development of the classical school started by Beccaria, when the struggles for national independence were accomplishing, in Greece, Belgium and Italy, as well as in Hungary and Germany, the political emancipation of the people, and were assuring the triumph of the bourgeoisie. Everyone then believed that the French Revolution had abolished classes, and this principle had, so to speak, the value of a dogma, since the proletariat had not yet asserted itself as a class party. It is from this historic foundation that surged the current of liberal individualism which I have denounced on several occasions, both in the beginnings and in the development of the classical school of criminal law after the French Revolution. So we can now see why Carrara said that "penal science has for its end to moderate the abuses of authority." We can still see in it the most powerful motive, which all the while remained concealed, of the propaganda carried on by the classical school against the death penalty and in favor of the jury considered as a "palladium of liberty"

But the states which are the secular arm of the class enjoying economic supremacy opposed to this liberal-individualist principle of the classical school, more or less consciously, in their codes, the necessity of social defense against atavic and anti-human criminality. Here in reality is found no trace of the spirit of revolt with an aim at progress, and the prisoner is not a victim of power, but no more or less than an individual who is dangerous, in a given environment, by reason of unhealthy and abnormal conditions of his organic and psychic personality.

On the other hand, the positivist school of criminal law, which has developed since 1878, saw in criminals, at its beginning, nothing but abnormal, diseased, dangerous and anti-social beings. Its attention was directed exclusively to the manifestations of atavic criminality, and consequently it emphasized the principle of the defense of society and humanity against the attacks and "the fear which the criminals inspired."

So, if it had not been restrained by the inevitable hatred of what is new, which our scientific heresy had to arouse, even in official spheres, the state might have welcomed the principle of a more energetic defense against atavic criminality, preached by the positive school, in order to cover up and justify by this means the excesses to which the ruling classes have pushed things in these last years,, by availing themselves of criminal law against the manifestations of evolutionary criminality, and even against the non-criminal manifestations of heterodox ideas, whether in the political or social domain.

These excesses of the laws and of the exceptional tribunals, having for their aim the defense of class under the pretext of defending society, have taken place, be it well understood, without any complicity or influence on the part of the new positivist school. They have been the expression of the inevitable tendencies which impel any class that is in power,—tendencies which, moreover, constitute its weakness and condemn it to disappear before the new social transformation (Marx), which are like an inseparable link in the natural chain of cosmic transformations (Spencer) and of biologic transformations (Darwin).

Indeed, as we have been saying, all law, after having been recognized as the expression of a need of existence, degenerates into a privilege and an abuse. Also class defense, which is legitimate in so far as it is a natural product of social evolution, degenerates into class violence when new economic conditions prepare and determine either the supremacy of another class which answers better to another form of private property; it is thus, for example, that from quiritarian property with a military supremacy the transfer was made to feudal property with an aristocratic and clerical supremacy and to capitalist property with bourgeois supremacy—or that these new economic conditions prepare and determine the fundamental transformation (revolution) of private property into collective property, carrying with it the abolition of classes and consequently the suppression of all supremacy.

The experience of Italy during 1804 and 1808, where the bourgeoisie renounced all the conquests that the liberals had wrested from the middle ages (abolition of special tribunals, freedom of thought, of the press, of assembly and association), brought to light this hidden aim of the penal function, this class defense, which is raising itself by the side of social defense. So we believe that after the synthesis of which we have just spoken, the positivist school of criminology has the right to give to the formula of social defense a broader, more complete and more efficacious meaning. To-day, in fact, under the name of social defense we must understand not only the preservation of the whole collectivity against the attacks of atavic criminality, but also the protection of the ruling class against assaults of evolutionary criminality. The only difference to be observed is that the state ought to defend itself against evolutionary criminality in another fashion than against atavic criminality. But in the future of "criminal law" society ought to attach to the pervading and common interests of the whole collectivity an importance ever increasing till it becomes exclusive. Science will reduce more and more, up to its complete elimination, the element of interests and class privileges. It will thus transform

penal law from being to some extent a mechanism of political domination into a special clinic of preservation.

Thus, the theory of social defense, taken as a basis of penal mastery (*magistere penal*), an old expression, henceforth void of meaning, still corresponds in its integration with the synthesis we have just sketched to the positive and actual conditions of present society. At the same time it remains also as the end or criterion of future and inevitable transformations of penal law in harmony with the data of anthropology and sociology on the causes, and, consequently, on the remedies of criminality.

Enrico Ferri (Translated by Charles H. Kerr).



Joy in Work

Yesterday it rained with glee,
To-day the sun shines cheerly;
Growing hard, each blade of wheat
Revels in the wet and heat.

Robin builds and will not rest,
Fascinated by her nest;
Down their narrow, well-worn road
Eager ants bear load on load.

Those whom Nature doth employ
Hail each new day's work with joy.
Strange indeed that we must ask
Why man alone should hate his task.

Should the ant and bird detest
Each his proper hill and nest,—
Should the corn despise the soil,
Then men might well dislike to toil;

But as it is, while these obey
Nature in their work and play,
All contented with their lot,
Who will say why man is not?

In her workshop Nature stands,
Busy with her artist hands,
Shaping for her own delight
Things that ravish sense and sight.

Forth they go, her children all,
And their happy looks recall,
As they deck the tasteful earth,
How love and joy were at their birth.

We must stamp that trade-mark, too,
On each bit of work we do,
And love of all that we create
Supplant the drudgery of hate.

Use in beauty, joy in work,
Pride that will not stoop to shirk,
Conscience that sustains the pride,—
These let us scatter far and wide.

Then at last in fellowship
We may forget the master's whip,
And join with ant and bird and corn
In hailing every workaday morn.

—Ernest Crosby, author of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable."

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

PROLOGUE.



IN an attic room in a wretched street, three children sat hugging a stove between grimy whitewashed walls, on which the dim light of a tallow candle threw awful suggestions of neglected childhood, in the shape of huge, tousled heads and cadaverous, stooping shoulders, vaguely but terribly outlined. At the other end of the room a woman lay in a drunken sleep, with her head on a mattress. A cheap pine table, a couple of chairs, and an old box completed the furniture of the room.

It was bitterly cold, and long past midnight. The candle had sunk to the rim of the candlestick and was a mere ghost of an illumination, and the one thing that seemed the most alive in that room was the old stove, for within its bosom a tiny handful of dying embers gleamed through the cracks of the heavy iron plates and warmed their rusty surfaces to the temperature of a living human body. The children laid their faces on it and hugged its heavy unresponsive angles. When the palms of their hands became thoroughly warmed they rubbed them slowly over their chests and stomachs. The eldest of the trio, a girl of nine, sat on a broken chair clasping one of the little boys around the waist with a pair of thin arms, while he sprawled face downward on the stove. When opportunity offered, she loosened one hand from the other to lay it lovingly on the stove-lid, rubbing her cheek with it afterwards. It was not a matter of much concern that the soot of the stove was transferred to the faces of these children until they looked as if ready to take part in a minstrel show.

"Hold me now, sissy," muttered the older lad, a trifle larger than his brother, whom he pushed forcibly out of the girl's arms.

The little fellow who was deposed fell to embracing the stove from the opposite side, but quickly finding a better way, he climbed upon it with a feeble shout of exultation. There he sat, lost in profound reflection; a pretty child, with tangled curls, his deep-set dark-blue eyes looking out from a pallid baby countenance. His chin buried itself in his ragged jacket; his hands sought pockets and found holes, which he had always taken to be pockets, never having known any other variety. His sister eyed him tenderly and raised a hand to smooth the hair from his forehead.

"What's the matter now, Tahm-my?" she questioned deferentially, desiring him to speak.

After a pause, with his blue eyes fixed on the blank wall opposite, in a thin, childish treble, he solemnly addressed an invisible choir:

"Wunst, we-uns had a big, big fire in 'ere stove! A long time ago—four—five—six—twenty-five years ago, and sixteen days. An' we burned up all de coal to wunst! An' we never have no more big fire now—never no more!"

"That was when pappy was home," answered his sister, in a very grown-up, matter-of-fact tone; "an' now he's 'way agin. We was good and warm twict las' winter, Tahm-my; you 'member the big hot fire las' winter, when we had hash an' fried 'taters, an' oysters, an' agin when we had ginger cakes an' onions an' liver?"

"I don't 'member no oysters, Mah-ty."

"Nor me neither," chimed in the other boy.

"Nor ginger cake an' liver, Mah-ty."

"We ain't had 'em *never*," corroborated his brother, fiercely.

"Ye ain't got mem'ries like ye was big an' old! Little chil-lens forgits things; but we had 'em, and ate 'em—wunst, twict."

"Was I 'lowed to set on er stove, Mah-ty, when we-uns had oysters, an' liver, an' ginger cake?"

"'Twould 'a' burnt ye; 'twas a blazin' hot stove—red hot, Tahm-my!"

"I don't want no red-hot stove to burn me pants an' legs. I likes to set a-top o' de stove—like I'se a-settin' now—an' git warm froom and froom, Mah-ty."

The child looked up radiantly into his sister's face. He had forgotten what being warm was like, but his imagination for the moment was deeply gratified with the desperate expedient of sitting on the top of a stove that had a make-believe fire in its bosom.

"He ain't got no sense, *he ain't!*" cried the older boy, as he slapped the visionary philosopher.

Mattie interfered by dragging the scoffer back to her lap, where he continued to exhibit his displeasure by kicking Tommy's legs.

The younger child, pursuing the policy of non-resistance that was natural to him, shivered and relapsed into his attitude of angelic contemplation. Mattie fixed her fond gaze upon him, and again waited for him to speak. His last observation had not been quite up to the mark, but words of deep import and beautiful baby cunning were undoubtedly hovering behind his lips. Suddenly he raised a warning finger.

"Somefin's comin' outside—it's stopped!"

"A patrol wagon!" shrieked Jimmy, dashing from his sister's arms to the window.

Mattie was about to follow joyfully, but stopped awe-struck by the expression on Tommy's face. He sat staring, with eyes full of terror, his baby forefinger still uplifted.

"The Croolty's a-comin' up the stairs—for we-uns. It's a-goin' to put us away—to put us away." The child's voice rose to a shriek, and Mattie with a responsive scream flung her arms around him.

Jimmy, turning from the window, fled to his sister for safety, burying his face in her lap. The tramp of heavy feet was already on the stairway, the sounds coming nearer. The children shut their eyes and cowered together. The door was shaken by powerful hands from the outside; in a second the bolt gave way, and two tall men in dark uniform burst into the room. In the agony of the moment, instinct blotted out experience, and with one voice the three children screamed piercingly:

"Mammy! Mammy! Mammy!"

But their God-given protector slept on in profound peace. One of the men examined her carefully and made a note of her condition. The other addressed a remark to the children:

"A good society's a-goin' to take charge of you-uns and give you good homes and an eddication. Come along."

His strong hands grasped the arms of the little boys, who found themselves suddenly lifted to their feet with no power to resist. They stopped crying and stared at their sister in stupefaction.

"You come along too, sis," added the officer, in a tone that was not unkind—"without you want to stay here and freeze to death. Say, do you mean to come along with these here boys or not?"

The girl's back was turned in an attitude of stubborn resistance, but she now sprang quickly to her feet.

"I'm a-goin' wherever Tahm-my an' Jimmy's a-goin'," she answered shrilly, and cast a wild, Amazon-like glance upon her captor.

No further preparation was needed than to seize a ragged hood from a corner and thrust her arms into a woman's jacket many sizes too large for her. The party left the room hastily, one officer saying to the other that he would send immediately for an ambulance to convey the insensible woman to the hospital.

Soon afterward, the scene shifted to the office of the "Cruelty" Society, and Mattie waited in breathless suspense for the next development in the "putting away" process.

Ever since she could remember this phrase had been sounded in her ears with bewildering variations of meaning. Sometimes it was used as a threat to awe disobedient children, but more

frequently it conveyed the idea of calamity, pure and simple, in which the innocent suffered with the guilty, and children were "put away" because their parents could not afford to keep them. Still again, it signified a funeral and a big hole in the ground out somewhere in the suburbs.

The horrors of implacable fate, of dreadful retribution, and of icy death were combined in this terrible phrase, and all the children whom Mattie knew shook when they heard it, just as our primitive ancestors trembled when the motives of their gods and demigods became hopelessly obscured, and the innocent were in immediate danger of bringing upon themselves the wrath of heaven.

When little children disappeared in this sudden fashion from the neighborhood in which they lived, it was generally understood that they had been "put away." In many cases they were never seen again by their playmates; but occasionally they returned, wearing an altered look and a crushed demeanor, as if they had been put through a wringing-out process. They were always reticent in regard to their experiences, but if perseveringly coaxed they managed to convey the impression that they had endured inexpressible hardships in a strange and terrible world, inhabited exclusively by "orphans" and supervised by deities known as matrons and managers. Their reticence was that of the shipwrecked mariner who dislikes to dwell on past sufferings, and it was respected accordingly. An organization known in the slums as the "Croolty Society" was associated with these ghastly disappearances. Its way of swooping down—vulture-like—upon little children who were known to be innocently happy in their gutter games and midnight rambles produced a sense of being long shadowed by a mysterious and awful power, which can be compared only to some of the horrors that were abroad when the songs of the Edda were first sung in the halls of the Scandinavian warriors.

The next day Mattie was dusting the office—to her mind, a perfectly meaningless service which she performed with cheerful alacrity. An austere-looking, gold-spectacled gentleman, who sat at a desk, addressed by name another man who sat at the other end of the room, observing that the McPherson boys were to go to the Orphans' Home as soon as they could be got ready. The other man nodded, and Mattie stared from one to the other with a quaking heart.

Nothing further happened for some minutes, during which she went on dusting and pondering. To have asked either of these dignitaries what was meant by the remark she had overheard would have been equivalent to demanding of a printed almanac what it meant by heralding an eclipse of the sun for the 12th of next February. The officials were not beings with whom a little child could hold speech, and it could scarcely be

said that a common language existed between them. She went on dusting, and only her eyes pleaded and questioned while she argued with the fear that was in her heart.

It fluttered and grew still when nothing seemed about to happen. It fluttered again as the man at the desk closed his ledger deliberately and put it away. He then arose from his chair and walked to the door, Mattie's eyes following him. She noticed that he went upstairs, where her brothers were playing on the third floor. After a silence, she heard the footsteps of the man descending and little feet accompanying his. Into the office came Jimmy and Tommy, with their hats and coats on. Her fear was now clutching her by the throat. Wildly she gazed upon the children, but they appeared to be stupidly unconcerned at this great crisis in their lives.

"We-uns is a-goin' to ride in er trolley cars!" said Jimmy, with a foolish smile.

"I want to go wiv' my buvvers," cried the girl in a loud, abrupt voice, addressing nobody in particular.

"Hurry and get off," said the gold-spectacled gentleman softly.

The agent caught both boys by the hand and pushed them hastily outside the door. Mattie flew after them and flung her arms around Tommy, who stood motionless and aggrieved at such behavior.

"I want to go wiv' Jimmy and Tahm-my—wiv' my buvvers," she sobbed in piteous accents.

Some one unclasped her hands from Tommy's neck, and carried her back into the office, where she was placed upon a chair and held forcibly. Knowing then that she was separated from her brothers forever, the child broke from her habit of self-repression into sobs, yells and curses of despair. She continued to scream the names of her brothers until her voice weakened from exhaustion and she could only repeat them in a husky whisper. The agents then carried her upstairs and laid her on one of the beds in a small dormitory intended for sick children. An hour later they hoped she had cried herself to sleep, but as the superintendent turned to leave the room, a tremulous moan reached his ear, and he carried it home with him that night in spite of his efforts to shut it from memory:

"I want to go wiv' Jim-my an' Tahm-my. I want to go wiv' Jim-my—an'—Tahm-m-m-m-y!"

It was the last day of the old year, and as the old superintendent recalled the fact, he made a mental note of another and more cheering fact which was that the capture of the three McPhersons carried the number of rescued children from 998 to 1,001—a splendid record for the year, and a glorious showing for the Annual Report! This meant "rescue" at the rate of

two children and three-fourths of a child—roughly speaking—per day. In ten years it would mean 10,000 children—equal to the population of a good-sized town—all to be neatly and economically distributed among the various institutions of the city, which were hungrily clamoring for them. A beneficent world, indeed! He fell asleep soothed by this beautiful thought.

CHAPTER II.

Several years later, a young man sat one afternoon in the office of another philanthropic establishment and became deeply absorbed in the contemplation of an open ledger. His dark, brilliant, expressive eyes were tracing condensed biographies. At the top of one page, under a printed heading of "Department of Waifs and Strays," there was inscribed in large letters the name "Elizabeth Powtowska." The narrative, which was written and not printed, described the first appearance in eleemosynary history of the young person with the high-sounding Polish name, the story beginning with the death of a Russian emigrant.

Julian Endicott—this was the name of the serious-eyed young man—had become the guardian of the Polish girl by accepting three years before the secretaryship of the "Association for Sociological Research"—an influential organization, liberally supported by people of wealth and culture in the city. Its proud boast was that its work was conducted on a strictly scientific basis, that it was admirably divided and sub-divided into departments wherein all suffering humanity might be accurately classified, tabulated and studied as specimens of social phenomena. Its object was not to abolish poverty, but to study it as one would study botany or geology. Nothing that met the eye in this office was in the least suggestive of alms-giving, for it held alms-giving in virtuous abhorrence. The ground-glass partitions, the handsome oak railings, the high rolling desks and cases filled with card catalogues, ledgers and filed pamphlets, together with the presence of numerous clerks busily writing or operating typewriting machines—all these were exactly what one might expect to find in a large banking house or flourishing law firm. Philanthropy, under the influence of the commercial spirit of the age, had turned herself into a bo-constrictor and was now engaged in swallowing up her two sisters, Faith and Hope, and proclaiming herself, with swollen self-importance, to be one of the exact sciences.

When young Endicott had accepted this call, the oddest part of his engagement seemed to be the fact that the management of the great association was in the hands of a board of women. There was not a representative of his sex among them. His

assistants in the work were to be young women. At that time his curiosity and longing to begin his study of their wonderful work—for they had written him that there was no other like it in the world—had rivaled the aspirations of the adventurous heroes who visited, in disguise, the halls of Tennyson's "Princess."

It is true that in the Annual Report of the "Association" had long appeared the names of many eminent male citizens who were grouped on a separate page as a "Board of Advisors," with a distinguished Episcopal clergyman conspicuously named as their president. But Julian was early informed that they were merely figureheads, and during the years of his labors for the cause they represented he had never known of their advice being asked, nor was he aware that they had ever attended a meeting. When he persistently sought out these gentlemen, as he did on one occasion, he discovered that several of them knew not on what street the "Association" was situated, and others knew not whether the organization they endorsed with their names was intended to shelter aged widows, to reform inebriates, to furnish soup for the starving, or to house, feed and educate homeless orphans.

But as a matter of fact, it experimented with all of these things and as many more as possible, for it was reaching out towards a wonderful ideal of a "University of Sociological Research," and had just built a lecture hall wherein all students and workers in "charity" might meet to discuss their problems.

Julian had been frankly told from the first that his sex was considered a drawback which the gentle philosophers had agreed to overlook, being more reasonable than the "Princess" and her followers. He was young, handsome and a Harvard graduate; he had come to them for an exceedingly small salary. This was partly because he had studied for the ministry, and had afterward abandoned all thought of it in search of a kind of ministration that would hold him in close touch with his fellows, instead of setting him apart on a pinnacle of spiritual superiority. The cares of the "Association for Sociological Research" seemed the nearest to his ideal of any offer that he had received; while its managers believed fervently that in the equipment of a divinity student, all errors of sex might be considered as having been effaced in the white light of ecclesiastical scrutiny.

It is possible that they were not aware of the extent of Julian's sacrifice, but they were certainly gratified that he was so entirely willing to bury himself alive in their service. He was, it is true, somewhat old-fashioned in his ideas of "charity," but it was not to be supposed that the tool in the master's hand ever fully appreciates all that is in the mind of the master, and

Julian was regarded distinctively as the "tool" of the masterly minds that were directing the work of the Association. If he did not fully realize the secondary importance of the role he was playing, it was because his managers were well-bred, soft-voiced women whose first mission in life was to conform to a high standard of courteous speech and bearing.

Julian's unceasing efforts had left him worn, thin and sal-low of cheek, a mere shadow of his former self. So he looked as a rule when he sat studying those biographical pages. The Russian waif was now eighteen years of age, and he took a personal pride in contemplating this young person's later his-tory. For he had actually prepared her for something higher than a life-work of dishwashing; she had exchanged house-work in a farmhouse for a high school and a business college, from both of which she had graduated with honors. After-wards, she was employed as a clerk by a business firm.

But the page had to be turned, and now he read the name "Martha McPherson." The blunders which had wrecked this young life—so he was told—had been caused by the wretched inexperience of former superintendents. Julian had himself failed to grasp the real degradation of the surroundings that had been selected for her until his rescue came too late. She had remained on a city truck farm until her nature had coarsened into a likeness of the soil in which her young feet had literally been planted. She had dug, scraped and ploughed during all that was left of her childhood, because, as the own-ers of her toil declared, "she was fit for nothing else." Before this she had been dragged through several charitable institu-tions—each of which had left its mark upon her—but in the hands of the "Association" she had received the worst scars that can disfigure young womanhood, and Julian felt the bur-den of her wrongs now heaped upon his young shoulders. As secretary of the "Association" he felt responsible for all the makeshift efforts that had marred the young life but lately entrusted to his guidance.

The record was as dreadful as one of Ibsen's plays—more tragic, indeed, than anything Ibsen ever wrote—thought Julian, as he bit his pencil and glowered at the hideous statements.

Rising from the desk under a sudden pressure of feeling, he walked to the window and looked out, seeing not the street, but a pathetic vision of a very young girl wearing a faded shawl and hugging to her breast an infant. This forlorn caricature of motherhood made even the beautiful image of the Madonna seem cheap. His sense of justice was now bewailing the mys-tery which Martha had flung around the child and herself; she wrapped herself in it as though it were a robe of spotless purity; she defied the world to pry into the secret of her child's par-entage!

Then he thought again of Elizabeth. A few days before, his visiting agent had reported the shocking information that the employer of Elizabeth Powtowska had twice presented her with a bunch of flowers. The agent had called at the office and was unfavorably impressed by the employer's appearance; she thought it important that Julian should call on him immediately. Julian had promised to attend to it, but he bethought himself of another plan, and finally succeeded in getting the committees of the "Association" to consent to the employment of Elizabeth in their office as a supplementary clerk.

"I may venture to hope that she'll be safe here," he thought with a ghost of a smile.

For a second he paused and contemplated with ironical gravity the singular features of his present career as a knight-errant, for the bald fact now stood forth clearly that all the relative advantages of his sex had been adroitly reversed by his female managers. This picture of himself was so keenly absurd that he turned from it quickly with a grimace, which expressed not only his consciousness of having failed to effect the pose of a hero, but his complete indifference to the fact.

With a sigh he recalled a ridiculous struggle that had to be carried on, week after week, with various committees of the board of managers. Every detail of every plan had to be argued and shoved through these committees by main force of will. It was like getting a bill through Congress. Some of these gentle women excelled as obstructionists, and all of them had always insisted on their right to decide every question in Julian's work by a majority vote. He did not suspect that they flocked to the meetings because it offered them an hour of mental exercise, that they raised questions for the sole purpose of debating them, and not because it mattered in the least which argument carried. It was all play to them, but death to this poor lad's elasticity of spirit. He was more depressed than ever after the meetings, not only on account of the great output of moral enthusiasm which left him exhausted, but because the fabric of their minds seemed to him every day to become more and more incomprehensible. One of his hardships was their failure to remember from week to week the few and simple facts on which their decision of a previous week depended. Their minds were formless, like jelly fish, nebulous like summer clouds, he thought; or were they only mentally indolent? Julian knew that he did all their thinking for them; he acted as an obliging memory; he persuaded, dragged and forced them to a conclusion, and accepted meekly this conclusion as their "instructions" for the coming week.

They were fashionable women and their superb air of worldly authority combined with heavenly omniscience for a long time had deeply impressed him. They evidently believed that they

ruled with a diviner right than that of kings. But his faith was now no longer equal to theirs. He was country-born and bred, and the vantage ground of social privilege was as yet an undiscovered land to him.

With the consent of four separate committees at last secured, Elizabeth had begun her new duties only the day before. She had thanked Julian demurely, and asked whether in the future she was to consider herself an employe or a ward of the Association.

"Both, perhaps," he had replied cautiously.

"Then I am still a waif," she had murmured in a tragic voice, slowly walking back to the desk with her head lowered. Julian then repeated this remark, which both amused and puzzled him, to the managers, who argued from it that Elizabeth was an ungrateful girl. As it was impossible to disabuse their minds of this idea, he resolved this afternoon to be wary of repeating to them the strange sayings of the waifs.

It was nearly dark when Julian reached his boarding house. He ate his dinner mechanically, and was half way upstairs when a voice in his ear asked in a tone of affected anxiety if the philanthropic hens had been pecking worse than usual. He turned quickly to greet a fellow-boarder whose name was Cooper Denning.

Julian's laughing protest on behalf of his female managers passed unquestioned, the speaker not being anxious to discuss the management of the "Association," whose existence he was unable to regard in any other than a facetious light. He was a lawyer of moderate means to whom the profession of law served to pass away the tedious hours that lay between great social events. Julian found him arrayed usually in faultless evening dress.

Having drawn Julian almost forcibly into his chamber, Denning lit a cigar and settled himself in an easy chair which Julian had declined. He observed discontentedly:

"I believe half the delight you ascetics take in physical discomfort comes from the mental distress you know you are causing selfish brutes like myself."

"Did you think I was seeking discomfort? I only wanted to get nearer your fire! Surround me with all the luxuries you own,—you'll find I'm no ascetic," answered Julian so energetically that Denning laughed.

"Your face was so long at dinner I thought perhaps you had been renewing your vows."

"I never made any. I'm sorry the study of social problems doesn't interest you, Denning, but if you were to dive with me into the unfathomable depths of biology, psychology, and a few other mysteries—"

"Biology, psychology—unfathomable depths!—that sounds like woman!"

"That's just what it is," said Julian, clasping his hands over his crossed knees and contemplating the fire with thoughtful eyes. "That's just what I've been studying,—woman." He sighed.

"In love, boy?"

"Heaven forbid! It's the incarnation—the feminine gender itself—that has been leading me such a dance. I believe it is one of the evil spirits from Pandora's Box—the worst of the lot. I should like to box it up again and set it on your mantel piece."

"My dear young friend, what on earth have you to do with the feminine gender outside of a lady manager—or a French grammar—unless you're in love?"

Julian gave a short sketch of his tragic experiences with the waifs. There seemed to be nowhere a spot on God's earth where they were thoroughly safe.

"If I had a world to create," he concluded gloomily, "I am sure I should find one sex enough. It would make life much simpler."

"Which one would you leave out?" asked the older man. As Julian did not reply, he smoked on in silence, while he contemplated his serious young guest with a becoming gravity. Finally he said:

"You dwell too much on the dismal side of life, Endicott. You are in danger of exaggerating every symptom of your youthful charges, because your experience is so frightfully limited. You want to gain knowledge of life; then you can sift out the whole business and estimate things in their right proportion. Touch, taste, devour all experiences. Of course I should not say this if I did not know you came of good stock."

"Thanks; I think I have been gaining considerable experience of late."

"Yes—all in one line. Your observations of the other sex, for instance, are confined to a single, wretched, degraded type."

"Human nature is the same in all grades of society—I believe that." Julian's voice touched suddenly the deeper note of the enthusiast.

"I do not admit your generalization; you advance it as an article of faith—a dogma to take the place of a belief in the Trinity! It's useless to argue with you."

"I perceive that you have a logical mind, Denning, but I have no way of gaining the larger experience—or time either. I am willing to count myself a narrow, pent-up stream—perhaps a very shallow one—but still I hope to accomplish some good in my groove, like any other specialist."

"Specialist is good—a fine word," observed the lawyer, smil-

ing. "I am going to think out a plan for you if you will have the extreme goodness to play something. Make a little music, won't you? We'll turn down the gas, as you always play better when you can hardly see the keys, and I'll lie here and meditate until I discover a short cut to experience for you."

He turned down the light as he spoke and stretched himself on the lounge while Julian, with a boyish shrug and a laugh, went into his own room and opened the piano noiselessly and tenderly, as musicians handle the instrument they love. Through the doorway, the red glow of the fire from Denning's room softened young Endicott's serious profile into a beauty that was partly Greek and partly of a more modern type.

He struck a few chords absently and then began a musical reverie.

With the aid of the delicate phrases which Julian's fingers seemed to be carving out of the silence, an idea came into Denning's head, and he considered it with amused satisfaction while rings of smoke circled above him.

When the music stopped, he rose quickly and crossed the threshold to lay his hand on the other's shoulder.

"I always enjoy your playing, but this time it has suggested wonderful ideas! I have a plan mapped out, an original and delightful method of obtaining the experience you need."

Julian, striking chords softly, looked up with a dreamy expression. An amazing proposition was being presented to him. He was to be introduced into fashionable circles as a stranger from Boston, a young man fresh from college.

"I shall ask boldly for permission to take 'my young friend' with me while he is in the city; and after you are introduced properly, your stay is to be prolonged little by little until perhaps—"

"I come from New York state, not Boston—and I have been living in this city over three years. Would you have me ashamed of my birth and belongings? Really, I have no time for such things as you propose."

"You have every night—it's all I have."

"Yes, I could go nights," sighed Julian, relapsing into a barbarism that invoked memories of country sleighing parties, camp meetings, village sociables and the like. Denning smiled a little and went on unfolding his plan.

"You will have to buy a dress suit and a ten-cent white tie, and that will cover the whole expense."

"I have both,"—Julian developed a faint show of interest,—
"I'm not going in for any ridiculous deceptions—neither are you—but if I should go with you some evening in my own character and not as somebody else, I have a suit, and a stunning tie." Pulling open a bureau drawer, he drew out a white satin butterfly tie for Denning's inspection. The latter looked

at it gravely; his expression became intensely solemn,—nay, he began to grow pale.

"It is very handsome," he said in a low voice, as he laid it gently back in the drawer. "It's quite a work of art and will do for some rare occasion. The little social affairs we get up in this city are not worthy of that tie just yet; 'Solomon in all his glory'—"

"It cost a quarter!" cried Julian, laughing. He gave a side glance at his friend's face, and blushed deeply. Denning noting the blush, forgave him.

"You see your plan is impossible," cried Julian, turning away in vexation. "I appreciate your goodness in wanting to introduce me to your world, but it would be a case of the wrong kind of tie all the way through. Thanks for your generosity."

Denning laughed. "You can put me on a pedestal if you want to, for the worship of future philanthropists. I shall not give up the idea, though it's too late to discuss it fully this evening. It's time for me to dress—so good-night."

With a nod and a wave of his hand, he disappeared into his room and closed the door, leaving Julian to continue his musings on the painful predilections of female waifs and strays.

(To be continued.)



❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

Professor E. Untermann

ENGLAND.

There were 623 strikes and lockouts during 1900, in which 184,773 persons took part. The aggregate duration of the strikes was 3,784,985 work days; 29.4 per cent of lost days fall to the share of the mine-workers; leaving out the agricultural laborers and those employed in seafaring, 2.4 per cent of the other workers have participated in these conflicts. 67.3 per cent of these strikes touched the question of wages; 0.8 per cent that of working hours. 70.5 per cent of the conflicts were settled by direct negotiations of representatives of the interested parties, only 4.2 per cent were settled by arbitration.

From the "Labour Leader" London, Feb. 9: At Bradford Keir Hardie, M. P., expressed it as his firm, unalterable conviction that Queen Victoria was done to death by the war-mongers. (Cheers.) She died broken-hearted, and the men who directed the nation into war thought no more of sacrificing the life of a queen than the life of a common soldier. ("Shame.") They would sacrifice national honor and all that was held dear if thereby their interests promised to advance. And the people still went on their way, silent, dumb, voiceless. Mr. Hardie proceeded to say that—with the facts before him—he could not acquit the new King from his full share of responsibility for the war. (Hear, hear.) A Committee sat to inquire into the Jameson Raid, and when that point was reached at which certain papers were being demanded, which it was alleged would prove the complicity of the Colonial Office in the Raid, the Prince of Wales personally had directly intervened to prevent Sir William Harcourt and the other Liberal members of the Committee from pursuing the investigation for the papers, with the result that the investigation was burked, and to this day the papers had not been produced. Then, when Cecil Rhodes was under examination, the Prince walked into the Committee-room and shook hands with the criminal who was upon his trial. ("Shame.") These things were not without significance. (Hear, hear.) The Duke of Fife, who married a daughter of the Prince of Wales, was a director of the Chartered Company, so that he was steeped to the lips in the Jameson Raid and in the policy that made for war. Apparently, therefore,

there was small chance of escaping from militarism at the intervention of the new King. There was but one way whereby it was possible, and he would fain still believe that that way was not only possible, but probable—the creation in the nation and in the House of Commons of a body of men with eyes to see, and hearts to feel, and courage to speak—(cheers)—in the presence of kings and princes if need be. (Cheers.)

The Governor at Gibraltar has prohibited the publication of a local socialist daily.

FRANCE.

The cabinet Waldeck-Rousseau has not fulfilled the expectations of its friends. In consequence, that branch of the French socialists which supported the entrance of Millerand into the cabinet, is now confronted by the alternative to either acknowledge the correctness of the warning: "No compromise, no political trading," and to demand the resignation of Millerand, or to be satisfied with the policy of the cabinet. The acceptance of the latter of these two evils means the renunciation of the principle of opposition to the capitalist government.

Waldeck-Rousseau's proposed law against associations which is officially directed against the religious orders and their systematic evasion of taxation, causes some apprehension in the ranks of socialists. The wording of the law is such that it may be applied to other than religious associations. Especially Section 11 is obnoxious to our comrades, as it may be construed so that it could be used against the newly instituted International Bureau in Brussels.

The executive of the United Socialist Party has decided to send circulars to all socialist and labor groups for the purpose of opening an inquiry concerning the political and economic conditions of the working class.

In Lille, the united ticket of the radicals and Parti Ouvrier Français was victorious with a majority of 900 votes in the after-election for a member of the city council.

In Nîmes the socialist Fournier was elected with a majority of more than 2,000 votes over his royalist opponent.

Lissagaray, the well-known editor-in-chief of "La Bataille," author of the "History of the Commune," died in Paris on the 25th of January.

Comrade Edwards, editor of "Le Petit Sou," offered army rifles transformed into hunting rifles as premiums to those of his readers who were "friends of general armament and believed that an armed

nation is indispensable for the protection of the republic." That was a welcome announcement to the police who at once paid a visit to the office of "Le Petit Sou" and confiscated forty-six rifles.

According to the January bulletin of the Labor Bureau, thirty-seven strikes were reported during December, 1900. In thirty-five of these strikes 10,089 persons took part; five strikes were victories for the strikers, sixteen were settled by mutual concessions and fifteen were lost.

GERMANY.

Another of Mr. Bueck's letters has fallen into the hands of the "Vorwärts." This document reveals with startling clearness the socialist contention that capitalistic governments are simply the servile tools of the capitalist class. Apart from showing a most fraternal intimacy between the ministry and the industrial leaders, the most significant feature is Mr. Bueck's open admission that he brought about the dismissal of the former minister of commerce, von Berlepsch, because the latter's labor reform policy was disagreeable to the industrialists.

The outcome of the debate on taxation, in spite of the heroic efforts of the socialist members, is that the proletarian class must pay an increased price for bread in order to keep the junker class alive, which has long passed the stage of historical usefulness.

The following item explains why the socialists cannot elect any candidates to the Prussian Landtag: The elections for the Landtag are held under a system of three classes of voters graded according to their yearly taxrate. This is the way this beautiful system works: In 1898 there were 6,447,253 original voters. Of these 3.26 per cent belonged to the first class, 11.51 per cent to the second class and 85.35 per cent to the third class. But the 947,218 voters of the first and second class had twice as many votes as the five and a half millions of the third class. Hanna ought to study this.

The number of socialist voters in Württemberg has increased from 32,269 in 1895 to 58,866 in 1900. Most of the new converts came from the people's party.

The social democrats in Saxony can point to a fair record of success. In 1900 549 of their comrades were holding offices in municipal councils.

The following figures show the number of socialists in parliaments of German states outside of Prussia: Bavaria 11, Saxony 4, Württemberg 5, Baden 7, Hessen 6, Saxe-Weimar 2, Oldenburg, 1, Meiningen 6, Altenburg 5, Coburg-Gotha 9, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt 2, Reuss 4, Lippe-Detmold 3, Bremen 11.

ITALY.

Comrade De Felice has been prosecuted for accusing the former government commissioners in Sicily, Codronchi, of employing the services of the Mafia for the purpose of influencing voters by violence, intimidation and fraud. Although the trial clearly established the fact that by order of the government and its officials the most flagrant violations of laws had taken place, De Felice was found guilty.

Two new universities for the people have been opened; in Milan under the auspices of a labor committee and in Rome through the initiative of college professors.

Comrade Angelo Cabrini, in Milan, was elected with 2,223 votes into the city council. His royalist opponent received 367 votes.

The comrades are keeping the capitalist and bourgeois elements constantly conscious of the fact that the most dangerous elements of society are found in the ranks of the privileged classes. While in Naples the chief of the Camorra, Cassalle, met his moral death in consequence of socialist activity, two policemen were convicted in the same city of maltreating a young man to death. The bourgeois deputy Palizzolo is under strong suspicion of having ordered two assassinations, and an army officer in Verona was convicted of murdering his mistress and cutting her to pieces.

The socialists Nofri, Frisciotti and Pischetto have been sentenced to eleven months and twenty days' imprisonment for publishing documents which the government wanted to keep secret. Happily the last amnesty includes this sentence, and our comrades will be spared the hospitality of the government.

JAPAN.

American capital is beginning to assume the form of trusts and to oppress the Japanese laborers. Wherever you find trusts you find political corruption, but you also find this veritable "balm in Gilead," socialism. The comrades in Japan are having a lively time and promise to have a strong movement within a few years.

Already there is a Japanese Prof. Herron lecturing on socialism under the guise of "new ethics," and a Japanese college professor lecturing on the same subject under the name of "Economic History." A workingmen's paper, "The Labour World," advocates trade unionism and takes part in the world wide "class struggle."

Like some famous monarchs, we socialists can proudly point to the fact that the sun never sets in our realm.

SWITZERLAND.

The following shows that the introduction of the initiative and referendum do not make socialism.

In Zürich there were 2,570 applications for work during one month, of which only 462 could be supplied. In Basel the census showed 1,446 unemployed during the same time, while in Bern 172 unemployed applied for work between December 1 and December 8.

The press is full of announcements reporting the suspension of business, lack of work and discharges of workmen.

RUSSIA.

Socialist agitation is beginning to stir the sleeping Russian giant. Students held tumultuous meetings in Kiew and St. Petersburg. A great number were arrested and transported to the eastern frontier where they will be pressed into the ranks of local regiments. A later report of the capitalist press announces that nine students have been sentenced to be hung.

BELGIUM.

Last month a congress of co-operative societies of producers was held in Brussels for the purpose of strengthening these societies and encouraging the public to take more interest in them. Resolutions favored the establishment of equitable exchanges between societies of producers and consumers.

Comrade Vandervelde has introduced a bill tending to secure admission for women to the practice of law.

AUSTRIA.

The new Austrian Reichsrath will be composed as follows: 145 Germans, Liberals and Radicals, 11 Socialists, 22 Anti-Semites, 32 German Clericals, 84 Czechs, 69 Poles, 43 Slavs and Roumanians, 19 Italians. It will be difficult for the government to form a reliable majority.

DENMARK.

The secret ballot has been adopted for elections to Reichstag. This improvement materially improves the chances of the socialists.

The number of unemployed is steadily increasing, and a great strike is on in the iron industry.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

During the past month three strikes of national importance have come to an end. The Chicago building trades strike, which has been in progress for a year has been compromised. The workers received Saturday half-holiday, the eight-hour day, abolition of piece-work, slight increase of wages, time and a half for overtime, and union men not compelled to work with non-union men, and the latter not to be employed below the union scale. Concessions made by the strikers are: Unions to withdraw from the Building Trades council, sympathy strikes to be abolished, disputes to be settled by arbitration, no limitation to the amount of work to be performed, modification of apprenticeship rules, foremen not to be members of unions, and no objection to be raised to material or machinery used.—The strike and boycott of the New York printers against the Sun was declared off, verbal promises having been given that the union could again organize the plant, but doubts are expressed as to the agreement being carried out. It is claimed by New York newspaper men that J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and other great capitalists stood behind the Sun in the fight and were ready to continue the struggle indefinitely rather than yield to the union.—The contest between the National Foundrymen's Association and the Iron Molders' Union terminated in favor of the men, though they yielded the demand of the bosses for a reduction of 10 cents a day temporarily, the matter of wages to be arbitrated on June 4. The main point in the struggle was the desire of the foundrymen to operate "open shops," and thus the fight of the molders was for the life of their organization. According to the agreement the shops will be union as heretofore, the bosses having pledged themselves to discharge their 325 non-union men inside of 40 days.

About 4,000 silk weavers, mostly women and girls, went on strike at Scranton, Pa., for more wages. They receive from \$2.00 to \$4.00 a week. When a committee waited upon Manager Davis and presented him with an agreement to be signed he flung back the paper and said: "Go curl your hair with it." His brutal remarks generally have served to embitter the girls, and "Mother" Jones, who is on the ground, has also aided wonderfully in having them maintain a stubborn resistance.

Contrary to general expectations the joint meeting of miners and operators at Columbus resulted in no serious disagreement. Both sides had made threats of what would be demanded, but the bluffs were withdrawn and last year's scale and conditions will hold for another year. The operators held up the bogie of West Virginia, and claimed they were unable to compete with the non-union fields of that state, and, therefore, they were unable to grant an increase in the scale. But it was shown that some of the operators who talked loudest were interested in West Virginia mines, and refused to allow them to be organized, and in that manner they hope to keep down the wages of miners in other states. It is also true that J. P. Morgan is heavily interested in mines and railways in the non-union state (he is busily engaged in organizing a \$12,000,000 coal trust in the Fairmont district at present), and it is known that under no circumstances will he treat with the union. Another reason why the miners' officials were slow in making a fight in the bituminous fields is found in the fact that an effort will be made to draw the operators in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania (which means Morgan largely) into a conference called for March 12, for the purpose of renewing the present agreement, which expires on April 1, and securing a few more concessions. It is expected that the hard coal operators will not confer, which would mean that another strike may be precipitated, and that the soft coal miners will be dragged into it. It is no secret that the anthracite barons are accumulating thousands of tons and storing same in the belief that another strike will be ordered, and daily dispatches from Scranton, Hazleton and other points in Pennsylvania make predictions that a contest is looked for.

A new Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Union is reported as having been formed recently to include all branches of glass workers without regard to narrow "autonomy" lines. The new organization declares in its preamble that a class struggle exists between those who produce all the wealth and the capitalists who produce none, and that the latter control the powers of state, legislative bodies, courts, militia, police, etc., which are used against despoiled laborers when they strike for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions; and it is concluded that the laboring class must emancipate itself from the influences of its enemy, the proprietary class, by organizing locally, nationally and internationally for the purpose of battling against capitalism, and "must see that its interests be represented in the shops, in the different branches of the local, state and national administration and governments." A bosses' organ in Pittsburg declares that the new union will not be able to live, but the wish may father the thought.

Following is a handy reference of place and date of some of the more important conventions this year: Sheet metal workers, Colum-

bus, O., April 8; metal polishers, Milwaukee, in April; lace curtain operatives, Philadelphia, May 6; tin plate workers, Cleveland, May 9; railway conductors, St. Paul, May 14; waiters and bartenders, St. Louis, May 14; musicians, Denver, May 14; iron and steel workers, Milwaukee, May 21; lady garment makers, Philadelphia, June 2; steam fitters and helpers, Washington, June 3; tile layers and mosaic workers, Buffalo, June 10; printing pressmen, Washington, June 17; boot and shoe workers, Detroit, June 17; copper and plate printers, Chicago, June 19; flint glass workers, Atlantic City, July 8; longshoremen, Toledo, July 8; stove mounters, Hamilton, Ont., July 10; retail clerks, Buffalo, July 11; theatrical employes, Toledo, July 15; weavers, Belleville, N. J., July 20; chain makers, Pittsburg, Aug. 5; printers, Birmingham, Ala., Aug. 12; plumbers, Buffalo, Aug. 19; paper makers, Holyoke, Mass., Sept. 7; brewers, Philadelphia, Sept. 8; stationary firemen, Toledo, Sept. 19; cigarmakers, Baltimore, Sept. 7; railway trainmen, Kansas City, Sept. 10; spinners, Boston, Oct. 1; coal hoisting engineers, Springfield, Ill., Oct. 8; railway telegraphers, San Francisco, Oct. 14; electrical workers, St. Louis, Oct. 21; painters, Detroit, Dec. 2.

Chicago wing of the Social Democratic party held a convention in the foregoing city latter part of January and adopted a resolution in favor of inviting all factions of the Socialist movement in a convention to be held in Indianapolis in September. The lateness of the date, being but two months before election, is causing considerable discussion.—The Springfield wing of the party issued charters to about 30 new locals in the past six weeks.—Job Harriman and Rev. Chas. Vall are stumping the Eastern States in the interest of the party and meeting with good success. Prof. Herron, who has had magnificent Sunday afternoon meetings in Chicago ever since election, is to go to New York in the spring.—The Social Democrat is the name of a new paper at Ardmore, I. T.; the Kay County (Okla.) Populist has flopped and changed its name to the Oklahoma Socialist, and Chicago Polish Socialists have started a paper called the Worker.—Joseph O'Brien was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment for delivering a Socialist speech on the public streets in San Jose, Cal.—Exchanges in all parts of the country announce that recent trust movements have stimulated widespread Socialist discussion.

The trust movement in the last month has been bewildering to the average onlooker. Every report of combinations perfected or being arranged is coupled with the names of Morgan and Rockefeller. The news of the absorption of the Southern Pacific, the Mexican International, the Mexico & Arizona, the Sonora railway, the Chicago & Eastern Illinois, the Erie & Wyoming, the Baltimore & Lehigh, the

Delaware Valley & Kingston and several other small roads by the interests which the foregoing gentlemen represent is accompanied by the information that they will soon control the Pullman Palace Car Co., and will also conduct the express business of the country as soon as contracts with present companies mature, and that economies are being introduced that will gradually displace 50,000 employes in the offices and on the railways. But if the foregoing is startling news, the reports of the organization of a trust of trusts, capitalized at more than a billion dollars, is simply astounding. Negotiations have been about completed for a combination of the Carnegie Steel Co., the Federal Steel Co., the American Steel & Wire Co., the National Tube Co., the American Bridge Co., the American Car & Foundry Co., the National Steel Co., the Republic Iron & Steel Co., the American Tin Plate Co., the American Sheet Steel Co., the American Steel Hoop Co., the Pressed Steel Car Co.—a total of twelve trusts—and possibly one or two more companies will be taken in before long. This huge octopus is also absorbing coal and coke lands of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, quoted as being worth nearly \$50,000,000, as well as iron mines in Minnesota and Michigan, and at least a hundred vessels on the lakes and many ships on the ocean. Thus owning and controlling every activity from raw material to finished products competition is completely destroyed, and the wild talk of a few reactionary organs that certain capitalists are about to establish competing plants is simply so much rot. Carnegie was in reality driven into a corner because Morgan and Rockefeller were in a position to shut off his ore and coal supply and transportation facilities. Thus, the skeptics who sneered at Socialism only a few months ago, and who declared with great positiveness that "it was a dream," are beginning to hedge, and probably inside of a few years more the old fogies will be ready to admit that socialism is here, and all that is required is that the people appreciate that fact, for a New York paper declares that Rockefeller made the boast that in five years he will control all the industries of the United States. Then what?

Twenty electric lighting and power companies in New Jersey towns combined with \$20,000,000.—Fourteen furniture plants in Grand Rapids and Chicago are being organized into a \$25,000,000 trust.—A shingle trust is announced to ensure "stability of prices."—Negotiations are on foot to trustify the Armour, Swift, Morris and other packing houses of Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other cities.—Horseshoe manufacturers combined.

Machinists are preparing to enforce the nine-hour day in May, and, as the employers are said to be hostile to the movement, general strikes may be expected in many cities.—Organized employes on and along the

lakes are not yet certain whether they will be compelled to strike this spring or not. Employers do not appear satisfied to grant the demands of the men in every branch.

The cigar trust (which is really a branch of the tobacco trust) has already absorbed 28 factories, and is building a plant at Binghamton, N. Y., which will be operated by 5,000 workers. It is claimed the trust will "break in" 20,000 boys, women and girls as cigarmakers by July 1. This combine controls much of the raw material, machinery and the jobbing trade.

Prof. Pupin, of Columbia University, has invented a telephone through which speech can be transmitted 3,000 miles. Bell monopoly gobbled the patent for \$500,000.—Edison is reported as having perfected a plan to secure electric power without dynamos, and that as a result many laborers will be displaced.—Chicago man has invented a new ditch-digging machine that will do the work of 150 men.—An electrical machine has been perfected that will tear up the rails from a track and break them into any length desired.—New machine to rule 10,000 to 20,000 sheets of paper in two colors has been invented; a new folding machine enables two men to do as much work as 24 is announced, as is also a new rotary press operated by three men that does as much work as 38 with ordinary presses.—Mining machinery is now a great issue. At least 23 per cent. of soft coal mined is now turned out by machinery. President Mitchell says in 1899 no less than 44,000,000 tons of coal were turned out by machines, or 12,000,000 tons in excess of 1898. He concludes that if this increase continues skilled miners will become mere coal shovelers in a few years.



SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

So far as it is a consciously chosen stage of historic development, socialism is the common life's confession of faith in the goodness and justice of social evolution. It is the class-conscious attempt of labor to answer for itself the question which political economy has never honestly faced, and yet to answer which is its only excuse for trying to be; and that question is, by what right or by what alchemy do a few appropriate to themselves the labor-product of the world, while the actual producers are deprived of all that makes life worth living? Economic science has led us deep into many complexities of contrary and subsidized definitions; but it dare not plainly say, what it well enough knows, that there is no righteous basis for the industrial system which employs it. The instinct of labor is leading it to the discovery that this capitalistic system is a mere survival of brute force; that it rests not upon right, but upon sheer economic might.

No one can give a definition of socialism that will be conclusive. The socialistic idea comprehends more than any definition of it; more than any man's social philosophy or economic theory; more than is represented by any creed or sect; more than is intended by any party or propaganda. There are many different forethoughts, and there will be many different afterthoughts, about the issues to take root in the socialistic soil, and about the kinds of seed to be planted therein. Among equally thoughtful and faithful socialists, there are divers and widely apart opinions as to the best methods of reaching essentially the same end. Still, from whatever quarter the socialist idea comes, it always looks for the co-operative commonwealth and the free individual.

As comprehensively as we can define it, socialism first means the co-operation of the whole of society in the production of the economic goods upon which each member of society depends. It next means that men shall freely and equally receive of these goods, according to the ability of each to use them in bringing forth into realization his inmost and uttermost possibilities of strength and spiritual beauty. It also means a collectivism that shall be through and through democratic; a co-operation that shall come from beneath the human fact and not from above it; an administration of society that shall hear and heed each man's free and authoritative voice. It furthermore means what the Sermon on the Mount means; that society cannot be

content with less than the full blossoming of each individual life, and that in perfect liberty; and then that each individual can be content with giving to society no less than the fullest and richest output of his life, and that as his glad and reasonable service.

Turning now to the more specifically spiritual sources disclosed by socialism, we are first impressed with the immense spiritual service rendered by the very materialism of its economic philosophy. It is by this philosophy that the human soil is for the first time cleared of imposed and coercive faiths, of superstitions and the tyrannies built upon them, so that an inherent and courageous faith may spring up and bear the fruit of free and noble action. Having given no hostages to either past or future, being free from obligation to any creed, socialism may survey all the facts of life without let or menace, and appropriate whatever is good or true in every faith. It may relate these facts and faiths in a human synthesis that shall for the first time make truth the sole religious authority. Without knowing it, the socialist idea grounds itself on a profoundly religious basis by affirming its faith in the good of fundamental being, and in our power to co-operate with it; it makes no difference, to start with, whether we call that being spirit or matter. And socialism takes up into itself the prophetic and apocalyptic elements of the Hebrew scriptures, when it looks and works for the happy outcome of human experience and evolution. It need not depart from the strict facts of life, but only be sure that it takes in all the facts, to find in its own class-struggle a new form of the idealism of Jesus, so long and faithfully rejected by the church which bears his name. By being but a little more scientific than the sciences, socialistic science may see that the love-principle is the most elemental and persistent fact of life; and it may further see that the co-operative society is the realization of this principle.

In standing for such a society, socialism is in the wisest and deepest sense a religion, no matter what it may call itself. The socialist commonwealth is a spiritual organization of life in place of the present wholly materialistic order. A spiritual democracy that shall associate all with dominion over none, a common good that shall exhaust the joyous and self-directed serving capacity of each life,—that is what socialism comes to, if it is true to its genesis. Only such a society can make possible the realization of full and free individuality; only such a society can summon to the service and glory of the whole each man's utmost spiritual output; for individuality cannot be fully and freely realized except on the scale of universality. A man does not become truly himself until he takes into his life the whole immediate and historic life of the world, and consciously co-operates with it, in order that he may give his life back to the world as its own perfect blossom.

The socialistic movement can by no means fulfill its religious

mission in merely disclosing the hid spiritual sources of life; there is urgent and immediate need that it receive these sources as its own dynamic, if socialism is not long delayed or terribly disfigured. The economic crisis would certainly culminate in a clearly defined issue between capitalistic despotism and democratic collectivism, were it not that the capitalistic system cannot go on by any power which it possesses within itself. Even if it could continue for a long time yet, capitalism would finally suck dry the body of humanity, and perish in the catastrophe of the world which it had ruined. But capitalism knows better than to try to go on of itself. It will seek to perpetuate itself by fastening itself upon the new social idea. In order to save itself, capitalism will go into partnership with socialism, with socialism as its political pack horse. Already, is capitalism prepared with programs of benevolent designs for its own firmer establishment:—city water works, municipal milk wagons, boards of arbitration, art museums and good government clubs. Carefully written out and docketed, ready at hand for each emergency, are the treaties of peace by which capitalism will undertake to destroy socialism by befriending it. By the wit of its highly hired retainers, in legislative halls and churchly councils and academic chairs, and by the lack of wit and spiritual nerve in the socialist movement, a shorn and blinded socialism may be bridled and saddled by capitalism, and made to carry it to another age-long goal. The owning class may thus wither by crafty favors the movement which it cannot withstand by its mightiest weapons of defense.

In all of this, the capitalistic instinct will be the identical instinct of the ruling class in all crises. When the early Christian movement was well on its way to undermining the empire with Jesus' idea of life and property, the Roman robber class engrafted itself upon that movement so securely that Rome rules the world to this day, through the laws and class-consciousness of those robbers, whose chieftain the Caesar always was. So completely did the Roman upper class blind and ride the essentially proletarian and class-conscious party of Jesus, that official Christianity has performed capitalistic police service ever since, from the day the monstrous criminal Constantine decreed the orthodoxy of the church, down to this Sunday morning's sermons from Chicago pulpits. In like manner, when the beautiful Franciscan movement menaced the world with a renaissance of apostolic ideals of the Christ-life and of property, the church destroyed the soul and meaning of the movement by adopting it, and thereby breaking the heart of Saint Francis unto death. By such methods did the matchlessly cruel bandit lords of England, under the lead of Henry the Eighth as their supremely fit chieftain, ride the Lollard movement to the greatest capitalistic depredations of history. In the name of the movement which Wyckliff and John Ball thought to lead towards communistic democracy, practically the whole of England was stolen from its yeoman owners, or from the communistic monks, who were also robbed of the fruits of centuries of free and co-operative labor. In this way, have the great democratic movements of the last two

centuries been made to prove so disappointing. Upon every high tide of democracy the institutions of capitalistic despotism came into renewed power, floating catch-words of the self-governing idea on their ensigns. The American Constitution, the mangled and snob-led thing which England calls democracy, the grotesque French Republic, the stripped and manacled unity of Italy, the Prussianized German Empire, are alike conscious and deliberate property-class devices for preventing the common life from coming to a consciousness of the self-governing idea.

What is to save socialism from a like capitalized fate? Nothing less than the profound spiritualization of its whole attitude toward life—a spiritualization in perfect consonance with its pre-Marxian sources. A mere economic propaganda will never carry the socialist forces to the co-operative commonwealth. Socialism must become a religion, a spiritual as well as an economic ideal, a great and unifying faith, a true and omnipotent revival of the human soul. Not a letter of the economic philosophy or historic interpretation need be sacrificed, in order for socialism to avow itself as the historic approach to an ideal reaching away beyond itself. Nothing but a faith that will awake the idealistic instinct in the average man, and attach to itself the glad and immense response of his whole being, will safe-guard the movement for economic freedom from passing under some new yoke fashioned for it by the alert capitalistic spirit. If socialism would break forever the spirit that binds and uses labor for capitalistic gain, and feed the human spirit that has starved until the capacity for spiritual desire is almost starved out of it, it must first give back to the heart of the universe the answer of yea to the question which our divinest brother went to the cross to ask—the question of whether human life is able to accept the leadership of the will to love, which alone maketh free. And now is the psychological moment to speak this yea, and speak it as a word of world-making faith.

Already have socialists wrought better than they knew; they have uncovered spiritual resources long hid by the church; they have made possible a working economic of the kind of life which Jesus defined as the kingdom of heaven; they have laid foundations for that quality of public order which the apostle called the holy city, coming down out of heaven from God. Let them not say what may not be built upon the foundations which they have laid; let them not bind the faiths or prayers which may rise from the soil which they have cleared; let them not stand guard against the winged ideals that may light upon the highway which they have prepared.

And then, the socialist movement may so grow in the wisdom of the will to love, in the beauty of freedom and the grace of truth, that it shall speak the word that is to begin a new world, just as Jesus spoke the word that began the world now ending. It may so grow in faith in the divinity of life, and in the knowledge of how to make that faith its working power, that it shall at last speak a greater word than Jesus spoke—the word that shall set the world to building out of human facts the kingdom of heaven which Jesus planned. It may rescue the blotched and church-rent pattern of that kingdom from its official keepers, and spread it before the world as the daily vision of who and what man is, so that he shall grow until the winds and the waves and the stars shall obey his mighty will to love. And without a world-making word of faith, calling men to a social glory far beyond itself, socialism will never be able to inherit its own immediate promises. For the walls of the co-operative commonwealth will not be built until the sacred altar fire of the ideal is first kindled in the soul of labor.

(Taken from a lecture delivered in Central Music Hall, Chicago.)



BOOK REVIEWS



Two Men and Some Women. Walter Marion Raymond. The Abbey Press. Cloth, 160 pp., rough edges.

The author spent some time at different social settlements in Chicago and the work is rather a series of flash-light pictures of the rottenness of bourgeois society in that city than a conventional romance. Many sketches possess much power and considered as a series of character delineations the book is exceptionally strong. As a social study there is little that is new or valuable. The author refers to socialism only enough to prove his utter ignorance of its philosophy.

The Clarion Club and Why We Should Study Socialism. Robert Swift. Published by the Clarion Club, Oddfellow's Temple, Cincinnati, O. Art Edition, 244 pp. Uncut, with artistic cover, ten cents.

Here is something that delights both the eye and the reason. The argument for a study of socialism is one of the most valuable little tracts for propaganda work of which we know. The conclusion is so good that we cannot resist the temptation to quote it. "Socialism is not a fad; socialists are not faddists, pursuing an idle study or fancy. They are men and women as good and as bad as you or I. But they are perceiving the truth, and are looking at it; they are facing it squarely and are proposing to follow it the best they can. And that way lies freedom, progress and true life. Socialists have nothing to conceal, nothing to fear, nothing to be ashamed of. They could have no better wish than that you understand socialism." The pamphlet also contains a form of organization for "Clarion Clubs" and we only hope that if the founders insist on multiplying organizations in the socialist field they will see to it that its members are kept in sufficiently close touch to the actual political movement to prevent them becoming the useless dilettantes that so often cling to socialist organizations of this kind.

The Awakening of the East. Pierre Leroy Beaulieu. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, 290 pp., \$1.50.

This work by the noted French capitalist political economist has, since its publication, constituted the standard authority of the European bourgeois on the problem of the far East. Hence its translation is welcomed, not alone for the information it contains, but also as giving the point of view of the bourgeois portion of western Europe on these subjects. The work is divided into three nearly equal parts, treating of Siberia, Japan and China respectively. In each of these countries he traces the process of "awakening" that has gone on in

the last few years. His treatment of Japan is far more satisfactory than of either of the other countries. One is constantly struck with the remarkable parallel between the history of Japan and that of many western nations. There is the same feudal system and landed nobility in existence up until 1868 that prevailed in most European nations until the close of the eighteenth century, and this nobility, or Shogunate, was overthrown by a bourgeois ruling class in the same way to be in turn followed by a similar industrial revolution, the only great difference being one of the length of time in which these movements took place. There is the same inhuman child labor in the Japanese factories that was to be found in the English cotton mills in the first half of the last century and this author attempts to justify it by the same contemptible arguments as were used by the English capitalists of that time. The portion dealing with China is the least satisfactory of the entire work, being very superficial and largely made up of missionary and trade gossip, much of which has already been shown to be false. Yet on the whole it is doubtful if there is any one book containing as much information in the same space concerning these very interesting subjects.

Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism. Gabriel Deville. Translated by Robert Rives LaMonte. International Library Publishing Company. Paper 64 pp. 10 cents.

This is perhaps the best short summary of the principles of socialism that has ever appeared in the English language. It covers a wide extent of territory yet is not so condensed as to be difficult of comprehension. It must prove of the greatest value in both educational and propaganda work.

Science and the Workingmen. Ferdinand Lasalle. Translated by Professor Thorstein Veblen of the University of Chicago. International Library Publishing Co., 84 pp. 25 cents.

This is a translation of Lasalle's speech to the court before which he was arraigned on the charge of "inciting the destitute classes to hatred and distrust of the well-to-do." It is an eloquent defense, a scholarly presentation of the case for freedom of research and investigation and a summary of many of the points of socialism.

The State and Socialism. Gabriel Deville. Translated by Robert Rives LaMonte. Paper, 45 pp. 10 cents.

The thesis of this pamphlet is summed up in its last paragraph as follows: "Therefore, we must work without ceasing to elect more and more socialists to office, to permeate and saturate the state more and more with socialist ideas, until, in the hands of the socialist party or the class-conscious, organized proletariat, the state with all its powers, and especially that of law making, becomes the instrument, which it is destined to be, of the economic transformation to be accomplished. When that transformation is completely accomplished, there will then be, instead of persons to be constrained, only things to be administered, and on that glorious day there will still be a social organization, but it will no longer be a state." The pamphlet covers a ground on which there has been much need of information in the English language and will fill a gap in our socialist literature.

The Philippines: The War and the People. Albert G. Robinson. McClure, Phillips & Co. Embossed cloth, 407 pp., \$2.

This book is largely made up of articles sent to the New York Evening Post when the author was staff correspondent for that paper. This leads to some repetitions, but these are not of a nature to injure the work. The opening chapters fills a "long felt want" in the way of a concise history of the Philippine islands and their people prior to American contact. It is shown very clearly that the present outbreak is the legitimate descendant and last stages of a generation long struggle for liberty in which the United States has taken up the part of tyrant and oppressor, formerly played by Spain. There is a wealth of information on all phases of the Filipino question and, taken all in all, it is probably the best general summary and work of reference yet issued on these subjects.

The Image Breakers. Gertrude Dix. Frederick A. Stokes Co. Cloth, 392 pp.

This book is described as a "novel of modern socialism," and as a preparation for writing it the writer is said to have lived for several years in "socialistic colonies." Whether the author or publisher is to blame for this ridiculous bull we cannot say, but one thing is sure, and that is that living in so-called socialistic colonies is pretty good proof of not being familiar with "modern socialism," and there is nothing in the book to indicate that the author was not profoundly ignorant of the philosophy of socialism. The scene is laid in England and the opening chapters give a most excellent (and also most laughable, although it is hard to say if the author intended it to be humorous) view of the mass of freaks of all shapes and descriptions who have attached themselves to the English socialist movement. On the sociological side the story is a psychological study in sex relationships, and as such is extremely well done. Two of the characters are of that morbid, unnatural type that infest the socialist movement and fill one alternately with pity, anger and disgust. They indulge in countless heroics which are sometimes painted so real that we wonder if the writer has not allowed her own creations to deceive their creator as they have themselves. Over against these is placed a strong, healthy, almost sensual man, and between these two forces the heroine, a young artist, alternates. Needless to say that in the end nature (somewhat idealized to be sure) is successful. Aside from its social aspect the literary value of the story is such as to entitle it to a prominent place among the books of the year.

The Ethics of Evolution. James T. Bixby. Small, Maynard & Co. Cloth, 35 pp., \$1.25.

If compelled to find a label for the position taken in this book it would probably be best expressed by the somewhat contradictory phrase of "evolutionary intuitionism." The opening chapters is a decidedly hostile criticism of Spencer's Data of Ethics and he seems to be seeking to accomplish the impossible task of applying the phraseology of Darwinism and evolution to metaphysical psychology and intuitionist ethics. He does not seem to comprehend the determining influence of the economic factor in fixing standards of right and wrong or to have in any essential way grasped the basic ideas of evolution. Nevertheless he has collected many facts and observations

of value and the work as a whole is well worth the attention of any student of ethics.

Our Nation's Need, by J. A. Conwell. J. S. Ogilvie. Cloth, 251 pp.

Here at last it would seem is the extreme limit in ridiculousness in works on social topics. The author gravely proposes that bug-a-boo of the anti-socialist writers "divide up and start even." There is no doubt but what he has done a valuable service to capitalism in so doing, as they will now have for the first time an actual instead of a straw man to demolish on this point. Probably for years to come this book will be cited by anti-socialists as a proof that all socialists advocate such silly tactics.

From Slavery to Freedom. Charles H. Davies. Published by the author at Aurora, Ill. Cloth, 464 pp. and Appendix, \$2.00.

The author of this has evidently done a large amount of illy systematized reading, and has arrived at a sort of utopian socialism by a very round-about method. He begins by falling into the error that Darwinism is somehow at variance with co-operation, and confuses commercial competition with the struggle for survival, and hence considers it his duty to deny the existence of the latter in the animal and plant world. It seems a pity that such a mass of labor should have been wasted upon propositions which a little more familiarity with the socialist position would have made clear.

Restricted Industry; Its Effect, Cause and Remedy. A discussion of the relation between the Currency Volume and Industry. William H. Barry. Schulte Publishing Co. Paper, 136 pp., 25 cents.

The Solution of the Social Problem. C. E. Dietrich. Schulte Publishing Co. Paper, 90 pp., 25 cents.

Both of these pamphlets belong to a stage of society through which America passed about ten years ago when the middle class of exploiters was still trying to keep on the backs of the laborers by expanding the volume of currency and other similar social tinkering.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

Perhaps the most remarkable article of the month is Mark Twain's "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," which appears in the February number of the North American Review. Written in the best style of the great humorist philosopher it is one of the most scathing and sarcastic reviews of capitalism that has appeared in many a day. After describing the work of the Chinese missionaries in extorting tribute from the Chinese he says:

"What we want of our missionaries out there is not that they shall merely represent in their acts and persons the grace and gentleness and charity and loving-kindness of our religion; but that they shall also represent the American spirit. The oldest Americans are the Pawnees. . . . The blessings of Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory,

more sovereignty and other kinds of emolument, than there is in any other game that is played."

Mark complains, however, that the powers have not been playing the game well but have left the covering of Christian virtues off the "civilization" and the result has been that the "persons that sit in Darkness" have been catching sight of "The Real Thing," which is very damaging to their trust and confidence. It is worthy of note that the appearance of this article with some others that have shown a tendency to denounce capitalism is bringing many of his old admirers to believe that Mark Twain is "getting into his dotage." It will be remembered that his brother was the Social Democratic candidate for governor of Kansas last fall.

The only article worthy of note in the Quarterly Journal of Economics is Prof. Charles J. Bullock's "Trust Literature: A Survey and Criticism." This is by far the most exhaustive and best arranged bibliography on this subject ever compiled. So far as the reasoning and conclusions of the article are concerned they have that labored scholasticism, elaborate following of forms and careful artificial classification that so generally passes for an impartial scientific attitude in modern academic work.

A good illustration of the style to which reference is made above is to be found in the January number of the American Journal of Sociology. Prof. Henderson and Prof. Small have a couple of theoretical articles that remind one of the elaborate and meaningless combinations that children make of pebbles on the sea-shore. An example of what happens when some one tries to apply these ideas is given in the same periodical in an article by Royal L. Melendy, on "The Saloon in Chicago," which repeats with tiresome verbosity the simplest and commonest facts concerning the saloon and comes to a set of conclusions that everyone save fanatics and sociologists always knew. He, too, seems to think that if only forms of classification are used and statistics introduced judiciously it is all that is necessary to contribute to human knowledge and to assist in the solution of social problems.

It is a pleasure to turn from these to something that, while it agrees even less with socialism, has at least the merit of reality. The February number of "The World's Work" has more sociology and classified sociological information than all the technical sociological journals published in all the colleges of America. Its clear cut capitalism and deification of success is refreshing even if only by antagonism. It opens with a shout of satisfaction over the fact that the "banks and trust companies in New York alone paid out on January 2nd the enormous sum of \$140,000,000" in dividends alone, and gives as "a striking measure of the rate of enrichment" in America that by a "conservative estimate there are more than 4,000 millionaires among us." The most notable article is Frederic C. Howe's "The Great Empire by the Lakes," which is one of the most wonderful descriptions of the economies of modern industry ever penned. Speaking of the iron and steel trade, he says: "All the essentials of production, including the mines, steamships, railroads, docks and furnaces have been combined under one head. . . . These companies also own their own mines. Coincident with this consolidation there has occurred a revolution in industrial methods before which earlier achievements sink into insignificance. . . . From the moment the steam scoop, handling tons of native ore, touches the soil in Minnesota or Michigan until the raw material issues as a hundred-pound steel rail

on the banks of the Monongahela River the element of human labor is scarce appreciable. . . . A half dozen men will mine five thousand tons of ore in a few hours. . . . The vessels are unloaded by hoisting devices which will do the work of sixty men. . . . Steel cars with a capacity of sixty tons are unloaded at the furnaces by immense cranes which pick the cars clear from the tracks, transport them to an ore pile, and dump them as easily and simply as if they were but buckets of sand." Speaking of the Calumet and Heckla mines he says: "The stock, of the par value of \$25 per share, is now quoted at \$760 per share. Upon this stock but \$12.50 has ever been paid in. . . . The dividends of one copper mine, whose capital stock is but \$2,500,000, amounted in the year 1899 to \$10,000,000." From the department "Among the World's Workers" we notice especially a very valuable history of the rise of the pressed steel car of which there was not a single one in 1897, but of which "twelve million dollars' worth will be built during the present year."



EDITORIAL



FINANCIAL NOTES

"The distinguishing characteristic of American business affairs in the first year of the twentieth century is a magnitude of financial operations of which the world offers no parallel. The dreamers of a decade, or even of ten decades ago, were wild enough in some of their fancies as to the events that would occur in the new part of the world, but wild as they were in some respects, they did not begin to imagine the immensity of such financial transactions as are now of frequent occurrence. . . . A small clique of men are now dealing, under one central plan of operations, with an aggregate of railroad properties capitalized at 12,000 million of dollars. On one day a system of roads representing \$200,000,000 is set over in its place to perform the functions outlined for it. On another day a railroad in an entirely different part of the country having a bagatelle capitalization of \$32,000,000 is conveyed to another branch of the enterprise, and on every day the plans go forward quietly in pursuance of the general purpose. . . . In view of the numerous operations of this sort that are now in progress, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that these men are recasting the entire railroad system of the United States with its nearly 200,000 miles of main track."

The above quotation is not taken from any sensational newspaper or socialist publication but from the columns of the Chicago "Economist," a conservative financial journal devoted to the interests of the great capitalists and investors. As was to be expected, the "desperate struggle" that was scheduled to take place between Rockefeller and Carnegie in the steel trade was but the preliminary bluffing preparatory to a consolidation of the interests involved. With the resulting steel trust has also been combined the coal trust giving a combination with a total capitalization of nearly a billion and a half of dollars. As these same interests also control the gigantic railroad combination described above it will be seen that the total capital now controlled by this stupendous organization is about \$13,500,000,000, a sum, by the way, almost identical in amount with the total valuation of all the farms and agricultural implements registered by the United States census of 1890.

A little over one year ago the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York attracted world-wide attention by the presentation of statistics showing that during the year 1898 trusts had been formed with a total capitalization of \$6,000,000,000. This figure was quoted far and wide as indicating the unheard-of lengths attained by capi-

talist concentration in this country. Everyone recalls the far-reaching consternation it created in the ranks of the class of small exploiters and how they held "Anti-trust conferences" and covered the statute books with laws forbidding such combinations. Today a single month sees almost three times as much capital pass into a single organization without scarcely causing a protest. Even William Jennings Bryan has not essayed to offer a "remedy" or suggest a new method of "trust smashing" however hardup he may have been for "copy" to fill the columns of his newly established weekly.

An interesting phase of the railroad consolidation is seen in the statement that the services of 50,000 men will be dispensed with as a result of the economies of unified operation. These will come largely from the ranks of the managing force and it is likely that a great many highly salaried presidents and superintendents will be made to realize the fact that they are only wage slaves after all, even if they have been a little better fed and clothed in the past than the men who twisted brakes and shoveled sand. It is also rumored that the contracts between the express companies and the railroads all expire within the next few years and that at their expiration the trust will not renew them but will proceed to "expropriate" the present owners.

Another instance of an international trust was furnished by the report of the directors of the Diamond Match Company. According to their recent statement to the stockholders that company is now operating factories in England, South Africa, Peru and Germany as well as in all the principal centers of the timber supply suitable for matches in the United States.

Meanwhile the record of failures for the three weeks ending February 14, according to Bradstreets is about ten per cent more than for the same three weeks of last year. An examination of the figures in detail, however, shows that it is only the same old story of the wiping out of the little exploiters. Out of the 709 failures that took place during this time 639 were for \$5,000 or less and only five were for more than \$50,000.

The "surplus labor" extorted from American laborers by their capitalist masters still continues to spread consternation in other countries. From every quarter come complaints of the ruination of foreign industries by "American pauper labor." The Chicago Tribune calls attention to the fact that the Deering and McCormick Harvester companies are clogging the shipping facilities to Russia with their machines, which have displaced those of all other countries. The reason for this is that "While he is paid from 40 to 100 per cent more wages than the mechanic in European factories the American workman is enabling his employer to compete against all comers. He is doing more and better work." In England the London Times states that over one-half the Welsh tin plate mills have been forced to close down because of American competition, and there is much talk of a protective tariff. But it is not alone in the form of manufactured products that

this "surplus labor" goes abroad. The London Economist estimates that since 1896 about \$100,000,000 of American capital has been invested in Canada. British tram lines are not only made in American workshops but they are owned by American capitalists. It is stated that a large portion of the proposed new British war loan will be taken by American banks and the laborers of this country may have the consolation of knowing that not only do they produce the meat with which to feed the British soldiers in South Africa but that they also furnish the money to the British government with which to buy the aforesaid product. What the American laborer himself gets out of this transaction is less clear.

COLLEGE CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS

One of the most encouraging things to the socialist that has happened in many years recently took place at Leland Stanford University. We refer to the expression of "class consciousness" among the professors and students on the occasion of the discharge of Prof. Ross. Professors have frequently been fired before because they dared to express opinions hostile to the present ruling class, but hitherto their fellow professors have shown themselves most complacent and servile lickspittles. If one of a gang of dogs is kicked, the remainder will come to his defense; if a crowd of pickpockets see one of their number arrested, the others rush to assist him. The higher up the scale the greater the solidarity. This is the principle that underlies the trade-union, and every one knows how the very first expression of any social consciousness among laborers is their tendency to come to the assistance of a discharged comrade. But whenever a college professor has been discharged or attacked in the past for daring to do his duty and teach the truth, his fellow-workers have been the first to snarl at his heels in response to the commands of their masters. But in this instance both students and professors have shown some signs of possessing the characteristics that distinguish men from beasts. Prof. Howard openly championed the cause of Prof. Ross, and has been promptly "victimized" and discharged, like any laborer who makes his consciousness of brotherhood too prominent to suit his boss. A large body of students have also had the manhood to stand up for their right to think, and at once the class line appeared, and some of the toadies of wealth promptly proceeded to haze the daring spirits who had shown a little individuality. This is the position up to the present writing. Meanwhile the university has had no difficulty in securing scabs to take the place of the discharged professors. If now those students who have shown themselves to be possessed with the spirit of manhood have as much courage as the

average gang of shovelers on the street, they will find a way of notifying these scab professors what they think of their contemptible treachery to truth and to their fellow-workers. If they do this, they will have accomplished more to secure freedom of speech and thought in American institutions than can be accomplished by volumes of articles in protest and scores of resolutions of indignation.

We feel that we are entitled to congratulate ourselves upon this number of the Review. We wish at the same time to express our thanks to the many friends whose work has made this success possible. We only ask that each number be compared with any succeeding number in order to show the obvious improvement that has taken place since the beginning. But we are now able to state that the best is but a beginning to what is yet in sight for the future. To give our readers a glimpse of the feast that remains for coming numbers, we would say that we already have in manuscript, or promised for very early numbers, articles from Karl Kautsky on "Socialism and Trades Unions," Keir Hardy on "The English Labor Movement." H. Lagardelle of "La Mouvement Socialiste," on "Socialist Municipal Activity in France," May Wood Simons on "Socialism and Education," Miss Ellen Starr on some subject relating to the Artisan and Socialism, H. L. Slobodin, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and C. R. Ashbee of England on subjects which these authors are particularly capable of treating. In addition to these, the letters of Mother Jones will continue monthly.

We are arranging for a first of May number to excel anything ever attempted in this line. We hope to make it the most complete summary of the world-wide Socialist movement ever brought together in one publication. It only remains for our readers and friends to do their very best to see that this material reaches those to whom it would do most good in the cause of Socialism. We ask that each reader will endeavor to do his part in this regard.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

VANDERVELDE'S COLLECTIVISM

It is with great pleasure that we announce for early publication a socialist work which is probably the greatest contribution to the literature of the movement that has been produced since the death of Karl Marx. Professor Emile Vandervelde is known the world over as one of the leading spirits among the Socialists of Belgium, and as one of the most scholarly and brilliant writers on economic subjects. He has lately put out through a Paris publishing house a book entitled "Le Collectivisme et L'Evolution Industrielle." The following table of contents will give a better idea of his work than pages of description:

FIRST PART.

Capitalist Concentration.

Chapter I.—The decadence of personal property.

1. Peasant proprietors.
2. Artisans.
3. Small retailers.
4. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter II.—The progress of capitalist property.

1. Corporations.
2. Capitalist monopolies (agreements and trusts.)

Chapter III.—Objections.

1. Workingmen's savings.
2. The democratization of capital.
3. The numerical increase of small enterprises:

- I. Commercial.
- II. Agricultural.
- III. Industrial.

4. Summary and conclusions.

SECOND PART.

The Socialization of the Means of Production and Exchange.

Chapter I.—The three elements of profit.

1. Wages of insurance.
2. Wages of abstinence.
3. Wages of superintendence.
4. Surplus value and profit.

Chapter II.—The advantages of social property.

1. The profits of public enterprises.
2. The condition of the workers.
3. The purchase of raw materials.
4. The cost of product and of services.
5. The quality of the product.
6. The interest of generations to come.
7. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter III.—The administration of things.

1. The proletarian conquest of the public powers.
2. The governmental state and the industrial state.
3. The decentralization of social enterprises.
4. The state of the future.

Chapter IV.—Formulas of distribution.

1. The right to the entire product of labor.
2. The right to existence.
3. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter V.—The means of realization.

1. Expropriation without indemnity.
2. Expropriation with indemnity.
3. Expropriation with moderate limited indemnity.
4. Summary and conclusions.

Chapter VI.—Objections.

1. Socialism and individual initiation.
2. Socialism and liberty.
3. Socialism and art.

Appendix—Outline of supplementary readings

This remarkable book of Vanderfelde's will be issued in a neat volume of about 250 pages of a size uniform with the Pocket Library of Socialism, and in strong cloth binding, at the price of 50 cents, postage included. There will also be an edition in paper binding for propaganda use at the price of 25 cents for a single copy, or \$1.00 for five copies, postpaid. Stockholders in our co-operative company will have the privilege of purchasing paper copies at 12½ cents postpaid, and cloth copies at 30 cents by mail, or 25 cents by express.

The exact date of publication cannot yet be stated, but it will not be far from the first day of May. All orders received with the cash before that time will be filled promptly upon publication.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO

This book, written in the fourth century B. C., is the first of the great Utopias of the world's literature and it contains the germs of most of the Utopian theories that have been published since; indeed it is safe to say that most of them are only an echo of the ideas powerfully set forth in the Republic. This work has up to the present time been the exclusive property of the leisure class, having been printed only in the original Greek or in English editions that were too expensive for workingmen to buy. We are therefore glad to announce that about March 15 we shall issue Book I. of the Republic of Plato in an entirely new English version by Alexander Kerr, professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin. The first book does not develop Plato's thought of an ideal commonwealth, but clears the ground by a discussion of ethics, and it is interesting to note that one of the characters in this dialogue nearly

2,300 years old suggests the Socialist theory that "good" conduct is conduct that harmonizes with the interests of the ruling class. The book will contain about sixty-four pages, printed on extra book paper, and the price will be 15 cents postpaid.

LIEBKNECHT'S LIFE OF MARX

When the history of the Socialist movement is written, one of its most interesting chapters will be the period when Marx, Engels, Liebknecht and other active Socialists from the continent of Europe were exiles in England, carrying on from there a tireless campaign with pen and press which by and by, with the march of economic forces, brought them back in triumph to their native countries. Shortly before his death Liebknecht, urged by many friends, published a delightful volume of his personal recollections of Marx, dealing mainly with the period just mentioned. Prof. Untermann has completed a translation of this book, and we shall publish it within a few weeks in a neat pocket edition, bound in cloth, at 50 cents postpaid. There will be an expenditure of about \$150 necessary before the first copies can be printed. We propose to raise this by offering ten assorted copies of the Pocket Library of Socialism free to each of the first 300 people who send 50 cents each in advance for Liebknecht's Life of Marx. Send on the 50 cents at once. You will get by return mail any ten numbers of the Pocket Library, and you will have Liebknecht's Life of Marx, in cloth binding, mailed to you as soon as ready, probably the last of April. If this plan works as we believe it will, we shall soon be in a position to publish any new book that the Socialists of America want.

RECENT SOCIALIST BOOKLETS

We desire to call the attention of our readers to some of the numbers lately published in the Pocket Library of Socialism. This series is issued month-

ly at a subscription price of 50 cents a year; and single copies are sold at five cents each.

No. 21 is entitled "The Trust Question" and is a reprint of the clear and able article by Rev. Charles H. Vail which was published in the International Socialist Review for September. The recent developments in concentration make this pamphlet a timely one at the present moment.

No. 22 is "How to Work for Socialism," by Walter Thomas Mills, and is just the thing for new converts who are full of enthusiasm but do not know just the way to make their work count for as much as possible.

No. 23 is entitled "The Axe at the Root" and is by Rev. William T. Brown, of Rochester, N. Y. In this booklet he shows how the principle of the class struggle was recognized and enforced by Jesus and John the Baptist, and how Socialism to-day embodies all that is vital in religion.

No. 24 is by A. M. Simons and is entitled "What the Socialists Would Do if They Won in This City." It answers more definitely than anything yet offered in propaganda literature the questions which Socialists are obliged to discuss in every municipal campaign.

No. 25, entitled "The Folly of Being Good," is by Charles H. Kerr and is a somewhat novel experiment in setting forth the Socialist idea of ethics in language suited to the comprehension of young people who have as yet given no thought whatever to the subjects covered by our Socialist propaganda. It is intended for popular circulation with the hope that it will open the way for more serious literature.

We are anxious to have a large subscription list for the Pocket Library of Socialism, and we, therefore, offer for \$1.00 a full set of the twenty-five numbers already published together with the next eleven numbers as issued from month to month, making thirty-six numbers, or three years' issues, postpaid, for \$1.00.

WHAT TWENTY-FIVE CENTS WILL DO FOR SOCIALISM

Under this heading we made in the February number of the Review an offer to which we have received a large number of responses. We find, however, that we failed to make the terms of the offer as clear as they might have been, and this note is intended to remedy the defect.

Our offer is that for 25 cents we will send ten copies of the International Socialist Review to as many different addresses, and more at the same rate. We did not mean to offer copies of the CURRENT number of the Review, but such back numbers as we can spare most conveniently.

Moreover, we cannot send a package of Reviews to one address at this low rate, for the reason that by so doing we should be interfering with the trade of newsdealers who are buying copies of the Review regularly from month to month and paying 7 cents each.

Any of our friends who would like to sell copies of the current number of the Review for the sake of interesting new readers in Socialism can obtain copies from us at 7 cents each, postpaid, in packages of five or more. We must ask, however, that they will dispose of such copies in a way that will not interfere with, or discourage, the newsdealers who are handling the Review. For it is an obvious fact that the circulation of the Review on news stands is a means of propaganda which is of great and increasing value, and we ask the co-operation of our friends to make it a success.

We hope no reader will stop his subscription to buy copies month by month from the newsdealer, for, by the time the commissions of the News Company and of the newsdealer are paid, there is not enough left to be of any substantial assistance in meeting the necessary expenses of the Review. We do hope, however, that each of our subscribers will urge some newsdealer to keep the Review on sale, calling his attention to the fact that the News Company will supply him with copies at 7 cents, with the privilege of returning those not sold. After a dealer has begun ordering the Review he should be encouraged by sending him customers for each month's issue. This is a simple and easy method of propaganda which costs no money and little trouble.

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The Socialist Campaign Book of 1900.

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| I. Evolution of the American Proletarian. | VII. Wages and Living Expenses. |
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| IV. Trusts—Despotism in Industry. | X. Capitalist Political Platform. |
| V. The Farmer and His Future. | XI. The Growth of Socialism. |
| VI. Labor's Demands and Capitalism's Answers. | |

The publication of this work marks an era in socialist propaganda in America in that it places in the hands of every socialist worker the information and material necessary to his work in as attractive a form as the material hitherto only accessible to the capitalist parties, while at the same time this material has been illuminated and explained in the light of the socialist philosophy. This makes of the book at once a store-house of knowledge for the socialist speaker and agitator and the best propagandist work yet published, for it not only presents the doctrines of socialism in clear, convincing form, but accompanies the reasoning with the facts from which it is drawn in a manner that can but carry conviction to any unprejudiced mind.

The table of contents given herewith will give a good idea of the plan and scope of the work. The first two chapters are not simply a recital of isolated facts, but so correlate the historical data as to cause them to form a convincing argument of the trend of industrial development. The chapters on trusts bring out their two-fold character by which they mark at the same time a higher degree of economic development and a more intense exploitation of the producer. In "Labor's Demands and Capitalism's Answers" the efforts of organized labor to secure relief in "labor legislation" through capitalist parties is treated exhaustively and should prove a convincing argument with any trade-unionist for the necessity of independent political action along socialist lines. The chapter on "Wages and Living Expenses" is a careful examination of our present "prosperity" and a complete refutation of the claim that the laborers have shared in industrial advance. The discussion of "How the Working Class Live" is written by one of the foremost students of this subject in this country and embraces much material hitherto unpublished. The last two chapters, on the "Capitalist Political Platforms" and "The Growth of Socialism," complete the line of argument furnished by the facts in the preceding chapters, making of the whole work a powerful brief for the cause of socialism.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. I

APRIL, 1901

No. 10

Trades Unions and Socialism

THE modern proletarian movement has two kinds of antagonists: one, the straightforward but brutal antagonists, propose to suppress and to crush it by force. This kind has already experienced so many defeats, its method has proved itself to be so abortive, that it is losing to-day, with the thinking and discerning capitalists themselves—at least for the time being—ever more of its credit. All the better does the other kind prosper that says: “Divide and rule,” which, since forcible means do not avail, seeks to weaken the proletarian movement by splitting it. These opponents to the rule of the proletariat pose as its friends; they are not brutal but “ethical,” and for this reason they are all the more dangerous. They artfully try to represent different proletarian organizations as being antagonistic; they appear as advocates of sections of the proletarian movement, in order to propagate distrust and even hatred against the entire movement. Some of these precious friends of labor avail themselves of national distinctions to incite workingmen against workingmen, others turn religious distinctions to the same account. However, the most intelligent and eminent among their number try to create discord between the trades union and the Social Democratic movement. These people always have in mind the example afforded by England. While on the continent of Europe the Social Democracy pushes ahead irresistibly and victoriously, in spite of special arbitrary legislation and of proscriptions, in spite of June butcheries and of bloody May weeks, the Chartist movement in England came to naught about the time when the trades unions were recovering ground, and so it happened that nowhere does the capitalist class wield to-day the political power more supreme than

in England, the country possessing the most efficient, the most numerous, the best organized, as well as the freest and most independent working class in the trades union movement. No wonder that this example should excite the envy of all wide-awake capitalist politicians and national economists on the continent of Europe and that their ardent efforts should be directed towards filling the reigning classes as well as the proletarians with enthusiasm for that English pattern.

It stands to reason that one nation can and should learn from others, as it can thereby save a great deal of costly experience. However, to learn from somebody does not mean simply to imitate that person slavishly, but to profit by his experience and knowledge so as to make a sensible and free use of them. If there is a trades union to be organized effectively, it is indispensable to consult the English pattern. Of this nobody was earlier convinced than Marx, who already in 1847 called attention to the English pattern of trades unions; and if the trades union movement in Germany and in Austria has developed so quickly, this is due, above all, to the "International" and to the Social Democracy, both of them influenced most powerfully by Marx's teachings.

But if we have to determine the relation between trades unionism and Social Democracy, between trade and class organization, between economic and political struggles, in that case we can learn from the English nation only how that relation should *not* be.

Never has this become more evident than just at present, when in consequence of the collapse of the liberal party even the *pretence* of a political influence on the part of the English working class has disappeared and when English trades unionism is anxiously striving to promote the formation of a new independent workingmen's party, in which endeavor it finds itself, however, most hampered by the instincts it itself has fostered, the instincts of trade egotism and of disregard of all efforts towards a more remote and higher aim. The present stage of the English trades union movement is the least suitable one to make its previously existing relation to politics appear in an ideal light.

It has often been remarked that the trades union movement, where it does not go hand in hand with an independent political movement, i. e., where it is not saturated with socialist thought, acquires somewhat the character of the by-gone guilds.

It has also frequently been pointed out that this guild-like character shows itself first of all in that the workingmen organized in trades unions form and constitute, similar to the old-time journeymen organized in guilds, an aristocracy of labor, which isolates itself from the unorganized workingmen,

which raises itself above them, which pushes them down the deeper into the social mire, the quicker it elevates itself. Where, however, the trades union movement is at work in the closest intellectual contact with the political movement of an independent labor party, there the trades unionists come to be the chosen champions of the entire proletariat, there they improve, along with their own condition, that of their class. The increase of duties, resulting therefrom, is compensated by having the economic and political basis of their achievements rendered more solid than that of the achievements of a labor aristocracy. The more such an aristocracy of labor leaves the unskilled, unprotected, unorganized parts of the proletariat to shift economically for themselves, the more these come to be the breeding centers of scabs who stab organized labor in the back on every occasion and thus paralyze every decided action. On the other hand the workingmen organized in trades unions cannot constitute for themselves alone a political party, but always only one part, and indeed often a powerful one, of such a party. If they leave the unorganized workingmen to their own political resources instead of uniting with them in one political party, then the former must become the tail of a capitalist party that pretends to be friendly to the workingmen, but which, no matter how it tries to protect the interests of its proletarian voters, can never muster the necessary courage in face of capitalism and is doomed to fail the sooner, the more the proletarian character of its followers clashes with its own capitalist notions—just as is manifested to us by the fate of the Liberal party in England.

Then again, of course, England also shows us how much the success of the Social Democracy stands in need of the foundation afforded by a powerful trades union movement. Though, as the writer of this article has been assured by people that have been Chartists themselves, there was a closer connection between Chartism and trades unionism than modern historians of trades unionism suppose, it is a fact that the time when Chartism flourished was one of depression for trades unions; Chartism had no strong and steady economic organizations to fall back upon, and that explains much of the unsteadiness and precariousness of its development.

Modern English socialism, however, placed itself in its beginnings in pretty strong opposition to the trades union movement; a stand that may be easily explained, considering the former conservative character of the trades unions; but which, nevertheless, was wrong and of no advantage to the English Social Democracy. But in the course of time the trades unionists have lost more and more their antipathies to socialism, and, vice versa, the socialists have ever more been losing their an-

tipathies to trades unionism, so we find at an ever-increasing rate the same people at work in both camps, and therefore we may expect that slowly but surely a relation between the two movements will be established similar to the one that has always existed with us in the labor movement of Austria and Germany.

In view of all this we have not the slightest reason to look for outside patterns regarding the relation between trades unions and Social Democracy. The isolation of the trades unions from the balance of the proletariat has not only the injurious effect of splitting and weakening the latter, but it also curtails its chances of development.

We have compared the isolated trades unions to the journeymen's organizations of old,—the guilds. What has become of the latter? They have disappeared along with the system of guilds without the least share on their part in surmounting this system. Their prosperity was linked most intimately with that of the masters of the guilds; the downfall of the latter meant that of the former. The same fate is menacing the isolated trade union; it can only prosper if the capitalist system of production at home continues to progress. Its progress is very closely bound up with constant and swift enlargement of the capitalist sphere of power and exploitation. As soon as the industrial capital of a country has once reached the limit of its ability to expand briskly, then the time of decline sets in for the isolated trades unions. Such a decline manifests itself the same as with the journeymen's associations of by-gone times, not in the decrease of their membership, but in that of their ability and desire to struggle. Instead of, at the expense of their exploiters they rather try in partnership with them to sustain and to improve their economic condition by monopolistic isolation of their trade and by increased fleecing of the people at large.

Particularly in England, the industrial capital of which has already in many lines reached the limit of rapid expansion, we see signs of such reactionary tendencies, e. g., with its textile workers who not only frequently vote for the conservatives, but who are also reactionary in an economic sense, who rave about bimetallicism and child labor, etc.

In the most striking manner, however, the reactionary tendency of some isolated trades unions of England discloses itself in the trade alliances, which since 1890 have appeared now in one and then in another trade. These alliances are based upon agreements between a trades union and a combine of manufacturers, whereby the manufacturers agree to only employ members of the trade unions and these on their part pledge themselves to only work for the manufacturers

belonging to the combine, i. e., only for those manufacturers that sell their products at the higher prices decided upon by the combine. In this way all competition against the combine will be rendered impossible. These trade alliances, which are praised by our bourgeois friends of labor as the commencement of harmony between capital and labor, propose therefore nothing less than to induce the workmen to share in the scheme of the combines to raise prices and to exploit the public. They are expected to assist the manufacturers in fleecing the community and to receive in return a part of the booty. In this manner it is not any more the capitalist but the community that would become the enemy of the workman, or rather of the aristocracy of labor, which has turned from an exploited person into an exploiter.

However, the innate incongruities between capital and labor are so great that we know of no trade alliance of any duration. These incongruities are frequently so great as to nip the endeavors towards the realization of a trade alliance in the bud. This is very fortunate for social development, for, could the trade alliances exist and grow, they would inflict incalculable harm. Consider, for example, the consequences, should the scheme to start a trade alliance in the coal-mining industry, as has been attempted, succeed and should the coal miners be turned into accomplices of the policy of the combine, into promoters of a coal famine—a maneuver particularly tempting under the sliding scale of wages. The entire balance of the workmen would be compelled to declare war not only against the coal barons but as well against the coal miners! And what a prospect, if other orders of workmen in important lines of industry followed suit; if in place of the struggle between capital and labor, we should witness the struggle between different monopolies in which workmen in the pay of their organized masters would enter the field against their fellow workmen!

Any independent labor movement would be impossible, and the labor aristocracy organized in trades unions would be chained most tightly to the capitalist class and forced on by its own interest to help the advancement of capitalist politics at home and abroad.

Of course we will not come to that pass, for the reason already stated, that, where the combines are the strongest there the antagonism against the workmen is also the greatest; and also for the reason that the bourgeois friends of labor will never succeed in isolating the trades unions from the rest of the proletarian movement, or to keep up such isolation where it now exists. But, in consideration of the present raving about trade alliances, it is not amiss to picture a state in which they

should prevail. Entirely different from these reactionary and futile attempts on the part of isolated unions to improve the economic condition of their members in countries already approaching stagnation of capitalist production, must be the endeavors of such trades unions as go hand in hand with a strong and class-conscious Social Democracy.

The more the development of capitalist commodity-production stagnates or free competition is crowded out by combines and trusts, the more a class-conscious labor movement will try not to impart by reactionary experiments a new artificial life to some lines of production; but it will endeavor to further economic development by replacing capitalist production for sale by socialist production for use. When, for instance, the coal miners, where they exclusively rely upon their trades union organization, place their hope upon a trade alliance with the coal barons, they will there, where they support the Social Democracy, strive for an increase of political power of the proletariat for its effective use for workingmen's protective laws, and finally for the expropriation of the mines.

To-day already production for the commonwealth in the shape of production for state and community becomes a factor of steadily growing economic importance. To-day it is no longer the textile industry but the iron industry upon which the entire economic prosperity of a nation depends. If the latter prospers, new life pulsates through the entire social body; if it stagnates we have general depression. The iron industry, however, is again to a large extent dependent upon state and communal politics; state and street railroads, canalizations, army and navy orders, etc., exert a perceptible influence upon economic conditions. Modern states certainly exert this influence largely in idly wasting the means at hand, especially for militarism; they develop production, they employ the productive powers, but at the same time they permit civilization to be stunted; yes, in some countries like Italy, Russia and Austria militarism leads not only to a waste of products, but also of productive powers, and consequently to a shrinkage of production.

The more capitalism passes over from free competition to monopoly, the greater the number of its industrial branches that have become unable to develop adequately, the more the influence of state and community on the character and extent of production increases, the more necessary it will be for every class to gain influence on state and community, the more fatal will be the isolation of trade unions that prevents the proletariat from depending and promoting its interests effectively, the more indispensable it will be that the trades unionists are inspired with socialist discernment and socialist enthusiasm;

the more necessary, on the other hand, that the Social Democracy should be able to rely upon a numerous army of organized trades unionists, on which rest the deepest and firmest roots of its power.

The trades unions will not disappear along with the capitalist mode of production like the journeymen's organizations vanished with the guilds. On the contrary, they will constitute the most energetic factors in surmounting the present mode of production and they will be the pillars on which the edifice of the socialist commonwealth will be erected.

K. Kautsky.

(Translated by E. Dietzgen.)



Education and Socialism



It will be the aim of this paper to outline some of the features of our present educational system, the revolutionary tendency that is now pervading it, and finally the changes that socialism would bring, for in no department of social activity shall we see a greater or more vital revolution than in the methods and object of education.

To state exactly the object of education both the sociological and the biological side must be taken into consideration. That the social phase of education has been largely ignored in the past may be seen from the following definitions taken from the older writers.

Plato says, "The purpose of education is to give to the body and to the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable."

Kant defines education as "the development in man of all the perfections which his nature permits."

With John Stuart Mill "education includes whatever we do for ourselves, and whatever is done for us by others for the express purpose of bringing us nearer to the perfection of our nature."

Herbert Spencer briefly states that "Education is the preparation for complete living."

Rousseau contents himself with the following indefinite generality: "Education is the art of bringing up children and of forming men."

In Horace Mann we see the beginnings of a new idea in education: "By the word 'education' I mean much more than the ability to read, write and keep common accounts. I comprehend under this noble word such a training of the body as shall build it up with robustness and vigor, at once protecting it from disease and enabling it to act formatively upon the crude substances of nature—to turn a wilderness into cultivated fields, forests into ships, or quarries and clay pits into villages and cities. I mean also to include such a cultivation of the intellect as shall enable it to discover those permanent and mighty laws which pervade all parts of the created universe whether material or spiritual. This is necessary because if we act in obedience to these laws all the resistless forces of nature become our auxiliaries and cheer us on to certain prosperity and triumph. But if we act in contravention or defiance to these laws, then nature resists, thwarts, baffles us, and in the end it is just

as certain that she will overwhelm us with ruin as it is that God is stronger than man."

Looked at from the standpoint of society as well as of the individual education means not only the adaptation of the individual to his surroundings, but the training of him to understand his environment and thus the giving to him the power to modify and change it.

Take for example the physical sciences. Education along this line would require an actual understanding for instance of the ways of applying energy—by means of the lever and inclined plane with their modifications—of the nature and modes of action of electricity, the combinations resulting from the union of different chemical elements, etc.

This knowledge could then be used either in new inventions or in handling present instruments and materials.

Again the value of history in education does not consist in the mere knowledge of events or even the exercise of memory on the part of the individual, but in the principles for the guiding of future society that may be drawn from past events.

The power to read is not in itself an education, but the ability, by means of which to gain, for use, the knowledge of facts that have been stored up by other minds. This educative value of reading, this spontaneous making the thought of the author our own, has been largely destroyed by the formal methods of teaching the subject which have created a habit of observing words and their forms, and that only.

Like all things, however, education has been shaped in the past by the economic conditions and needs of society. Long after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries education was chiefly characterized by a ponderous scholasticism. The artisan, not looked upon as in any sense a 'scholar,' was the only one who with a trained eye and hand could design and make things.

The past century has been a commercial age. It has been marked by great inventions, a vast increase in trading, an enormous production of goods and a growing intricacy of diplomatic relations. A careful survey of present educational methods and subjects of study must convince one that our schools are made to further the interests of the ruling industrial and commercial class of the time.

The technical school that practically serves the purpose of training passably good engineers and mechanics has marked the past few years. It is owing to these technical schools that Germany is to-day becoming able to compete with England both in foreign markets and at home. These best technical schools turn out such a vast number of trained workmen that, underbidding each other in the labor market, their value has

decreased until Germany has the cheapest skilled workmen to be found.

Plans are now under way to establish a commercial school at Berlin in which the study of English will be an especial feature. The reason for this is plain. Not only a great portion of Germany's export trade goes to English speaking countries, but English is fast becoming the language of commerce, and a knowledge of it will enable her merchants to push their trade more effectually.

It is interesting also to note the founding of large schools of diplomacy. When modern inventions have put great nations into proximity, and relations are strained, and it has become a matter of nations competing for trade and struggling for territory, it is essential that capital should have trained diplomats to skillfully adjust conditions in foreign markets and political circles and thus guard the interests of the ruling class. Such a school is founded in connection with Columbian University at Washington.

Mr. Gunton says in his magazine that more interest should be taken in these schools because—and here he gives the capitalists' only reason for education—"of the expansion of American trade." It is in this way that education, which should aim at a rounded man and womanhood, is being used for the benefit entirely of the ruling class.

The American manufacturer has heretofore been obliged to draw his designers and workmen of especial skill from foreign schools, but now he sees that it is far more economical to found such schools at home, either private or public, and use them to produce a limitless supply of skilled laborers who, competing with each other, will lower wages.

A recent report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the following as one of the reasons for introducing manual training into schools: "Parents realizing that employers will insist that the boy 'start at the bottom in any industry' decide that he must begin to gain the industrial experience which will increase his wages at as early an age as possible, rather than to continue in school to learn the things which they feel will never be of real use to him."

It is with difficulties such as these that the new education finds itself confronted from the first. Like all revolutionary movements, for that is what in its essence the new education is, it finds the old system which it has outgrown—seeing itself unable to check the new movement—seeking to pervert it to its own benefit. Hence the ruling class see only in domestic science as taught in the schools the means for training more competent servants or in the sloyd work the making of better carpenters.

Our system of industry to-day demands no individuality of the immense body of workmen. It has grown so far mechanical that in the great industrial establishments there is small need for the inventor or artist. This is not contradictory with the statement before of the demand for skilled workmen. Skilled workmen in no way presuppose workmen with any individuality developed.

Our school system has not advanced beyond the demands of the economic conditions. It has the same leveling effect. So many children promoted into a certain grade. The same work and way of doing this work is required of each one. The teacher with forty or fifty children in a grade has little opportunity to study the inclinations of each child. All are made to "toe the same mark." The whole system has become dull and mechanical. The very power of initiative is crushed out of the child.

So entirely commercial is our age that we are not surprised to find our school system run upon that basis. Sufficient school buildings there are not. In many neighborhoods we find from two to three hundred children waiting to be admitted to the kindergarten while many more are attending but half time.

The number of teachers compared with the number of pupils is altogether insufficient. Forty-five or even sixty we have seen enrolled in ward schools under one teacher. These teachers, who are always overworked, are usually utterly unable to teach anything of science. They have never themselves been trained to observe or handle real things and cannot teach the child to see.

Laboratories in physical science may appear to us well equipped considering the condition of the apparatus used in teaching physics or biology or chemistry ten years ago, but the vast majority of the schools are still poorly furnished with the materials for good work in these lines.

But we are passing at present through a period of change, from a time of commercialism and competition to an age of co-operation, and there are present among us the germs for a new growth in education. Already the awakening has begun to be felt.

Beginning as far back as Rosseau, Cemenius and Pestalozzi, an effort was made to put actual perception and observation of things by the senses in place of the mechanical instruction by word. It is not generally known, however, that it is to Robert Owen that we owe some of the first clear statements of the coming revolution in education. He was the first to look upon instruction and education from the point of view of the social organization.

A recent article in the *Neue Zeit* points out that he brought

forward the demand that the intellectual and physical education should go hand in hand. That from the age of eight years up instruction should be united with regular labor in the house and garden. That from the thirteenth year children are to enter into the higher arts and trades and thereby be prepared to further the riches and well-being of society in the most effective manner with the greatest satisfaction to themselves. He comprehended the activity of labor in instruction not only as a necessary pedagogical end, but also as a means to the social production of goods.

The new education and socialism are being developed from the same social conditions. They have as their object the same thing—freedom. Freedom for each one to develop his own methods of thought and his own initiative. To express in material form his inner being. It is recognized that to furnish this inner man and woman with material there must be supplied to them constant contact through their senses with the outside world, for that which is produced is but what has gone in through the senses, modified by each one's individual characteristics and tendencies.

It is for this reason that the new education emphasizes the importance of work with tools and materials that the pupil may design and work out his design in a material form. Nature studies also are a prominent feature of the new education. Trips into the country bring the city child into contact with an entirely new phase of life. He sees the seed put into the ground, its growth, the processes by which wheat is converted into flour and bread, the growth of flax, cotton and wool as materials for the manufacture of textile fabrics. This is in a sense a "return to nature," but not the nature of Rousseau. It is a nature made large by the discoveries of science. Science has opened to us the secrets of the world's formation, the laws of gravitation, the mysteries of the growth of physical organisms and all its secrets have been discovered only by men working in direct contact with the things they tried to reveal.

Education under socialist conditions would produce men and women, not machines. As Marx has said, the end of socialism is "an association wherein the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all," "an economic order of society which together with the greatest possible development of social productive power secures the highest possible harmonious development of human beings."

To-day like the press, the pulpit and the lecture room, so the school is under the control of the ruling class which uses its control for its own advantage. When capitalism has demanded technical skill its schools have produced men trained along that line; when it has required any other quality its

schools have produced men with that quality; and when it has found that ignorance, docile and unquestioning, has served its purpose best it has reduced the laboring class to that condition.

To go a step further: as pointed out by Prof. John Dewey, "education should be a process of living and not a preparation for future living." The school to-day is an unnatural life calculated only to prepare one for future work. It has no relation either with the home or society. The life of the average American student is abnormal and returns him to society both scholastic and pedantic. To-day so-called education ends with the class-room instead of all of life being an education. Even the spirit of social solidarity and mutual interest is destroyed by the present system. For one boy to assist another in his task is a thing for which to be punished.

Again, education is far more than the training of the intellect alone. It was a principle of Greek philosophy to unite instruction with music and exercise. Socialism would require and make possible the physical development as well as the mental. Productive work would be united with education. The student studying into the mechanism of the steam engine would be able to put his hands upon one and learn by use its every part.

Following the manufacture of textile goods and the development of industry he would trace it through its primitive forms, the wheel for spinning and the clumsy loom for weaving up through the complicated machinery and vast looms of a modern factory.

Studying the industries connected with the production of foodstuffs, of agriculture in general, he would go out and use the tools employed in the raising of grain and see the growth from the pointed stick with which the savage scratched the ground or the flail that our forefathers used to beat out the grain, to the steam plow and threshing machine of to-day.

The pitiable ignorance of our city population of anything to be found in the country, and of our country folk of great manufacturing establishments, and of the majority of our whole population of any part of actual life outside the narrow confines of their own work must be a source of wonder to future generations.

Society would thus be presented to the child in a simplified form. He would begin with the primitive stages through which society passed in savage and barbarous times and gradually ascend in his education to the complex and intricate system of modern industry. Anthropology and etymology would become live and inspiring topics.

For education to be of value it must present a unity in the

things taught. Our old system has made each department of science an entirely new and foreign subject to the beginner, having no relation to anything either before or after. For instance, take geology and geography. Few have been trained to see that geography is the study of the present conditions of the earth that represent a certain stage in a long series of stages; that geology is the study of these different stages and the changes in the earth's surface that have resulted in its present physical appearance.

Every teacher should be able to take up subjects of study in due relation to society and the science of society—sociology. So far this unity or synthesis has been a subject of discussion among philosophers, but has received slight notice from the pedagogue.

At the beginning we stated that the object of education is the adapting the individual to his surroundings and the fitting him to change and modify them. These changes should be such as would lead to the progress of humanity. In how infinitely few cases, however, has science been used to benefit the condition of the great mass of the people except when protection for the ruling class demanded that certain steps should be taken. For example, study has put on record much of value in the scientific preparation of food, in the producing of sanitary conditions, and in the prevention of diseases.

Under socialism, with pure food well prepared and healthful surroundings, we shall look to see disease practically stamped out and the life of man extended.

The century has seen great advance in science in medicine, experimental psychology and physiology; yet this knowledge is the monopoly of the few. As shown by Kropotkin in his "Appeal to the Young": "In our society to-day science is only an appendage to luxury which serves to render life pleasanter for the few, but remains absolutely inaccessible to the bulk of mankind." "The philosophers are crammed with scientific truths and almost the whole of the rest of human beings remain what they were five or ten centuries ago, that is to say, in the state of slaves, and machines, incapable of mastering established truths." "We need to spread the truths already mastered by science, to make them part of our daily life, to render them common property."

Again, the discoveries in experimental and physiological psychology must revolutionize many of the old methods of teaching. Genetic psychology, for instance, has shown that the first years of a child's life must be a time of physical activity. The body of the child is not yet under control. It is impossible for him to remain quiet. Yet we remember when school discipline required these little bodies

to remain quiet in a seat for four or six hours in a day and our schools are but just beginning to throw off this old discipline and to guide this aimless but necessary activity into useful channels.

Not only the normal but the great number of abnormal will be benefited by the discoveries of psychology. Study has shown what can be done to make the mentally defective useful to society. Likewise with the criminals. The social conditions that have created a large part of them being changed their number would be vastly decreased. The others could be used somewhere in the social organism in productive work. This in no way argues that we should weaken the race by protecting the mentally weak and degenerate. Both would finally become wellnigh extinct if not left to perpetuate at will their kind.

May Wood Simons.



Social Evolution



UNDERSTAND the socialist philosophy to be a certain affirmation that all social institutions depend upon the industrial institution; that this industrial institution develops by necessary laws towards monopoly; that the people, through the state, are destined to appropriate this institution at some stage in its course towards monopoly; and that, when once thus appropriated, the other institutions will reflect the new conditions of the industrial institution.

I believe in the prime importance of the industrial institution. But I assert that the socialist philosophy deprives itself of the lessons of history because it does not build its conclusions upon a study of the evolution of other institutions. Other institutions have passed through the stages which the industrial institution is now following, and have reached certain destinations whose consideration might aid us in setting up a goal also for the industrial institution.

The institutions which I wish to consider are the family, the church, the state, industry and the political party. I would define an institution as a certain definite, and continuous, but evolving mode of living together for the satisfaction of a peculiar affection. Each institution has its own psychic affection. In the family it is sexual and parental love; in the church, it is religious belief; in the state, coercion; in industry, love of work; in the political party it is "political principles," or class interest.

My contention turns upon a clear distinction between the production of wealth, on the one hand, and private property, on the other hand. I agree that the production of wealth is fundamental. It is nothing more nor less than man's control over the forces of nature. This control determines in large part the form of organization of all institutions. But private property is entirely different. Private property is a social institution. It is a certain way of living together. It is not merely private property in the means of production. It is private property in the material basis of each institution. I hold that every social institution begins as private property. It then develops towards monopoly. Whether it shall always remain private property or whether another form of organization shall take its place, depends upon circumstances which I shall try to describe.

In primitive society there are no definite institutions. All

are merged and blended in a homogenous, indistinct communism. This communism of society is the corollary of the suppression, or, rather, the non-emergence of the individual. The individual first emerges as a self-conscious personality when external objects begin to have a definite value to him, i. e., when, in the struggle for existence, his own survival depends on appropriating an external requisite. Now, no object has value if it is unlimited in supply. Private property begins with those objects which, relatively to other objects, are limited in supply. To the primitive man, air, water, land, are unlimited. The only limited objects are women. Private property begins as property in women and children, and the exclusive ownership of these is a "requisite of survival," to use a term suggested, in other connections, by Professor Patten. He who has a number of women has food-hunters, weapon-carriers, numerous children, and eventually male slaves and warriors.

The family thus begins as private property in women and children. Thereafter natural selection and survival of the fittest are the survival of the fittest institution. Individuals do not contend with individuals, but families contend with families; or, rather, proprietors of families with similar proprietors. Survival depends upon three qualities,—size, unity and generalship. Size is numbers. Other things equal, numbers will win. The family grows in size until it numbers tens of thousands. Unity is the subordination of individuals to the will of one man. This is brought about by what is essentially a right of property, namely, control over subordinates through either direct control over their bodies or indirect control over their means of subsistence. This is the administrative side of private property, as distinguished from the equity side, which is the right to have the profits. By means of the rewards and punishments thus centralized in the hands of the proprietor, the subordinates execute his will as one man. This gives scope to the third requisite of survival, generalship. The institution with the shrewdest, boldest, wisest and most adroit manipulator of men will survive. These three qualities of survival—size, unity and generalship—characterize each social institution. They develop in the course of time into monopoly and centralization. The family produces the patriarch; the church, the pope; the state, the king; the political party, the boss; the industrial institution, the trust.

Now, notice that each of these institutions has developed into monopoly while it was dependent upon a requisite for survival which was limited in supply. The patriarchate depends upon a scarcity of women and men relative to land, and therefore the monopoly of the family is based on private property in women. But when land becomes scarce relative to men and women, the patriarchs, or heads of families, no longer cared for private

property in men and women, but transferred their ownership to land. Direct control over the bodies of men and women, known as slavery and polygamy, became indirect control over the means of their subsistence, known as feudalism.

Feudalism again proceeded towards monopoly. The largest landowner had the largest army, the greatest number of faithful retainers, and, with good generalship, he became the king. Feudalism ended in absolutism, based on private property in land.

A similar outcome attended the church. Here the peculiar object of private property was based on the conviction of guilt on the part of worshippers and their faith in the holy power of priests to remit punishment. The priest operated through his ownership and monopoly of certain external material objects which could be reduced to private property, namely, the sacred relics of saints, the holy shrines, and the apostolic succession. Through these he held the keys of heaven and hell, he forgave sins, and he even healed mundane diseases, or inflicted mundane woes. In the course of several hundred years priests acquired the landed property of the faithful, bishops arose in command of priests, and the Bishop of Rome in command of the other bishops. This monopoly depended on private property in relics, shrines and land.

Here we have three monopolistic heads of three institutions—patriarch, king and pope. Let us notice what followed. In Asiatic countries this monopoly was handed down to successors and became hereditary despotism. In England and Europe there were two other very different developments. The institution of the state continued to be a monopoly, but the feudal nobility, who had been suppressed by the king, forced him to admit them into partnership in the management of his monopoly, through the House of Lords. Later, the middle class forced admission into the combine through their representatives in the House of Commons. The state thus became a genuine partnership of three social classes. Legislation henceforth required the consent of crown, lords and commons, i. e., each member had a veto on the two others.

With the family it was different. King and church in England very early agreed to regulate the family. Polygamy was prohibited as early as King Alfred. Later, the father was prohibited from selling his daughter and the husband from buying his wife, without her consent. Still later, she was given the right of divorce in case of ill treatment. The state created courts of law with power to protect her against her husband. What is the explanation? It is this: The family was originally based on two principles, coercion and persuasion, i. e., private property in women and sexual love. The state, through its laws and courts, has deprived the patriarch of his coercive

control—i. e., his private property—in his wife, and has compelled him to resort to persuasion. The state also, in more recent times, actually takes children away from brutal parents, and so compels the parent to depend on love rather than coercion for obedience. The family no longer is a coercive institution based on private property, but is a persuasive institution based on love. Where love is lacking, the law forbids coercion. In other words, the state has extracted coercion from private control and has constituted itself the sole coercive institution. The state thus becomes the coercive framework within which the family operates. The state increases its functions and its organs, increases its courts, recorders, executives, legislation, to deal with this framework of the family, and in so doing permits the family to cultivate more extensively its persuasive soil, sexual and parental love. Husband and wife each has now a veto on the other. Their relation is one of partnership, based on persuasion instead of private property based on coercion. Wherever coercion and persuasion are combined in the hands of one person, the coercive factor tends to suppress the persuasive factor. By separating the two and making itself the sole coercive factor, with tribunals and rules of procedure to exclude caprice, the state liberates the persuasive factor and allows it to spring forth and bloom into the ideal family.

The church is following the course of the family. Two factors have combined to break its monopoly—loss of faith in relics and loss of earthly power. The loss of faith was largely caused by an over-supply of relics. The church grew greedy and permitted the manufacture and sale of counterfeit relics. This aroused Martin Luther and brought on the Reformation. Private monopoly of relics no longer sufficed when the people ceased to want relics. Afterwards the state proceeded to confiscate the lands and treasures of the church and to take away its right to taxation and tithes, and to substitute state courts for ecclesiastical courts for trial of church offenders. In this way the state deprived the church of control over the material necessities of life, and so took away its powers of earthly rewards and punishments. Henceforth the state became the coercive framework of the church, and the church itself has been compelled to rely upon persuasion. This is known in history as "the separation of church and state." The priest henceforth becomes the preacher. The appeal is made to religious faith and not to the fear of earthly punishment, or the hope of earthly reward. The church monopoly is broken, and innumerable sects and no-sects take its place, each and all dependent upon the persuasiveness of their tenets.

Let us now compare these three institutions—family, state and church. In primitive society they were blended and undifferentiated. The patriarch was also priest and king. He

relied on both coercion and persuasion. But in our Western civilization, in course of time, the state has been differentiated as the coercive institution, and the family and the church as persuasive institutions. The state takes to itself the control of its members whenever that control depends upon material external agencies, such as direct control of their bodies or indirect control over their necessities of life. This is coercion. The family and church become voluntary institutions, seeing that henceforth they must rely upon psychic influence and not external force. Each relies upon its own peculiar psychic principle, the family on sexual and parental love, the church on the conviction of sin and the longing for moral perfection. Notice, therefore, the corresponding difference in organization: The state, which is the coercive institution, continues to be a monopoly, but, instead of a monopoly ruled by the caprice of one man, it is a monopoly ruled by the partnership on equal terms of three leading social classes. The other institutions, family and church, on the other hand, cease to be monopolies and are relegated back to their original competitive organizations. But this competition among themselves can no longer be evil, because the institutions have lost their teeth and claws. They can no longer build up a hierarchy of subordination because they cannot enforce their decrees against the will of the subordinate. They can only survive by converting the free will of individuals, i. e., by persuasion. This competition is not competition, but emulation. Thus the outcome of social evolution is a coercive institution, exercising a monopoly of coercion, and two persuasive institutions without monopoly, competing, or emulating, among themselves within the coercive framework provided for them by the other.

How do the foregoing principles apply to political parties and business corporations? The persuasive basis of a political party is the common political principles or class interest of its members. The coercive basis is the rewards and penalties in the hands of its managers. And, strangely enough, these rewards and penalties depend upon subordination of the state itself to the political party. The state has become sovereign over family and church, but the political party has become dominant over the state. The sources of this domination are the following: Election of superior officials; appointment of subordinate officials; distribution of contracts, franchises and legislative favors; private control of elections and primaries. With these four sources of power the management can command the services of "workers" and "heelers"; and, being organized for success, the greater size, unity and generalship develop the "boss." Now, notice the tendency of recent legislation. The Australian or secret-ballot law has taken the election machinery out of private hands; has made the ballot an "official" ballot

printed by the state. The more recent primary election laws have taken the party primary itself out of the hands of the party managers, and have handed over party elections to the control of officials appointed and paid by the state. "Civil service reform" has attempted to take subordinate offices out of the hands of the party boss, but it has largely failed because the boss appoints the examining board. All of these reforms are based upon the assumption that the political party is necessarily a monopoly under a single management, and that the only thing to do is to guarantee to the rank and file a voice in the election of the management. But there are two other reforms which, if adopted, would break the monopoly of the party. One is the initiative and referendum, by which contracts, franchises and legislation could be controlled directly by all the voters instead of indirectly through a party organization. The other is proportional representation, by which all minority parties could select their proportionate share of officers without being compelled to come into the ranks of the two leading parties. This would tend to break up the existing parties into the naturally divergent groups which at present are forced into one combination. With all of these reforms the political party would lose its coercive control over the necessities of life and would be compelled to depend solely on its political principles to persuade voters to join it. The management would no longer have rewards and punishments to distribute and the boss would become the statesman.

As regards business corporations, it is too much to say that every business which ends in a trust must be owned and operated by the state. The state is the coercive institution. If the state can extract from private corporations every element of coercion on which they now depend to discipline their subordinates, it will then deprive them, as it has deprived the family and the church, of the basis on which monopoly rests. They will become purely persuasive institutions, and the only psychic motive to which their managers can appeal will be the love of work. If men are freed from the dread of hunger and old age, just as they have been freed from the lash, then they will work only for those leaders who can fully persuade them, and under those conditions and hours which they like. Under such circumstances the trust, like the family and the church, would fall back into its original small groups, but the competition which now depresses them would be replaced by emulation which elevates them.

But there is an essential difference between the industrial institution and the other voluntary institutions which we have been considering. A man can manage to live without belonging to a family, a church or a political party, but he cannot live without land and capital. Consequently he is subject to the own-

ers of land and capital. On the other hand, the love of work is not an original passion, like sexual love or religious faith, but is an acquired affection produced by education. Now, coercion is a factor in education, and it is also a necessary substitute where education has failed. Therefore, coercion should not be wholly eliminated from industry. It rather should be regulated and placed under the care of the state. Remembering these essential differences, let us mention certain ways by which the state has lessened or may lessen the coercion of proprietors over proletarians. As to their effectiveness, opinions differ.

First: Protection for wage earners, by prohibiting destructive competition of foreign labor, child labor, female labor and overwork; by security against old age, accidents and sickness; by security against unemployment, arbitrary discharge and blacklist.

Second: Taxation of unearned incomes (ground rent, inheritances, etc.), thereby releasing labor and earned incomes, and so increasing the supply of land and capital.

Third: A distinction between distributive and productive industries. Distributive industries are those like highways and currency, which serve the community best by unity and free service, and which are capable of army organization. Productive industries are farms and factories which serve best by economy of production, and which require variety, subdivision of labor and attention to details. Distributive industries are essentially coercive because they control the access to markets. Productive industries are voluntary because they depend upon the love of work.

Fourth: With coercive control eliminated, business will rapidly become co-operative. Laborers will be admitted to partnership with employers, just as wife has been admitted to partnership with husband, layman to partnership with priest, lords and commons to partnership with king. This change is already taking place in those industries where powerful labor unions are joined with powerful combinations of employers to control the business.

Without stopping here for details, which would exceed my present limits of space, let us summarize the ideals above presented. In the two institutions, political parties and business corporations, there are two divergent phases which may be followed. We may faithfully accept the theory that monopoly is inevitable and perpetual and therefore that freedom will be secured only through state ownership and operation. This was the theory which prevailed in the reconstruction of the coercive institution, the state. Or, we may look deeper into the coercive factors which suppress the persuasive factors of the institution and then proceed to extract those coercive fac-

tors and annex them as functions of the state. This was the theory which prevailed in the reorganization of the family and the church. If we adopt the first policy in the case of the political party, we will content ourselves with the secret ballot, civil service reform and primary election reform, which retain the boss, but attempt to make him elective instead of self-elected, But if we adopt the second policy we will proceed to the referendum and initiative by which the monopoly itself is disintegrated and the party becomes a strictly voluntary and persuasive institution.

If we adopt the first policy in the case of the industrial institution, we will nationalize the trust by selecting officers of government for its officials. But if we adopt the second policy, we will extract from the trust the coercive principles by which it clubs wage-earners, competitors and consumers, and will reduce it from a coercive institution to a merely productive institution.

In either case the goal will not be reached except by participation of working people in their proportionate share of control over the legislative, administrative and judicial branches of government.

New York.

John R. Commons.



The Socialist Movement in Great Britain



THE labor movement in Great Britain is a sort of *pons asinorum* for socialists who go abroad to find out how the world is getting along. Our conditions are special; we have an insular habit of mind; we require a great deal of understanding. The object of this paper is to point out some of the special characteristics of the labor movement here, with a view to showing that, if we have a way of our own for doing things, it is because we have special circumstances to deal with.

To begin with, no other country has a trade union movement like ours. Commercial trade unionism has been inspired by the men who led the socialist movement. English trade unionism has had no inspiration whatever beyond the simple conviction that in making demands against masters, unity is strength. Now and again the English trade unionist has been fired by some enthusiasm for "a large movement" as during the sixth decade of the last century, but behind the enthusiasts there have always been a solid mass of men lacking imagination, anxious to grasp tightly the gains of the day before advancing to realize a greater gain. The English trade union movement as a whole has consequently stuck close to practical work—meaning by practical that which gives results most readily. So closely has it fixed its attention upon results that it has barely paused to inquire how valuable they were. An aim that could be nicknamed Utopian was doomed. An average Englishman has a considerable amount of assurance, but he flees from the approach of a New Jerusalem as a man flees from Satan. The English trade union movement, then, instead of showing a grasp of fundamental industrial economics and instead of laying hold upon a theory of social reconstruction under which the wage-earner in his modern significance shall disappear, has shifted its policy as the phases of industrial evolution have changed. When machinery was being introduced, the unions condemned machinery; when women's labor was being employed the unions tried to stop it; when the market was rising they attempted to force up wages or reduce hours. They were playing a game of check or of see-saw; they had no reconstructive ideas. The only glimmer of reconstructive effort they ever

had was when they added sick, out-of-work, death or other forms of insurance to their activities.

Looking back over the whole movement, two distinct epochs of policy seem to be marked off. Until about the end of the fifth decade of the last century the unions were striving to check the use of labor-saving machinery. The anti-machine policy was succeeded by another which was forced upon the unions rather than selected or discovered by them. A great demand for labor was growing up and the abler trade union leaders saw that their best move under the circumstances was to abandon all attempts to regulate the way in which labor was to be employed—whether it wielded a hammer itself, or saw that a steam engine was doing it properly—and strive so to organize the supply of labor that it would make a good bargain with capital. The problem was one of bargaining; the trade union was an instrument by which the individual workman might approach the possibility of making a really free contract. This policy marked the period roughly dating between 1845-50 and 1880-90. During the latter margin, trade union leader after trade union leader began to recognize that the old policy was played out. Whenever by a depression of trade, the sudden introduction of new machinery, a protective combination of capital (whether it be a federation or a fusion of independent firms) demand slackens or supply loses its power to regulate the market, the second policy of trades unionism becomes futile. What has happened is, that employers have seen that if capital would regulate its demand for labor, labor could not regulate its own supply. This is what is now happening. Trusts are being formed in some instances, and in others the masters in whole trades, such as engineering and building, are federating themselves in unions.

Those new conditions again demand a new trade union policy, and, let it be emphasized, the policy is being discovered not deductively from general industrial principles, from comprehensive economic facts, but inductively by a process of experiment. Some unions like the boilermakers and bedstead-makers have actually entered the alliance of their employers and have agreed upon scales of wages and profits; others have accepted a sliding scale arrangement by which profits and wages move in automatic sympathy. But these experiments are breaking down one after another, because they are unworkable. Their machinery, under one strain or other, goes out of gear. The clearest headed of the trade unionists are abandoning all hope of being able to rig what is called "the law of supply and demand" so that it may play into the hands of labor in making a bargain, and are beginning to make their demands on the ground of human and social right; and these demands are becoming known as a "physiological and moral minimum."

But no sooner do active unionists think in this way than they see that no "physiological and moral minimum" can be secured until the trunk industries of the country are held by the community and used to promote communal ends rather than individual gains.

At this point, two methods suggest themselves. The first is that of co-operation—a movement which in this country has also developed an existence separate from a social ideal. Great efforts are being made at the present moment to get trade unionists committed to co-operative production, but as the society which is pushing this matter has, quite naturally, associated with it some of the bitterest enemies that trade unionism has, it is not very likely to divert a great deal of trade union energy. The second is the political method. This is gaining in favor very rapidly. There has always been a tendency for trade unions to rush into politics when pushed into a corner, but their conception of political action has been as temporary and insufficient as their industrial policy.

In this connection it may be of interest if I quote a paragraph from the first annual report presented by the joint executive committee of trade unions and socialist societies to the delegates attending the conference on labor representation held in Manchester last February:

"It is appropriate that the first annual report of this committee should refer briefly to the various attempts that have been made to initiate a labor representation movement as an adjunct to trade unionism. Immediately after the reform act of 1868, which enfranchised working men in the boroughs, a movement started, both inside and outside the trade union ranks, demanding that an end should be put to the legal grievances which trade unions then suffered, by sending to the House of Commons a body of trade union representatives. The Labor Representation League, established for this purpose, was essentially a trades union congress offshoot. It failed in its efforts to get its candidates recognized by the managers of either political party, and was forced into "three-cornered" contests. A bye-election in 1869 was fought by Mr. George Odger on behalf of the trade unionists. In 1870, and again in 1873, the league had to split votes, and at the general election in 1874 it proposed to contest seventeen or eighteen constituencies. Fourteen of its candidates went to the poll, and of these only four were allowed a straight fight—A. Macdonald (Stafford); T. Burt (Morpeth); S. Mottershead (Preston); R. Cremer (Warwick). Ten were compelled to split votes—B. Pickard (Wigan); G. Howell (Aylesbury); Henry Broadhurst (Wycombe); G. Potter (Peterborough); Halliday (Merthyr); Kane (Middlesbrough); G. Odger (Southwark); Morris (Cricklade); B. Lucraft (Finsbury); Walton (Stoke-on-Trent). The most

pressing of the legal disabilities were shortly afterward redressed, and the Labor Representation League gradually disappeared. Little more was heard of such a movement (except amongst the miners, who had returned two members to Parliament in 1874) until a new kind of pressure began to be felt by trade unions—until the economic problem of capitalism took the place of the legal problem of anti-trade union legislation. Towards the end of the eighties, owing to depression in trade and the beginning of successful combinations amongst the employers, the attention of the trade unions was again turned towards labor politics. The London dock strike in particular marks the birth of the new political movement. The congress which met in Belfast in 1893 resolved that the unions should combine to form a parliamentary fund, but the parliamentary committee had to report next year that only two unions had agreed to put the resolution in operation. The matter had to drop for the time being. In 1890 the Labor Electoral Association was formed, but failed to impress the unions with the necessity for its existence, and congress itself could not be induced to take official action until 1899, when the railway servants' resolution, which originated the present movement, was passed."

At last the trade unions are being driven to formulate an economic policy of reconstruction and to adopt political methods. The movement has grown from within. Its existence does not show so much the success of a propaganda, though the Independent Labor Party—started in 1894—has done specially good work in drawing trade unionism on towards socialism. It is the evolution of a method designed to protect the wage-earner against the capitalist.

The new trade union method is bound to remain a little indefinite for some time to come—until there is a break in prosperity and until a socialist policy in Parliament wins the confidence of the rank and file of the trade unions. It would be a mistake to force it prematurely into dogmas and shibboleths. When a certain road is taken, certain goals must be reached, and when British trade unionism is driven to politics and to formulate demands for a labor representation which shall be independent of the non-labor political parties, it has entered a road that has socialism at the end of it.

As a matter of fact, when we consider men apart from movements, the best men amongst the trade unionists are socialists. It is practically impossible to fill the secretaryship of an important trade union now without appointing a member of the Independent Labor Party to the office. Two such offices were vacant recently, and in both cases they were held previously by men who had been active and bitter opponents of ours. The societies, moreover, were, generally speaking, "old-fashioned" societies—the boilermakers and the typographical association.

And yet the new secretaries of both societies are members of the Independent Labor Party. The secretary of the steel smelters has also become a convert of ours quite recently. There is not an executive of any important trade union in the country but has its group of socialists, mainly Independent Labor Party men.

I have just quoted from a report presented by the labor representation committee to a delegate meeting of members of trade unions. This is the committee which was started from the annual congress of trade unions in 1899. It did not get into working order until April in last year, and in ten months, despite much opposition from some of the more conservative unions, it had a membership of 375,931—353,070 trade unionists and 22,861 socialists; and in addition a more or less duplicated membership of trades councils amounting to 122,000.

The future of political trade unionism is largely in the hands of this committee. The report from which I have quoted contains another paragraph which, though long, may be again extracted as it puts as briefly as can be the work which the committee was able to do at the last general election.

“The abuse of constitutional power by which the government plunged the country into an election in order to snatch a hasty and unformed judgment from the electors, for its own partisan ends, made it impossible for the committee to complete its plan of campaign. The trade union candidatures, for the lack of such an organization as is now being built up, were specially backward, and were not so many as we should have wished, nor as they would have been had the election been delayed for a few months.

“And yet, the labor representation committee’s list fared remarkably well. Two members of the committee actually won seats for labor (the only victories which labor gained at the election), and, in every case but one, where comparison with 1895 is possible, its candidates improved their polls. The votes polled were 62,698 out of a total of 177,000. In ten cases the local organizations responsible for the committee’s candidates were strong enough to keep one of the ordinary parties out of the contest; in the other five constituencies they had to fight both parties. This favorable result is due, in no small measure, to the existence of the committee, and its manifesto to the electors in the constituencies where its candidates were running was signed by representatives of all the sections of the labor movement. This is a happy augury for the future. Three hundred and thirty thousand of these manifestoes were supplied gratis to the committee’s candidates. The following candidates were run by affiliated organizations and consequently were supported by the committee:

Constituency.	Candidate.	Opponents.	Labor vote.	Total vote polled.	Representation before contest.	Representation after contest.
Derby	R. Bell	2 Cons.	7,640	15,000	2 Cons.	1 Lab. and 1 Lib.
Merthyr	J. Keir Hardie	2 Libs.	5,745	13,000	2 Libs.	1 Lab. and 1 Lib.
Gower (Glam)	J. Hodge	1 Lib.	3,853	8,129	1 Lib.	1 Lib.
Sunderland	A. Wilkie	2 Cons.	8,842	19,102	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	2 Cons.
West Ham	W. Thorne	1 Con.	4,439	10,054	1 Con.	1 Con.
Blackburn	P. Snowden	2 Cons.	7,096	18,000	2 Cons.	2 Cons.
Bradford	F. Jowett	1 Con.	4,949	9,989	1 Con.	1 Con.
Halifax	J. Parker	2 Libs. and 1 Con.	3,276	13,000	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	1 Lib. and 1 Con.
Leicester	J. R. MacDonald	2 Libs. and 1 Con.	4,164	18,000	2 Libs.	1 Lib. and 1 Con.
Manchester, S. W.	F. Brocklehurst	1 Con.	2,398	6,415	1 Con.	1 Con.
Preston	J. Keir Hardie	2 Cons.	4,894	11,500	2 Cons.	2 Cons.
Bow and Bromley ...	Geo. Lansbury	1 Con.	2,558	6,961	1 Con.	1 Con.
Ashton-u-Lyne	J. Johnston	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	737	6,100	1 Con.	1 Con.
Leeds, East	W. P. Byles	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	1,266	6,805	1 Lib.	1 Con.
Rochdale	A. Clarke	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	901	11,290	1 Con.	1 Con.

"These figures compare so favorably with other labor polls, and with the general result of the election, that they must convince every one that labor candidatures promoted by labor organizations have as good a chance of success as when they are promoted by either of the old parties."

For the first time for many years the labor and socialist sections issued a united appeal and prominent trade union officials, not quite socialists, identified themselves with prominent socialists who were candidates.

The work of organization is now being proceeded with in likely labor constituencies. Special efforts are being made to bring the trade unionists, socialists and co-operators into sympathetic touch for political purposes. A probable outcome of the present situation is that when the next election comes there will be some score of the labor representation committee's candidates running in constituencies without liberal opposition and at least a dozen ought to be returned to Parliament. Of these nine should be convinced socialists.

J. Ramsay Mac Donald,
Hon. Sec. Labor Representation Committee.



Straws

THE causes of all phenomena are equally adequate." Much has been said and written about the phenomena of nature. It is, however, the purpose of this article to call special attention to the phenomena of human nature, which would probably come under the head of social phenomena; also to look for the adequate causes of the same.

If the above quotation be a truism, is it the part of good common sense, or any explanation of the case to dogmatically assert that "the reason the tramp doesn't work is that he is too lazy?" How about laziness, anyway; is it a phenomena without a cause? If so, will some "conservative," "irreproachable," "respectable" "citizen" of "high standing," "calm judgment," and "clear insight," please rise and explain the cause of the great increase of that malady of late years. How comes it that this nation's army of tramps is much greater in numbers, though many times more expensive, than its standing army?

Those who persist in repeating that stale old chestnut about the prime cause of poverty being indolence and intemperance, are here invited to furnish us with an analysis of the two maladies; mental indolence and intoxication not to be considered in the treatise; that would perhaps be asking too much.

We have quit our superstitions in part, for some generations back; hence, if our watch ceases to work we are sure there is a natural adequate cause, and what to do with it is a question so simple that almost any child will find no difficulty in answering. But to the bourgeois wisecrack philanthropist, "the problem of what to do with the tramp is indeed perplexing," and becoming more and more so all the while. We ransack ancient, medieval and modern superstition to discover the causes of these various phenomena—especially those which disturb or interest us most—and finally abandon our research, as hopelessly in the dark on the matter as when we begun. And yet we have been reading the statement for 1800 years to the effect that men do not gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. Our minds have been so clouded with superstition that we are only just now beginning to appreciate the significance of such quotations as the above and their bearing on the subject which we shall presently take up.

Straws indicate the direction of the wind, and if we study carefully the movements of the straws herein treated, we think we shall surely find that they are wafted along by "tradewinds."

It would be as well to begin at home. In our town a few of the brightest women are partially ostracized from society because forsooth "they will persist in dragging socialism into everything." "We just simply can't allow this political talk in our meetings." "I'd just like to ask her a few questions if it were not for getting her started." Further we shall see that no one does "drag in" socialism; that, on the contrary, socialism does the dragging, and impels the few to entreat the many to "take a thought and mend" and go and do likewise.

Perhaps the best thing the socio-religious world can do in this matter is to resign itself to its fate, in the reflection that it is "our manifest destiny" to rend the veil of the temple and turn their play-party into a lyceum.

In our town there are perhaps a dozen of the male sex who create more or less friction by "eternally talkin' socialism." "Everything they see, hear, smell or taste reminds them of socialism." (Nearly all roads lead some people to socialism, and the number of such is continually growing larger.) "They make me weary." "They don't know enough to let up when a fellow is plum exhausted."

The foregoing are some of the unfriendly comments one hears. Go to one of the three mercantile houses, one of the two blacksmith shops or to the pharmacy in town and you stand in great danger of becoming innoculated with the dread virus. Go to the U. S. postoffice, and even that institution savors of socialism, in spite of the fact that its master is a republican. And we must not forget the outlying shingle mills which teach classes in practical economics. And this reminds us not to overlook the public schools, where socialism is creeping in, though as yet inarticulate.

Now for another straw which the wind driveth about. For several years past during the winter months, it has been the custom of our town people to organize a literary society, which took the form of a popular entertainment, consisting principally of music, recitations, dialogues, readings, and once in a while a light drama. Debating was also in order. But economics has gradually been creeping in, and the result is that a motion to make a chapter from Bellamy's "Equality," with free discussion of questions involved, a part of each weekly programme, was carried at our first meeting this season.

One more item. The most important church organization in our town has changed preachers at least every twelve months for the past five or six years, and each succeeding incumbent is treated to a somewhat larger allowance of economic thought at the hands of the cranks. For example, the good parson at the Sunday evening service talks to the young people about "Success," i. e., he rehashes that 19th century sermon we've all heard

over and over about energy, temperance and frugality. And in the course of his discourse relates that inspiring incident in which a bank, a pin and a new testament play the leading parts. As a result an after meeting is held between the worthy minister and one of the cranks, in which they both testify. Meanwhile another crank has hurried home to burn the midnight oil in preparing a friendly criticism, soliciting an answer. The same he mails to the preacher but receives no reply, which, however, is no ill omen, as we discover a little later, for the very next socialist lecture in town is attended by our ecclesiastical brother, where he gets a clearer understanding of the cause and a kindlier feeling exists between all concerned.

Thus by this "ceaseless beat of thought upon the shores of error" ministers are among the great multitude who are continually being induced to choose whom they will serve.

It will be noticed that I have cited no circumstance outside my own immediate neighborhood; but the same thing, as all who have observed the phenomena, will attest, is all the while taking place in a greater or less degree throughout the whole civilized world.

The "Daily Voice," of Chicago, national organ of the Prohibition party, dated November 8, 1900, contains a very suggestive editorial to which we could call special attention, particularly from those who are interested in sociology.

The editor in referring to propaganda work says of the socialist: "The fact that has impressed us most is this, wherever you find a socialist you find an agitator; a man who makes it one of the foremost things of his life to set people to thinking along the lines he is interested in. Your socialist may be an uneducated man, he may have no abilities as a public speaker; perhaps he could not write an article to save his life; but he finds something that he can do to persuade people to his way of thinking. He learns to speak, he learns to debate; he develops the ability to write. He has read the great classics of his cause. He has their arguments at his tongue's end, and goes loaded for a discussion with every man he meets. No propaganda has been more earnest, and scarce any more efficient. We speak of these things to say to our readers the more pointedly, why don't you become an enthusiast for prohibition? Why don't you develop the power to speak and debate and write for the cause? Did you make any speeches during the campaign? Did you hold any curbstone discussions with a dozen or two of your neighbors around you?"

Now socialists in general, we feel sure, will be obliged to the editor for his remarks concerning them in spite of his suggestion that our "views may be one-sided and fallacious." As to the number of sides our cause has, a comparison with Prohibi-

tion will not greatly embarrass us. And right here I would like to predict that our cause will, in the coming four years, draw comparatively more from the Prohibition party than from either of the regular capitalist parties, because they are so wholly in earnest, mentally capable and morally courageous.

It is not my purpose to treat the above editorial in detail, but I do wish to make a few observations and answer his main query from the standpoint of modern scientific socialism. From the standpoint of casual observation the matter would seem to be of small importance and I am strongly of the opinion that the question was propounded without the slightest expectation of ever receiving a real adequate answer; nevertheless it is part of the phenomena, a significant straw.

Let us here refer to the quotation at the beginning of this article, but change the wording so that it will read: "The cause of every phenomenon is sufficiently adequate." Now this proposition being axiomatic gives a key to the whole situation. Briefly stated the prohibition movement has not sufficient cause back of it to induce the average adherent to put forth an amount of effort equal to that of the average socialist.

To be more explicit, let us quote from Heine: "We do not take possession of our ideas but are possessed by them. They master us and force us into the arena, where, like gladiators we must fight for them." I do not contend that socialists are inherently better, more intelligent or energetic than others, but that we are possessed by an idea great enough to compel us to hold curbstone discussions, study the great classics of our cause and develop ability to speak, write and debate. Now by this time I trust the answer to our editor's problem has begun to be apparent. Once let the socialist idea get possession of the republican, democrat or prohibitionist and he will be no less a propagandist than those of the socialist persuasion.

Capitalistic propaganda is carried on only by stump speakers and the public press, while with socialism you are liable to take it from any one who has it, as well as from observation and reading; it being not only contagious but epidemic; for as the editor has pointed out, every socialist is a propagandist. Probably not one prohibitionist in a hundred is a missionary in the cause. Furthermore, that party had substantially the same reason for its existence ten, fifteen or even twenty years ago that it now has; whereas the metamorphosis of capitalism is continually provoking new socialist thought, and making independent political action on the part of the exploited class, more and more imperative.

Ten years ago the New England operative in the vortex of our industrial system, doubtless had sufficient reason for taking an independent line of political action. Five years ago those same

operatives had many more reasons for such conduct, and many more wage laborers were caught by the inflowing tides of capitalism and made to see that their political interests were no longer identical with those of their economic masters; on the contrary, that the interests of those two classes (under capitalism) were becoming all the while more and more opposed, and this year of our Lord 1901 brings still many more of us to a realizing sense of where our class interests lie.

Thus this little distinction between the causes of these two political effects, viz: Prohibition and Socialism, becomes an item of no small importance.

As we go over and investigate, the molehill becomes a mountain. Our recent national election certainly verified the claim made by the socialists that the political and hence economic triumph of their cause depends primarily on the class-consciousness of the disinherited. And this mental state develops with the logic of industrial events. For instance in mechanical Massachusetts, socialists are mostly from the ranks of the factory operatives, where they have had the philosophy of the class struggle, of which they are thoroughly cognizant, practically presented to them from their youth up; consequently they polled a very respectable vote and sent two of their number to the legislature.

Let us investigate a little further along this line. Someone has said that "thoughts are things." Now then, as to the machine; the original object of course was that it should turn out only fabrics of one kind or another; various commodities representing as much surplus value as possible. But happily we have discovered that it is now already turning out an idea that is "possessing" and "mastering" the "man under the machine" and "forcing him into the arena" where he is fulfilling his mission, fighting humanity's noble, good fight, for the greatness of the cause constraineth him.

On the outcome of this world's battle depends a more normal society, and on a more normal society depends the abolition of the liquor traffic. The ship of state rides not on the ebb and flow of enthusiasm for a single phase of human advancement, but rather upon the ceaseless onward ocean-tides of industry; i. e., the social trend is dependent on the industrial trend.

But to return to consciousness, that is to class-consciousness; let us contrast the east with the west which has not made nearly so substantial a showing, simply because capitalistic industry has not yet developed far enough to create a class-conscious state of mind in the proletariat of that section; or we might have gone on to say that the mechanism of industry in the west is as yet too imperfect to turn out a real full blown economic idea. We further maintain that evolution is the power behind the

throne in the phenomena of industry, and that this same irresistible, inevitable, industrial evolution is gradually permeating the whole social fabric with socialist thought; and that, regardless of whether it be distasteful to this one or that one. "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear."

The foregoing is a brief outline of what seems to be capitalism's method of mustering and mobilizing the forces for its final overthrow; i. e., the means of its own extermination.

The "blade" we may say is typical of, or corresponds with the phenomena treated under the heading of this article—straws. The "ear," the epoch of class consciousness, and the "full corn," the period of political solidarity of the capitalist class on the one hand and the dispossessed class on the other.

It will be a war of ballots not bullets, and thus by sheer force of numbers, the citadel of capitalism is bound to fall. First a murmur and a query, then protest and investigation; then the great powerful political battering ram is turned against our industrial Jericho and its walls begin to crumble. As louder grows the noise and tumult from without, within the revel ceases, the prince of mountebanks comes forth and at the climax of a grand awful peroration exclaims, "What means this hammering at the gates of Capitalism?" And the morning of the new century answers that the real Democracy is now fitted to survive.

"Legion."



Mind and Socialism

Motto: It is not the conscious mind of man that determines the form of his being, but, vice versa, the social form of his being that determines the conscious action of his mind.—*Karl Marx*. Preface to "Critique of Pol. Economy.



HEN Marx, in the stillness of the night, concentrated his powerful mind on the thought quoted above, intent on his life's purpose of forging the mental weapons for the emancipation of the proletarian mind from the baneful influence of capitalistic teaching, he could hardly anticipate that some of his latter-day followers would make his thought the cornerstone for such arguments as the following:

"If it is not the conscious mind of man that determines the form of his being, but quite the reverse, then it would follow that capitalistic society must grow into socialism as the outcome of the free play of economic forces, without the intervention of the conscious social mind, as embodied in the socialist party platform."*

"The historical merit of Karl Marx, which has immortalized his name, is that he has shown that capitalistic society is *growing into socialism*, whether we like it or not, by force of economic development."†

Such attempts to subvert the logic of the fundamental principles on which the socialist movement is based have lately appeared on our side of the "great pond," after the advocates of this new doctrine had met an ignominious defeat in Europe. Here, as they did over there, they shift uneasily from one subject to another when confronted by opposition. Here, as there, they seek refuge in pettifogging when their stock in trade of arguments is exhausted. And if nothing else will avail, they try to impeach the value of the arguments brought forth by the defenders of the "class struggle" by hinting darkly at the influence of theologic dogmas, this mummified bugaboo of a bygone era.

These and similar methods are necessary attributes of arguments directed against beliefs and hypothetical conceptions which they impute to us, but which we do not hold. It is a good way of biasing the clear judgment of the readers; but whether used intentionally or only as the result of illogical deductions from our reasoning, it can hardly be recommended as a good way of proving the strength of the position defended by such methods.

**Marrist*. *Int. Soc. Rev.*, Oct., 1900; page 225.

†*Marrist*. *Int. Soc. Rev.*, March, 1901; page 583.

Where have we attempted to fetter the freedom of scientific investigation? Have not we rather advised Marxist to investigate a little further by recommending the perusal of other works written by Marx?

The spirit of proletarianism is as far removed from religious sectarianism as proletarian socialism is from state socialism. This spirit will be the "bull in the china shop" of a frail philosophy that would represent us as the helpless victims of blind forces, that would stamp socialist propaganda as folly and that would ridicule the idea of a "class struggle," our one and only guiding star in the desolate wilderness of capitalistic economics. I propose to show—

I. That neither Marx nor any eminent "class-conscious" socialist after him ever shared Marxist's fatalistic view of the growing of society into socialism as the outcome of purely economic development, and

II. That the mind of man plays a very important part in the evolution of society.

I. THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE QUESTION.

Marx as well as the prominent representatives of class-conscious socialism in all countries have always held that the course of economic evolution must logically lead to a revolution. Not the brutal and blind revolution of a savage mob—as Marxist would fain represent our view—but the conscious application of legal means by an economically and politically organized proletariat.

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital," says Marx,* "who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class—a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with it and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

Does Marx think it will be a "violent revolution?"* No. For a little further on he continues:

"*The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult than the transformation of capitalistic private property,*

*Capital, Chapt. XXXII, page 487.

already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

We see that we have passed the worst stage of the evolution, when the concentration of capital has become a fetter on the mode of production. Even Marxist admits that "capitalism has long since crossed the danger line which separates private property from public ownership."* Therefore I am at a loss to explain his "Fourth of July pyrotechnics" at our idea of social revolution.

What is there utopian in Marx's conception of this stage of economic evolution? We don't see it. Neither did Engels, who wrote in 1886:†

"The sighed-for period of prosperity will not come; as often as we seem to perceive its heralding symptoms, so often do they again vanish into air. Meanwhile, each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, "what to do with the unemployed"; but while the number of the unemployed keeps swelling from year to year, there is nobody to answer that question; and we can almost calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate into their own hands."

What is the only hope for avoiding a social tragedy according to Engels?

To listen to the voice of a man, "whom... study led to the conclusion that... the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means."‡

In replying to the criticisms directed against what Barth called the "economic conception of history" due to the influence of Marx, Engels wrote in 1890:§ "We had to emphasize the *dominating principle*—the economic side of the question—which was not admitted by our opponents. In doing so we did not always find time, space or opportunity to give due recognition to *the other factors* contributing to the general result."

And a little later he makes this point still clearer:¶ "There are innumerable forces, crossing and recrossing one another, an infinite group of parallelograms of forces. These result in the historical event. The latter, again, may be regarded as the product of a power that is, as a whole, acting unconsciously and involuntarily. For every one is hindering that which every one else is striving to effect, and the result is such as no one wished to obtain."

The same thought is again found in another letter, written

*Marxist, Int. Soc. Rev., October, 1900; page 225.

†Preface to Capital.

‡Ibid.

§Frederic Engels. Letter of 1890, publ. in "Der Sozialistische Akademiker," Oct., 1895

¶Ibidem.

by Engels in 1894:* "Political, judicial, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic and any other development is founded on economic evolution. But all these factors react on one another and on their economic foundation."

That Liebknecht shared the views of Marx and Engels on this subject, is well known. In the "Gotha Program" of the German Social Democratic Party, which gives expression to Liebknecht's convictions, we find the role assigned to the mind defined in the following manner:

"The liberation of labor demands the transformation of the means of production into the common property of society and the associative regulation of the collective labor with general employment and just distribution of the proceeds of labor.

The emancipation of labor must be the work of the laboring class, opposed to which all other classes are only a reactionary body. . . .

In order to accomplish our object we must organize ourselves."†

As to the position of Kautsky on this question, let his article on "Trades Unions and Socialism" in the present issue of the International Socialist Review speak for itself.

Bernstein, who finds such great favor in the eyes of Marxist, supports this position by his own testimony.

"Of course," he writes, "I do not assert that Marx and Engels have at any time overlooked the fact that other than economic factors are exerting their influence on the course of historic events. . . . Whoever wishes to apply the materialistic conception of history to-day, is obliged to use it in its developed, not in its original form. That is to say, full recognition must be accorded to the development and influence of productive forces and conditions as well as to juridical and ethical conceptions, historical and religious traditions of each epoch, influences of geographical and other natural relations. *Human character and mental abilities naturally belong to these causes.*"‡

This idea is more fully developed a little further on: "The more other than purely economic forces bring their influence to bear on social life the more variable becomes the effect of so-called historic necessity. . . . On one hand appears the growing insight into the laws of evolution and more especially of economic evolution. On the other hand we perceive, partly as the cause of this insight, partly as its consequence, *an increasing ability to direct the economic development.*" ¶

*Publ. in "Der Sozialistische Akademiker," October, 1895.

†Liebknecht. Socialism: What it is and what it seeks to accomplish. Translated by May Wood Simons. Page 23. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

‡Ed. Bernstein. Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie. (Stuttgart, 1899. J. H. W. Dietz, Nachf.) Page 7.

¶Ibidem, page 10.

In plain American, at present we cannot absolutely determine "the form of our being," but we can modify it by our influence.

Comrade Herron recently maintained this position in his famous speech at Central Music Hall, September 29, 1900.* "Hitherto, what we call society has been the evolution of blind forces which man did not understand and could not control. But we are reaching that moment when man will become the evolutor as well as the evolved; when man will become conscious of himself as the decretal and creative force in evolution."

So far are all these men removed from the idea of fatalistic resignation to purely economic factors that they devote all their energies to the organization of the proletariat and to spreading the doctrine of "class-consciousness." If the social question could be solved by the agency of economic forces alone, then socialist propaganda would be folly indeed. But it cannot. Without the influence of socialist principles the evolution of society would end in a howling chaos of destruction and murder. Nothing will restrain and guide the penned-up passions of the oppressed masses but the scientific truth of socialism.

Let us look around and ascertain whether the concentration of capital in the United States has not reached a point when the signs predicted by Marx become visible, and the integument of private ownership may be burst asunder with less difficulty than the process of concentration offered.

We cannot judge our conditions by European examples, for our industrial development is far ahead of the European. Therefore no resolutions fitting the condition of the working-class in Europe, no matter how "plain and businesslike" the language of such documents may be, will give us any clew to the policy we shall have to pursue in our country. We must decide for ourselves.

Compare Marx's description of the critical moment with the present state of affairs in America. Do not his words convey the most accurate description of the situation that any eyewitness could give? Look at practically the entire railroad system of the United States combined under one management. Observe how the control of the industries supplying coal, steel, grain, sugar, cattle, glue, kerosene, gas, electricity is passing into fewer and fewer hands almost from month to month. Can concentration go much farther?

Mark how the number of unemployed increases at the same time. Watch the growth of misery, slavery, degradation and exploitation. Think of a man and his two half-grown girls

*Why I Am a Socialist. Publ. by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Page 19.

earning together 60 cents for twelve hours of night work in a Southern cotton mill. Go to the "Western Electric" in Chicago and see college graduates working at menial tasks for \$7 per week. Travel through the vast regions of the South where farming on a small scale has become unprofitable and convince yourself of the abject poverty of the agricultural population. Read the regulations and restrictions to which the wage slaves must submit or face starvation, crime and the penitentiary. They can no longer eat, drink or wear what they like nor live where they choose.

The state will socialize these industries, says Marxist. But the state—that is Hanna. And if Hanna has the power to promise the next presidential election to Teddy,* who will force him to dissolve the trust that sustains him?

Since the Republican party will not, therefore, reduce the hours of labor for the "working cattle" or give them higher wages, and since the Democratic party is hopelessly reactionary, it is obvious that only the socialist party will be willing and able to do something for the progress of the world, which is now hampered by the Republican party.

Is it likely that socialists will be inclined to adopt state socialism when they can get the "real thing"? What is there in state socialism to recommend it?

"State socialism," answers Marxist, "means primarily public ownership or public control of monopolies for the benefit of the consumer."† Shades of Billy and Teddy! What do you think of this? You know very well that state socialism means primarily control of national resources for the benefit of those who contribute liberally to the campaign fund of the Republican party.

Instance the postal service paying millions into the spacious pockets of the transportation trust; the army and navy, a field that can tell startling stories of exploitations by pets of Republican party managers; the public school funds appropriated to political purposes and the employes of this "socialized" service, either instruments of capitalists or relegated to obscurity; heavy tariffs for the benefit of industries that have long outgrown the stage where they needed protection, and subsidies for steamship companies that could be better off by strict business management. And the consumer somewhere in the dim distance vaguely wondering where he will come in—that is state socialism!

Are we going to perpetuate such a monstrous "civilization," when we can put society on the just basis of collectivism?

*Marxist, *Int. Soc. Rev.*, March, 1901; page 681.

†Marxist, *Int. Soc. Rev.*, March, 1901; page 687.

"Ah, *when*," says Marxist. "This is where you fellows are utopian."

Are we?

"Mankind always sets to itself only such problems as it is able to solve; for upon close analysis it always appears that the problem itself is raised only then when the material conditions requisite for its solution are already in existence, or at least in process of formation."*

Now, here we have a state of society when centralization has almost reached the stage where one man can control all the nation's means of production. On the other hand, the sentiment in favor of socialism has been growing in all strata of society to such an extent that we may expect at any moment to see the movement assuming gigantic proportions. The problem is upon us. The moment has arrived for the proletarian mind to enter its field and reap its harvest. The iron is hot, and we must strike it.

II. THE INTELLECTUAL SIDE OF THE QUESTION.

Here is the point where we are justified in resenting a philosophy that would undo all the patient labor of fifty years of socialist agitation. Now more than ever it is necessary to forget our petty differences, if we mean business, to unite and to go to work in earnest. If we would not prepare the masses now for the inheritance into which they will by all appearances soon come, then the chance of our life will be missed. But no class-conscious socialist thinks of missing it. The handwriting on the wall is too plain.

"It is beyond doubt," writes Vandervelde, "that the concentration realized by trusts, while increasing the cohesion of employers and swelling the army of unemployed, weakens to that degree the resistive power of trade unions." †

Let the members of trade unions realize that industrial concentration is rendering the power to strike practically of no avail, and they will swell the army of class-conscious proletarians to such an extent that our political strength will at once become formidable. Self-interest will then draw over to us all those who do not derive any immediate benefit from their adherence to the Republican party.

It depends on us to bring the matter before the people in so clear a light that no doubt about the correctness of our principles can remain. The way is prepared.

Read the signs of the times. Is it not significant that a magazine like the *North American Review* is publishing articles

*Marx, Preface to "Critique of Political Economy."

†E. Vandervelde. *Collectivism and Industrial Evolution*. Translated by Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 1901.

with socialist tendencies? Does it not matter that country papers all over the land are beginning to make socialist quotations a regular part of their columns? Is it nothing that Heron finds thousands of enthusiastic followers, eager to listen to him every Sunday? Has it not a deep meaning when young women leave their studies to spread the gospel of socialist brotherhood? Will it not change the world when sweet little tots, all unconscious of the deep emotions they stir in the breasts of men, sing on their walk to school:

Tho' we wield nor spear nor sabre,
 We, the sturdy sons of labor,
 Helping ev'ry man his neighbor,
 Shrink not from the fight.
 See our homes before us!
 Wives and babes implore us!
 So firm we stand in heart and hand
 And swell the dauntless chorus:
 Men of labor, young or hoary,
 Would ye win a name in story?
 Strike for home, for life, for glory,
 Justice, Freedom, Right!

Yes, it will indeed make a great difference whether such manifestations are part of our public life or not.

In fifty years, seven millions of class-conscious socialists, clasping hands around the world, have grown out of the old utopian Communist Club. In as many months we may see the number of socialists grow to the same figure in the United States, as a logical and unavoidable result of an unexpectedly rapid concentration of the means of production.

May those who still consider such a view as utopian remember that the "utopia of to-day often becomes the reality of to-morrow." The unexpected may happen that the proletarian mind, stirred up from its customary stupor by some unforeseen event, will suddenly awake to a consciousness of its supremacy. Let us be prepared to guide it so that it will obliterate the capitalist integument of private ownership, declare the practically socialized means of production collective property and proceed to organize the mode of distribution on collectivist principles.

E. Untermann.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER III.



ARTHA McPHERSON was causing trouble to the matron and managers of "St. Agnes' Holy House"; Julian's presence was needed there to quell the insubordinate outcast. This was the news that greeted him the following morning. In the afternoon he went out to the institution. Its managers were in friendly co-operation with the Association for Sociological Research.

He was led upstairs to a large apartment filled with cots and young women holding small bundles in their arms sitting beside the cots. Martha sat apart with her babe on her lap.

"We've had to keep her from the rest to prevent contamination," the matron whispered; "she's the worst we've got—shameless to a degree that makes me blush. Yes, sir! at my age and with all I've saw and knowed of the sinfulness of the world it makes me blush to behold her!"

Julian, glancing at the lady's round, purple face and huge head growing out of immense shoulders, vaguely wondered if he should indeed attribute her chronic floridness to a too prolonged contemplation of the frail feminine humanity gathered under that roof.

"What has Martha done?" he asked.

"I'll give you a sample; she'll show herself off quick enough. Just take a seat. Martha, this is the gentleman from the good society that has looked after you like a loving parent since you was took away by the 'Croolty' from your first parents that misused you so dreadful."

"They didn't misuse me," muttered the girl sullenly.

"They didn't? Not when they spent all their money on drink and gave you nothin' to eat and no clothes to put on your back?"

"That warn't misusin'," explained the Magdalen desperately. "Pappy was out o' work, and me mammy 'd drink jes' to keep up her sperrits. I've been misused worse since I left 'em—abused more than they ever done. I'd go back right to-morrow if I knowed where they was."

The matron shot a pleased glance at Julian.

"Now, you see the gratitude that's in her? But that ain't what we come to talk about. Martha, this here gentleman

wants to know what *we* want to know; he's taken the occasion to come on that errand and he can't do no more for you till he knows all them particulars that you're holding back in your wicked heart. Now, I want you to confess to him the whole truth. I want you to open that heart of yours and let the light of the Lord Jesus shine into it for just this one brief moment. Don't you know Him and this here gentleman is standin' together an' knockin' at the door of that wicked heart o' yours?"

Julian considered whether he would dispute this representation of the Teacher of Men conspiring with himself to further the ends of a vulgar prosecutor of the defenceless, but he decided to await further developments.

"There ain't nothin' to confess," replied the girl stubbornly.

"There, sir—that's all the answer we get to our pleadings. Why, you wouldn't believe the kindnesses that's been showered on her! Every one of our managers has been here a-pleadin' with her in turn. They come rollin' up in their carriages and a-rustlin' up in their silks and satins and their furs and velvets to waste their valuable time in this here sinful room, when they might be enjoyin' theirselves at their afternoon teas and receptions! One sweet, religious lady, she got down on her knees on this very floor and prayed and sang two hymns by her side. But did she get out of her the name of that there child's father? Not a bit of it—no more than you will now, sir!"

Julian was about to end the conversation by disclaiming indignantly any share of curiosity on the subject, when his attention was directed to Martha's face. She sat straight in her chair with glazed eyes fixed on the blank, unpainted wall, Her head was raised; her expression had frozen into a kind of petrified horror, as if she were looking straight at some awful object. Had the mention of her child's father raised a fearful apparition?

The matron laid a fat hand on Julian's sleeve. "Now you see it," she whispered triumphantly—"the look we've all been gettin'!" She raised her voice and addressed the girl threateningly, "You brazen-eyed creature! We've been castin' our pearls before such as you long enough! This gentleman's got the power to inflict proper punishment and he ain't goin' to take the lies from your mouth that—"

"Woman—be silent!" Julian turned upon her with a voice of command; he ordered her sternly and briefly to withdraw.

"I wish to speak to this girl alone." He arose from his chair and faced the astounded matron without the shadow of an apology in his manner. She gasped for breath, her voluble speech failing her in such an extraordinary crisis. With a gesture of rage and consternation, she fled from the room.

Julian turned to Martha. She was no longer staring at the wall, but was bending over her child devotedly. Her expression had utterly changed.

"What do you call the little fellow?" Julian asked as he leaned forward to touch the child's hand.

"His name is Tahmmmy—an' it's Jimmy, too. Tahmmmy-James. That's his name. There was the two of 'em,—but they're gone now."

"There were two," repeated Julian, bewildered. "Two what?"

"Two boys—my bruvvers—Tahmmmy an' Jimmy. Their real names was Thomas an' James. The Cruelty got 'em. They was put away in a orphans' home. I guess they're dead now. Tahmmmy wouldn't live long in a orphans' home. He didn't want to be no orphan, but he was took an' made one—him an' Jimmy—an' me, too."

"I never knew you had brothers." Julian hung his head over the incomplete knowledge of the various associations that had exercised such omnipotent control over this young creature's destiny. If they had known of the existence of the brothers, they had failed to pass it on.

"Could I find 'em, do you s'pose, if I was to go an' ask at all them houses where they has boy orphans an' look 'em over an' p'int 'em out to them as has 'em in charge—supposin' they ain't dead? I'd know 'em wiv their hair cut off quick enough! Tahmmmy's got eyes like this here baby. You could tell they was all to one fam'bly. Look at my baby's eyes." She held the infant, who was now aroused from his slumbers, towards Julian, her pale young face full of pride and motherliness.

"The bittern standing in solitary possession of the 'waste places and the pools of water' might make a more appropriate show of family pride," thought Julian. He expressed his appreciation of the baby's eyes.

"He had eyes that looked like he was talkin' back to the angels in heaven—Tahmmmy had. But Jimmy was born with just common eyes. I darsn't call my baby after Tahmmmy an' not after him too, 'cause Jimmy was that jealous o' Tahmmmy he'd s'pose I did it to spite 'im. I never made a pin's difference 'tween 'em, but it's Tahmmmy I seen always in my dreams after he was put away—lookin' white an' sorrowful. I used to wake up cryin' from sich dreams; but I don't have 'em any more since this here one's come. I 'member when Tahmmmy was a baby like this here one. He's a-goin' to be Tahmmmy right over ag'in. Mebbe he's sent a-purpose? Why did them dreams stop all to onct without he was sent a-purpose?" Martha turned her tear-laden, colorless eyes full upon Julian.

It was certainly best to pass over the inquiry. "I will try to

find out what has become of your brothers; but now we must decide about the baby and how you can manage to support it."

Martha looked cautiously around. "They want me to give him away, that's what they want. Some would be glad to be rid of 'im—but I ain't one o' that kind. I love my beautiful baby." She kissed him tenderly. "They ask me every day who he looks like. Why, who is there for him to look like *but me*—without it's Tahmmy? Just as if he had two parents like other folks!"

Was she merely protecting herself—as a flower shuts up its petals in the pelting rain? She was a simple creature—a mere child. Something very like innocence looked out of her eyes. She seemed to Julian to be obeying a mysterious, all-powerful instinct which forbade her contemplating for a second the evil that had surrounded her. She would live only in the present. She would not look into that degrading background. When forced to do so, it froze her young soul into the blank horror which he had witnessed in her eyes.

He moved swiftly to the conclusion that she should not remain another hour under that roof. The door opened to admit the matron, who came forward snorting. Julian stated his decision briefly. She poured forth a cataract of angry words.

"My lady managers will be told, sir, how their representative has been treated by the person wrongfully called a gentleman! Eleven matrons in sixteen years has been put in charge of this institution, the board o' managers havin' been a-strivin' and a-strugglin' in vain to obtain a lady of *my* experience and *my* respectability, which they was unable to do until I consented to sacrifice my worldly prospects and accept their paltry salary for the good of these poor creatures here below, an' the hope of a reward in heaven; and when I tell them that I've been called '*a woman*' to my face, sir—"

Julian's wits wandered during this oration; he was trying to decide whether he saw before him Mrs. Bumble or Mrs. Squeers in the flesh. He repeated blandly his former statement: "I wish to remove the girl. Be kind enough to get her and the child ready to leave at once."

"The child stays here," said the official, stamping her foot and folding her arms defiantly. "You can take the girl, but the babe belongs to the institution."

"I fail to understand," murmured Julian, looking away. He thought it extraordinary that a board of refined women should retain such a woman as this in a position of authority. And did not her eleven predecessors only emphasize the capacity of these "boards" for hideous blundering? He could not bear to look at this preposterous and terrible personage. Her vulgar outlines, only remotely suggested the

coarseness of the spiritual fiber within, but they actually hurt his eyes; he turned them away in obedience to an instinct of delicacy—an exaggerated deference to her sex—which would not betray all the disgust that was mirrored in his soul. But the august lady moved herself into the direct range of his vision.

"It's in the by-laws, sir! 'In consideration of the care, nursing and attention given to the inmates, it is resolved that the legal control of their offspring belongs to the board of managers who hereby constitute themselves guardians of all children born in this institution!'"

She recited these words with gleaming eyes, and finished with a lunge of her head like an angry bull.

"Both ridiculous and illegal," observed Julian coolly. "I shall remove Martha and the child immediately. Get your things on, Martha."

The girl rose with a frightened air and moved with faltering steps toward the door.

"Give me the child!" commanded the matron sternly.

"I'll take it," interposed Julian audaciously, holding out his arms. Martha laid the babe against his shoulder and disappeared. Julian sat down, holding the child awkwardly. He turned crimson, conscious of the absurdity of the situation. The matron smiled scornfully and continued her oration. It passed rapidly into vulgar abuse and insinuation.

He was thankful that Martha returned promptly, tying the faded ribbons of an old woolen hood under her chin; a thin, shabby shawl hung over her right arm. Julian asked for a heavier wrap.

"If you choose to break the rules of the institution and insult her who is the head of it, you can all go out just as you came in," was the vicious reply.

The two culprits descended the wide stairway, followed by the matron's mocking laughter. Their exit was hasty and undignified; at the last they had all the appearance of fugitives fleeing from a justifiable prosecution.

Julian was obliged to wrap the infant in his overcoat to protect it from a penetrating wind. Hurriedly they caught a street car. Undoubtedly they were a curious looking pair, and many eyes were directed towards them as they sat side by side. Julian resisted a strong temptation to take a seat at a distance. He supposed that they passed for a family group, notwithstanding that Martha's appearance was strongly suggestive of the poor-house. The cropped head and short skirt exaggerated the young matron's distressing youthfulness, and surprised comments were audible among the passengers.

The office was not reached until after 5 o'clock. Unfortunately, only Elizabeth was there writing, the other agents

having gone home. He would have to depend on Elizabeth's aid in disposing of Martha and the babe for the night.

Elizabeth raised her head and took a long look at Martha's forlorn figure. Her face assumed a peculiar rigidity. Martha looked back stolidly, her features slowly hardening into a similar expression.

"I guess you're one of the waifs," she observed in a high thin voice, after a prolonged stare at Elizabeth.

The young clerk drew back panic-stricken. She turned toward Julian.

"We're all alike, she thinks—everybody thinks! I will not stay here; I will not be a waif all my life!" She arose in her excitement and stood against the wall facing Julian. Her little figure was swelling with anger.

Julian went over to her. "You are looking across an immeasurable gulf," he said in a low voice. "I am sorry; I might have been a waif—but I cannot be a woman—and these two need a woman's hand."

Elizabeth glanced up into his face. Then she looked straight at Martha, her face growing solemnly, vaguely sympathetic.

"I hope you will do something to make her look like other people," Julian added imploringly.

Elizabeth held out her hand. The young mother arose and followed without a word. As they reached the head of the stairs, Julian called after them:

"I am hoping you will give her a frock with lots of trimming on it, and a hat with feathers and flowers, and—bright blue ribbons."

Elizabeth laughed silently in the darkness of the stairway. It was well known in the office that the board of managers had prohibited feathers and flowers for waifs, after discussing the subject at one special and two adjourned meetings, with sessions of three hours each. It was an accepted principle among them that the longer a subject was discussed the sounder was the conclusion reached.

Julian opened letters and wrote busily at his desk until he heard steps descending the stairs. He looked up to inspect the work of Elizabeth's hands as Martha entered the room. She was arrayed in a neat brown dress. The transformation was startling. Elizabeth followed with an armful of antiquated hats and bonnets.

"Trimmed with velvet," she murmured briefly, pointing to the brown dress.

"She gimme it, because we're both waifs," cried Martha joyfully. Elizabeth nodded gravely.

"We're both waifs," she repeated in a low voice.

Julian looked at her inquiringly. There was something odd

about her appearance. Her trim little figure was lost in a mass of black cashmere.

"She gimme *her* dress!" cried Martha with increasing enthusiasm, her pale eyes fixed upon Elizabeth.

Julian continued to scrutinize Elizabeth. A wave of color swept over her face. She looked down abashed.

"An old lady left the Association five black dresses. There's nothing else up stairs. I know it's too big—" She pulled at the quaint sleeves with her fingers.

"It's very old fashioned!" cried Julian, laughing.

Elizabeth planted a battered hat on Martha's head, and replaced it quickly with a gigantic bonnet. The effect was terrific. She tried them all, and at last gave up with an hysterical laugh.

"There's mine; she can take it—but there's no blue ribbon." She clasped her hands in confusion.

Julian looked at the little brown turban with its waving plumes. It was hanging from a nail on the wall. It looked exactly like Elizabeth. He took it down and handed it to her.

"Put on your hat and go with this child to some store where you can buy a decent article." He placed a bank note in her hand. "Buy a frock, too, and take yours back."

"It's her's now," said Elizabeth immovably.

"Buy another for yourself then."

Elizabeth turned away quickly and began tying on the baby's bonnet. She helped Martha with her hood and shawl, drew on her own coat, picked up a bundle and steered Martha out of the door with a resolute air.

Julian saw them depart, and then hastened to his boarding house, feeling tired and discouraged.

Denning greeted him with cordiality. "I've secured for you an invitation to the Charity Ball to-night," he said brightly, "and I've left a pile of white neckties on your bureau."

"Ah—white neckties!" repeated Julian absently. He was more familiar with old ladies' bonnets, he thought, as he turned the linen ties over in his fingers. He decided, however, that he would go to the ball in deference chiefly to Denning's plea that he needed the larger experience. Denning assured him that the Charity Ball was a promiscuous affair of which no one need stand in the slightest awe. Otherwise, he could not have obtained the invitation for Julian,—but of course he did not add this explanation.

CHAPTER IV.

Denning talked very pleasantly that evening for a couple of hours on the subjects of balls and young girls. He explained much concerning the social life of the great city that

to many minds remains shrouded in mystery, but it is doubtful if Julian understood much of what was said. His mind was in fact only half detached from the scenes and incidents of the day just ended. Until they reached the ball room he was still building hedges around his frail female waifs and rescuing others from situations of extraordinary peril.

Denning steered him onward into the very heart of the fairy-like scene. They paused for a moment beside a fluted pillar garlanded with leaves and roses, while Denning, bowing right and left to young girls and older women as they entered, looked about him for some one to whom he might introduce Julian.

"Don't let anything these young things happen to say disconcert you," he observed, "because it is a well-known fact that they don't know in the least what they're saying for more than a year after they come out. Sometimes they lose their heads, too, and we older men have to look after them or there'd be the devil of a talk. As you do not dance you will have to ask a girl to sit out a dance with you. There are plenty have to ask a girl to sit out a dance with you. There are plenty of corners for a chat. But if you get tired talking, the next best thing is to stand by the door and regard these frivolities with a grand, gloomy air,—as if you were some very distinguished person—a foreign ambassador, perhaps—you don't look unlike something of that sort. Here comes Miss Melville, to whom I shall introduce you. You cannot be with her long, for she's in great demand to-night; but there'll be time for a stroll through the corridors perhaps."

A few minutes later, Julian found himself walking by the side of a young beauty gowned in white and gold of such delicate texture that it might have been made of butterflies' wings. She carried an armful of large bouquets made up of roses. There were so many of them and they were in such danger of slipping from her that she handed Julian three of the largest to carry. She led the way herself and was busy casting smiles and nods in every direction, while she poured into Julian's ear a stream of daintily extravagant comments and exclamations. He listened as a man might do who finds himself swimming in green depths by the side of a mermaid whose discourse might be of interest to the curious—possibly of distinct scientific value to the learned—but is of too ethereal and incomprehensible a nature to elicit a reply. His unconcerned, yet very direct scrutiny reached the fair maid through the dazzling medium of her own glory, and passed happily for the nonchalance of a young man of the world.

The smooth, long face and slightly bald head of Cooper Denning suddenly appeared from a doorway. When not smiling he reminded one of an austere priest; but at this moment

he was laughing gaily and addressing a young girl by his side with an air of chivalrous devotion. They stopped beside Julian and formed a group.

Half a dozen young men approached to speak to Miss Melville. The next moment, Julian found himself walking in the opposite direction, not quite understanding how he had lost Miss Melville, or who had relieved him of her flowers. The young lady by his side appeared to be just as beautiful, however, though she had fewer bouquets, so it did not much matter; and in a few moments she was talking into his ear a brilliant continuation of Miss Melville's remarks.

Presently she spoke of Denning. He had introduced to her "quantities" of men, so that all her dances were engaged. He had told her from the first not to be afraid, and had advised what kind of a gown to wear. They had talked it over several weeks ago and he had insisted on white with pearl and silver trimming. Otherwise she might have worn pink. Mr. Denning had prophesied exactly the kind of time she was going to have—it was remarkable how he always knew. He was wonderfully kind, always doing the most unselfish things imaginable. Julian recalled that Miss Melville had sung Denning's praises almost in the same words.

There was another turn in the social wheel. Julian's companion and her bouquets were again torn from him, and he was soon escorting a third young lady, who was burdened with only one bouquet.

In reply to her direct questions, Julian explained in explicit sentences that he did not dance; he knew not the name of the waltz that was being played; he did not know the man who was leading the German; a string of negatives seemed to have become the sum and substance of his conversational resources.

The girl consulted her program; she lifted her head and threw a glance distractedly around.

"It is the *fourth* dance!" she cried in a trembling voice, and looked at Julian, who in searching through the annals of his experience for a precedent to guide his actions could think of nothing more definite than a scene in "Alice in Wonderland."

"You seem troubled; can I be of any assistance?" he asked quickly.

"Troubled!" repeated the girl. "I should think I was! I wish I were dead; I wish I had never been born!"

She turned to him in desperate appeal.

"Take me to some corner where I can hide myself, where no one will see me. There's nothing else that you can do—apparently."

Julian led her hastily to a small sofa partly concealed by tall plants blooming in gilded pots. Was the girl ill? Was she

going to faint? Or was he beginning to figure in a role fashioned after the escapades of heroes who accept mysterious missions intended for somebody else, and are led into situations of marvelous complexity, from which they escape only by taking wildly impossible risks? Or was this last experience in the nature of a fantastic joke—a young girl's effort to amuse herself by the indulgence of an extravagant imagination?

Julian begged her again to tell him what was the matter. She answered with unexpected irritation:

"You are dreadfully obtuse! Do you want me to say in the plainest of English that I'm not engaged for the German—or anything? Why, if you wanted to help me you would go out into the highways and bring up all the men you knew or ever heard of—you would bring up quantities of men to be introduced to me! How can I be expected to know all the men of this city when I have been living in Baltimore?"

Julian sat scowling at what seemed to him the indelicacy of this speech. In all his encounters with the "forwardness" of waifs and strays he had never met anything more repugnant to his taste.

"Unfortunately," he replied, eyeing her with coldness, "I cannot be your knight errant, for like yourself, I know no one at this ball—I know only one man here."

"Mr. Denning, I suppose—I saw you with him. It would be of no use for you to speak to him; he doesn't *choose* that I shall have a lovely time." Her tone was bitter. She went on with a sudden pathos that seemed to bring her suddenly within the range of a more chivalrous consideration:

"All the other girls are having such a good time—all but poor little me, left out in the cold! My beautiful sister forgets about me as usual—she is having a magnificent time herself, of course. It means that I am a dead failure. I shall have to hide my head somewhere and take to works of charity—Sunday schools and horrors of that kind. I shall have to wear clothes that don't fit and poke about in the slums, talking to horrid, ill-smelling poor people."

"You might try a convent," suggested Julian, thoughtfully—bringing all his kindly wits to bear upon the unusualness of her case—"but the slums are now altogether too fashionable; you would meet more of your successful rivals there than would be comfortable, I fear—from your standpoint—I mean—of a social failure."

The young girl turned upon him a stare of haughty astonishment; his cold-blooded candor had brought a deep blush to her cheeks.

"I have always heard," she observed with a shrug of her bare

shoulders and an irrelevance that was intended to convey a pointed rebuke, "that the men of this city were a set of odious antiques. I've heard they think it improper to be alone with a girl anywhere; they haven't the faintest idea what a stair-case is made for; if they make use of it at all, they all go and sit there together in a crowd—these absurd, odious little men!"

"You mean they leave the girls alone in the parlor?" asked Julian, who was beginning to feel sleepy.

"Oh! The girls go, too, of course! The point is that they all sit together. I never had to explain so much in my life before. There's just one nice man living in this whole town, a friend of mine says—she means Cooper Denning."

"He seems to be a great favorite."

"Yes, he leads everything. She told me an amusing story about him. He was dancing once with a very wild girl—a perfect madcap. She had been flirting with him desperately somewhere, just before he asked her to dance, and she was furious at him. She had been daring him to kiss her—setting him almost crazy—and she was furious because he would not try. Now what do you suppose that girl did? Why, she stopped suddenly while they were waltzing in the middle of the room—right before everybody—and shrieked at the top of her voice, and then cried out: '*He kissed me!*' Just imagine how the poor man felt when he *hadn't!* And what on earth do you suppose he did? What would you have done in his place?"

"I can't imagine—"

"Why, *he pretended that he had!* He did that just to save her! Wasn't it splendid of him? But, the truth leaked out afterward, for it seems that somebody overheard her daring him to kiss her and gave the whole thing away. Wasn't it a shame?"

"I don't know—" The ethics of such a situation were rather too much for Julian; his eyelids, moreover, were heavy—he was frightfully sleepy. The young girl went on mercilessly:

"I am going to tell you something funny. I was sitting on the staircase once, having a perfectly heavenly time with a man I had just met. We were perfectly absorbed in each other, and never noticed that another pair had seated themselves above us with plates of ice cream in their laps. They became perfectly absorbed in each other too—violently absorbed, I should say. The girl leaned to one side and suddenly sprang up—forgetting the ice cream on her lap. Down it came on the back of my neck! My dress was cut down to a point in the back, and the ice cream went down—down—to the belt of my dress—it actually did! Just imagine what a plate of ice cream would feel like on your spinal column! I had a chill right there on the spot. My teeth chattered, and the two men had to ram their silk handkerchiefs down my back—I made them—to get it

all out. They were so scared, too—the poor men! I mean—I suppose they were afraid I was going to have pneumonia.”

Julian knew not what comment to make on this anecdote and remained dismally silent. He was wondering if he would have to spend the night in the society of this terrible young person and if the ball was likely to last until morning. Immediately afterwards, however, she became absorbed in watching three figures that were approaching, one of them being Cooper Denning. As they drew near she leaned forward with eagerness—trembling, apparently, between hope and fear.

“Marian, are you looking for me at last?”

The palm leaves were pushed apart and revealed a young woman clad in iridescent silk of pale sea-green with a border of white flowers encircling her arms and shoulders. The face was one of great loveliness, and Julian rightly guessed that its chief charm lay in a wonderful radiance of expression.

Julian stood with his back against the fluted pillar, while his companion and her sister hastily exchanged explanations, apologies and ripples of laughter, to which Denning and the other man added dextrous compliments implying that they had been searching vainly for this particular young lady all the evening. Julian was conscious of a vague impression that the face of the sister was not new to him. Had he seen it in his dreams? It appeared to him miraculously as a composite reproduction of all the fair faces that one might imagine adorning the art galleries of the world. Its charm of perfect familiarity—as if it had always existed and was in fact as old as the hills in its eternal freshness and beauty—blended mysteriously with its claim to a positive uniqueness. As he gazed, its likeness to a secretly cherished ideal became more and more pronounced, until suddenly the lovely eyes fell upon him with a glance that was almost one of recognition.

A murmuring of names in which his own was omitted while he learned that of his companion to be Vaughn—her sister addressing her as Gertrude—broke the spell. Miss Vaughn, instantaneously transformed into a nymph of mirth and jollity—somewhat to the loss of her air of qualified prettiness—withdrew, chatting gaily with Denning and his friend, whom it now appeared he had brought up for the sole purpose of effecting an introduction, thus providing a bashful youth and a forlorn maiden with partners for the “German.” She looked back to utter a laughing farewell, and her glance, sweeping past Julian, expressed very distinctly the wish that she might never see him again. It did not ruffle his vanity, because in a second he realized that he was left alone with the beautiful sister whose first name he knew to be Marian; it vibrated in his ear as a name full of music and grace.

His sense that he was not of this new bewildering world into which he seemed to have stumbled from sheer lack of will to direct his steps that particular evening, began to dissolve into a consciousness that just now he was fitting into something that was both harmonious and interesting. Without embarrassment he waited for her to speak.

She spoke first with her eyes—so sweetly and reassuringly that Julian felt drawn at once into intimacy.

"My sister has left me without mentioning your name." Her voice was like a flute!

"She did not know or care who I was—I could not dance," laughed Julian.

"Gertrude thinks only of a shoulder to cling to and an arm to whirl her around. You might be the greatest lion in America, but Gertrude would have none of you unless you were willing to dance yourself to pieces for her benefit—but I should like to know what to call you—I am Mrs. Starling."

Julian told his name, after which it was natural to tell where he came from and as much of his history as he thought necessary for identification. He described his country home in the lake-studded county of New York with an inward smile over his wanton destruction of Cooper Denning's deceptive little scheme. To his surprise, he found himself elaborating all the reasons that had led him into a choice of what he called rather pathetically his "subterranean profession." Suddenly looking into her face he saw that it was illumined by a glow of feeling. It was like looking at an exquisitely wrought porcelain vase in which a lighted taper was burning.

She seized the theme that was the mainspring of his life—his enthusiasm for humanity, his desire to diminish sin and suffering—and adorned it with her tender fancies.

Julian abandoned his idea of the flute; her voice was like the chime of silver bells; he almost forgot the meaning of her words while searching for this simile. A sudden inspiration overpowered him.

"I am sure you sing!" He blushed at the irrelevance of his remark. She turned to him with an arch expression.

"And I am sure you love music!" It was almost as if she had sung the words. "You play some instrument—the violin, perhaps?"

Julian admitted that he had studied music—at one time with intense ardor. His eyes shone with a peculiar light; his dark, clear-cut face looked all at once strikingly handsome as the blood rose to his cheek. Marian's eyes rested upon him thoughtfully.

"And I sing—a little," she echoed in a low voice. She grew grave and cast down her eyes, for Julian was gazing at her as

if searching for a glimpse of the bird in her throat. He no longer felt sleepy or bored.

Later on they talked of other things, but frequently they came back to the subject of music which both of them loved. Once they stopped talking to listen to the playing of the orchestra, which they quickly agreed was not worth listening to. They did not concern themselves about supper, but walked once or twice through the corridors looking for Gertrude. It was not hard to find her; she was bent on dancing herself and her partners into the early morning hours, and it was a long time before Marian could persuade her that the cock was really about to crow. The sisters finally withdrew into the dressing-room. Julian waited outside where he was bidden to stand, and escorted them later to their carriage. He shut the door softly and watched the carriage roll down the street until out of sight.

As he could not find Denning, he walked home alone, hoping that Denning was already fast asleep in bed. He was a little ashamed at having stayed at the ball so late. As he looked with wide-open eyes at the stars which were still visible through the window, he smiled at the grey dawn. He tried to arrange and critically survey his impressions of the ball, but they merged into one definite charming recollection—beyond which all was confused and of no importance. His thoughts were now touching the deep, vast, incomprehensible verities—they were incommunicable, he believed; they melted rapidly, however, into pleasant dreams and profound slumber.

(To be continued.)



❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

Professor E. Untermann

FRANCE.

The inevitable reaction after the sham prosperity due to the Paris exposition, the rise in the price of coal, and a multitude of local causes, more or less directly traceable to the inconsistencies of the capitalist mode of production, have kept all France and especially the socialists in a feverish excitement of strikes during the last eighteen months. Notable among these struggles of exploited against exploiters are the strike of the metal workers in Creusot, of the miners in Montceau les Mines and Pas de Calais, and of the longshoremen in Marseilles.

The demands of the toilers were settled peaceably in regions where, as in Pas de Calais, the labor organizations are old and strong enough to command respect. There the employers concluded that discretion is the better part of—business, and made concessions without testing the fighting strength of their wage-slaves.

But in regions where these organizations are young and untried, the masters are displaying the usual overbearing arrogance characteristic of the "higher classes." Here the men asking for a greater share in the product of their toil met haughty refusals. Here, after the declaration of the strike, the wealth producers were confronted by the brutal resistance of the drones fed by them, the military, the police, the press and the clergy. And the upholders of law and order reveled in the force bestowed on them by the men they oppress.

In Chalon, a small town of 26,000 inhabitants, with an industrial working force of 2,500, the socialists were attacked by the soldiers, arrested by the police and terrorized by the judiciary, because—some anarchists had created a disturbance. *Tout comme chez nous!* Capitalistic methods are the same the world over. The strike was suppressed by force.

In Montceau les Mines, the miners have held their own. With an effective organization and a splendid discipline, they have given to their fellow workers an example of solidarity and quiet determination that will leave lasting results. No disturbance has occurred, no privations have been endured so far. By thirty-two distributing offices, 15,000 rations, costing 3,000 francs, are issued daily. Assistance is given by comrades all over the country in response to an appeal of Guesde and Lafargue pointing out that a daily contribution of one sou (1 cent) from 40,000 laborers will enable the miners to carry their strike.

A dispatch to the "Vorwärts," Berlin, states that the congress of mine workers has declared its intention to demand the nationalization of the mines within forty-eight hours, if the Society of Montceau les Mines does not accede to their demands. There is also a possibility that the strike will be extended to all the mines in France. A speedy settlement of the dispute, however, seems to be near at hand.

In Marseilles the strike inaugurated by 2,000 longshoremen has steadily assumed greater dimensions. One after another the sailors, the stokers, the coal-heavers have made common cause with their companions in slavery. And from Marseilles the movement has spread to Bordeaux. In these two main arteries of commerce in the south of France navigation is practically at a standstill.

The solidarity of the workers in this strike becomes doubly significant through the fact that nearly every nationality is represented in the trades composing the striking force. To American workmen it will be startling news that in Marseilles, as well as in Montceau les Mines, the socialist mayors openly sympathized with and assisted the strikers.

How valuable and indispensable to success international socialist co-operation may be is "strikingly" demonstrated on this occasion. For at the request of Mayor Flassieres of Marseilles, the laborers of Genoa and, according to later dispatches, of Naples, have also declared the strike. Only the Spanish ports of the west Mediterranean are thus left open to commerce. The latest reports of the capitalist press bring the usual sensational descriptions of disorders caused by the striking "mob," and a clash with the *gens d'armes* is said to have resulted fatally for some of the latter. According to the same source, Mayor Flassieres was snubbed by the Premier, Waldeck-Rousseau, for trying to secure government assistance for the strikers.

Just as we go to press we are informed that, owing to the pressure brought to bear on them by the government, the employers have decided to submit the matter to arbitration.

ITALY.

The new Cabinet Zanardelli-Giolitti is giving its first feeble signs of life. However liberal the men composing this body may be, the socialists are well aware that they cannot expect any thorough amelioration of social and economic conditions from the new ministers. And while our comrades are continuing their struggle against the forces of ignorance and barbarity, represented by the Roman clergy, the Camorra, the Mafia, the soldiery and a prostituted judiciary, the columns of the bourgeois papers are filled with startling and sensational reports about the famine in Apulia.

It is the noble and inspiring duty of the capitalist press to perpetuate by lying, misrepresentation and inventive genius an economic system that forces the people to reap the whirlwind when their exploiters sow the wind. And when the whirlwind is taking off uncounted numbers of wage-slaves, then the duty of this press is to solicit contributions to famine funds from middle class suckers who are willing to feed the helpless victims of the masters. The Italian bourgeois press is nobly doing its duty.

In the provinces of Bari, Foggia and Lecce, on the southern coast of the Adriatic, thousands of unemployed have been suffering starvation for months. This region lost heavily through the abolition of the reciprocity treaty with France. Besides, the vineyards were destroyed by the phylloxera (grape louse) twice within five years, and the olive crop ruined by the *mosca olearia* (olive fly). In consequence the land-owners could not pay their taxes, the tenant farmers were unable to pay their rent, and neither has the money to hire laborers. The latter, exploited to the limit, emaciated by hunger and half frozen, demand work. Twenty centesimi (5 cents) are eagerly accepted as a day's wages. Hunger riots have broken out in several districts.

"The government," writes "Vorwärts," "has at once taken measures against the hunger—a special train full of soldiers has been dispatched to the scene."

How different from this picture, worthy of the brush of a "Hell Breughel," is the aspect of things where socialists hold the political power! In Mantua, 17,000 farm laborers have recently organized into one provincial union, representing 116 different unions. Resolutions were adopted favoring "affiliation with those who agitate for the speedy realization of the following demands:

1. A law protecting women and children in industrial and agricultural pursuits, on the basis adopted by the congress of Italian socialists.

2. A law creating agricultural *prud'hommes*.

Vivat sequens! Next!

Even the capitalist press cannot refrain from paying tribute to the healthy atmosphere of a new life created by socialist organization. Adolfo Rossi, editor of the monarchist "Adriatico," describes the conditions in the province of Mantua in these words:

In Suzzara (electional district of Gonzaga that elected Enrico Ferri) the administration has been in the hands of the socialists for a long time. The transition of administrative control from the hands of the "moderates" into those of the socialists was not only accomplished without a revolution, but has even terminated the personal feuds that ruined the country. The oppositional parties, by ceaseless agitation for improvements in the municipality, have completely changed Suzzara within twenty years. A new town hall, the most magnificent hospital in the province, many new buildings and model schools have been erected. The industries have also developed splendidly. The level of general education is very high, thanks to the industrial school, having classes in physics, chemistry, mechanics and agriculture. . . . Elections are held in perfect order. . . . The administration distributes 200 tickets to farmers and poor people when the theater is open. The children receive meals in school, assisted by a small family tax. . . . Seventy-five per cent of the electors attend elections.

In Gonzaga the socialists founded a "consumers' and laborers' club for farmers." This club has now 200 members and its stock has risen from 6 lire to 18 lire.

BELGIUM.

In "A Trip Through Flanders," published in the Brussels "Le Peuple," Comrade Aug. Dewinne describes the condition of the working class in Flanders. Wherever clerical influence is prevailing the people are living in abject poverty. Farm laborers earn from 63 to 72 centimes (12 to 14 cents) per day, and during harvest time they average about 1 franc (20 cents) per day. On the other hand, a great many of them earn nothing at all during the winter. In Zeveneecken the weavers working with handlooms are so afraid of their masters that they do not dare to admit socialists into their homes. These weavers earn 10 to 12.5 francs (\$2 to \$2.50) per week, as long as they are young and strong, while old people average a daily wage of 50 centimes (10 cents). The working time is twelve hours per day.

In Hamm 95 per cent of the laborers cannot read. The children cannot go to school because they must help their parents to work. In heat or cold, rain or shine, little five-year-olds are standing all day turning the wheel for their fathers who manufacture cord by hand. Competition with machine spinners has forced the wages of the hand spinners down to the bare level of starvation. And though their

wages have been nominally raised, still they are the losers, for they are obliged to produce more cord per kilogram of raw material, which is equivalent to a reduction of wages. These spinners formerly had a union of 400 members; only seventy members have been left by the hungry waves of competition.

On the other hand, wherever socialism has become strong, the laborers are throwing off the yoke of clerical and economic oppression. A strong agitation for universal suffrage of both sexes is carried on, and although Vandervelde's bill for the introduction of universal suffrage, and another bill granting an amnesty to all laborers sentenced for political misdemeanors, have been defeated in the Chamber of Representatives, we may confidently hope to see these measures carried into effect on the wings of socialist victory.

True to the resolutions outlined in the August number of the "International Socialist Review," our Belgian comrades are preparing for a general strike and a campaign of obstruction in the Chamber. The agitation for universal suffrage is being continued with renewed vigor.

DENMARK.

The progress of the co-operatives in Denmark has been extremely rapid. This advance means at the same time an equally strong growth of socialism. For in Denmark co-operatives, trade-unions and socialism are almost identical.

One of the main factors contributing to the impulse to form co-operatives was a law, capitalistic in spirit and reactionary in purpose, decreeing that within seven miles of any town merchandise should not be sold by other dealers than those residing in that town.

Instead of becoming tributary to the capitalist dealers of the towns, the socialists united in co-operative societies that do not come under this law.

In 1866 the first co-operative association was formed. In 1898 the official statistics reported 970 of these organizations, with an aggregate membership of 160,000. Eight hundred and thirty-seven consumers' clubs, having a total of 130,000 members, conferred their benefits strictly on members only. Of these clubs only eight had their seats in towns. There were, furthermore, 133 co-operatives that did not confine their dealings to their members. These, however, are regarded as commercial enterprises by the law. Producers' clubs are represented by 1,025 dairies, 25 lard factories and a number of bakeries.

"Frequently," writes H. Faber in the February issue of "L'Avenir Social," "a Danish farmer is a member of ten co-operatives and of a farmers' club or an agricultural society."

A personal letter from Comrade Gustav Bang, who has recently been speaking to enormous audiences in the University of Copenhagen, says that extensive preparations are being made by the socialists for the elections to the lower house, and that great gains will be surely made by the comrades.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

On May 20 the nine-hour day is to take effect in all shops controlled by the National Metal Trades' Association, as per agreement with the International Association of Machinists. But there are hundreds of employers throughout the country who refuse to be guided by the first-named organization, and refuse to grant the concession, and consequently the union officials everywhere are working like beavers to organize the craft to enforce the shorter workday. It is even hinted that the members of the N. M. T. A. are liable to break their agreement, using as a pretext the fact that the independent shops refuse to yield. It is pretty certain that strikes will take place all over the country, and it is also quite probable that other metal workers will be drawn into it. Meanwhile the movement to federate the metal working crafts is gaining considerable headway, and it is estimated that at least 150,000 men will be combined by May 1.

Trouble on the lakes is looked for this year. The marine engineers have been on strike for several weeks at all the important ports. Their specific demand is that the lake craft be graded so that more men be given employment. The ship masters organized in sympathy and threatened to stand by the engineers, but suddenly allowed their organization to go to pieces, and the statement was given out that the cause was that they came in conflict with United States laws governing marine affairs. At this writing the longshoremen are in conference with their employers in Cleveland, and a deadlock has resulted. The workers want an increase of 10 per cent over last year, and the hours of labor reduced from twelve to ten a day. The bosses claim the wage rate was too high last season, and that no more concessions will be granted. The ship and dock owners say they are not adverse to having a strike now, as such an occurrence would stiffen prices. They are also quietly organizing a sort of beneficial union to break the power of the seafaring crafts when a crisis comes.

All signs point to a strike in the anthracite coal field on April 1. Although all the large operators posted notices in which they promised to pay prevailing rates of wages and continue present conditions generally, the miners in their convention in Scranton, Pa., the middle of the past month, took the bull by the horns and demanded recognition of the union. They insist that the operators must agree on or before April 1 to meet their representatives in joint conference or a walkout will take place. The operators appear to be just as stubborn on this point as they were last autumn, and it is claimed that, anticipating such a turn of affairs, they have worked their mines overtime and stocked up thousands of tons of coal, and are determined to give battle. Certain it is that J. P. Morgan has postponed his trip to Europe, where he was going for the purpose of negotiating for the absorption of the recently organized German wire and nail trust, com-

prised of eighty-seven mills, British street railways and other securities, to take a hand in the trouble.

Two thousand blast furnace employes in the Mahoning and Shenango valleys threaten to strike unless former wages are restored. Last fall, immediately after the election, while still hoarse from shouting for "the full dinner pail," these mill workers, who earn less than \$2 a day for the most laborious toil, were notified of a ten per cent reduction. They were unorganized, and after some grumbling accepted the terms of the trusts. Then, after the horse had been purloined, they started to organize, and now they are in fairly good shape and want their old wage rate back. In the interum the trusts boosted the price of pig-iron \$2 a ton, and are doing fairly well in the matter of accumulating dividends, which, of course, are needed for the purpose of gobbling up competitors and ensuring an absolute monopoly.

Building trades went on strike in Pittsburg for higher wages and shorter hours, and in other cities those crafts also threaten to go out on April 1 or May 1.

Railway trainmen on the New York Central are restless. They want a uniform scale on the whole system and other grievances remedied. An Albany dispatch says the trainmen, if a strike is ordered, will attempt a tie-up on all roads in the United States and Canada, and that the conductors and firemen will also be asked to join the strike.—The C., B. & Q. magnates gave union employes the option this month of leaving their organizations or the services of the road, and nearly all withdrew from the brotherhoods.

George W. Perkins has been re-elected president of cigarmakers' national union by a majority of two to one. Nearly all the old officers were also re-elected.

H. Gaylord Willshire, the well-known California Social Democrat, has again challenged Bryan to debate the trust question. Willshire offers Bryan the privilege of selecting time and place, will pay all expenses, and give the latter \$1,000 besides; and if the audience votes that the Nebraska man made the best argument, he will receive another thousand dollars. It's certainly a liberal offer; better than lecturing or running a paper.

A Colorado man has invented a combination automobile plow, cultivator, planter and harvester, which can be operated by gasoline or electricity for 75 cents a day, and can do the work of several teams of horses and men.—A Chicago man invented a new rotary engine, with a speed ranging from 250 to 1,000 revolutions a minute, and weighing about one-tenth as much as any other form of engine producing equal power. Its mechanism is reduced to a minimum, and gear, springs, bolts, screws, etc., cannot break because there are none. The engine can be placed on any sort of foundation, and experts pronounce it a success.—In New Bedford, Mass., a new device has supplanted the vivacious telephone girls. The subscriber can secure any number desired by merely pressing buttons, connections being made at the central station automatically, and absolute secrecy is guaranteed. The system is to be introduced in Fall River and other New England towns.—The Electrical Review says Poulsen's new telephone is a success, and transmits sound better than the graphophone or telephone. It is an amazingly simple device, and reproduces magnetic strains in a steel wire permanently.—Baguolo, an Italian in-

ventor, has patented a new device to transmit power to a distance. It is based on the principle of transmitting pressure to liquids and gases, and a Paris technical journal says the new discovery enables the realization of 90 to 95 per cent of the initial energy and an equal distribution of power.

New York unions spent a heap of money to have a law enacted compelling contractors who do public work to pay the prevailing rate of trade union wages, and now comes the Supreme Court and declares that the law is unconstitutional, as it interferes with "the freedom of contract." Judge Dennis O'Brien, Democrat, and Judson S. Landon, Republican, wrote the opinion. That's worth remembering. Of course, the unionists are angry, but a few are even foolish enough to advise petitioning the legislature to call a constitutional convention, amend the constitution, and then re-enact the law.—The New Jersey Supreme Court handed down a decision which states in effect that the "labor law" existent in Paterson, making it mandatory to place the union label on official printing, is unconstitutional, as it also interferes with "the freedom of contract." The absurdity of lobbying for "labor laws" before hostile legislatures, and then, even where secured, expecting hostile officials and courts to enforce them, will probably dawn on trade unionists some day. If workingmen were sufficiently class-conscious to place their own kind in political power, no such farces would be enacted.

Striking miners of New Mexico have had a blanket injunction thrown over them. Old story.

Secretary Butscher issued charters to nine new S. D. P. locals in past month.—Referendum vote in favor of uniting all socialist organizations carried by large majority. June or July is favored as the time, and Indianapolis as the place by small plurality, though many are now considering Buffalo as convention city, holding that the attendance would be much larger and the expense reduced one-half, owing to the exposition.—Municipal elections in some New York, Pennsylvania and New England cities and towns recently show steady gains for S. D. P.—Chicago Socialist party leads the procession in the matter of growth, having 1,300 dues-paying members at present, 95 being admitted in one week.—Over 100 Italian socialists in the East seceded from the old S. L. P. and joined the Social Democratic party. They are about to establish a paper. F. M. Gorzone, 103 West Third street, New York, has the matter in charge.—Missouri S. D.'s will probably adopt name of Socialist party, as Democratic legislature enacted a law debarring them from official ballot hereafter.—Washington comrades defeated an infamous disfranchising primary bill before the legislature.—Michigan S. D.'s nominated complete state ticket.—Job Harriman has been elected labor secretarial in New York. His duties will be to attend to legal affairs of about 10,000 unionists.—The "Vanguard" is the name of a new S. D. P. paper at Brockton, Mass., and a French paper, "L'Eveil au Peuple," started at Nashua, N. H.—Raphael Buck, author of an anti-socialist book called "The Emancipation of the Workers," has come out in an open letter stating that he has destroyed the plates of his work and turned socialist.—Clarence Nugent, prominent Texas Populist, has joined S. D. P.—Minneapolis comrades will build a thousand-dollar automobile to send out on a propaganda tour.—Texas comrades raised \$500 for a state organ.—Father McGrady, the eloquent Kentucky priest, and Rev. Charles Vail, the New Jersey author-lecturer, spoke at some large meetings in Middle Western States during past month.—On two sep-

arate votes at different meetings the St. Louis Central Trades Council went on record by large majority in favor of demanding resignation of the president, who had accepted a nomination for office on the Democratic ticket, and that officers can only accept positions on class-conscious labor tickets.—Chicago socialists secured control of a church and turned it into a labor temple. Prof. Herron delivered the dedicatory speech.—It is rumored that Mrs. Pierre Lorrillard, Jr., has become a convert to socialism, and will use much of her wealth to spread the doctrine.

Total business failures last year were 21,838, according to United States government, instead of 10,000, according to Dun's and Bradstreet's, professional prosperity-puffers.

All eyes are centered on Morgan, the trust magnate, and everybody wonders what he is going to do next. No sooner is the billion-dollar trust launched than it is announced that the Rockefeller iron mines, ore-carrying railroad and lake fleet is absorbed, and the bridge and tin can trust also and the capital is to be increased another quarter of a billion dollars. Then about a dozen more anthracite coal mines are gathered in, and a comprehensive scheme is made public to make the monopoly complete and pile up many more millions by abolishing all retail dealers in the large cities and establishing a central coal station, by abolishing all sales gents, ten per cent of miners and railway employes, and hundreds of clerks, bookkeepers, etc., and by closing all of the poorest mines. Next the bituminous mines are to be brought in line, and the first step is to raise rates for carrying coal on Morgan railroads ten cents per ton, thus driving the small operators to the wall, and the acquiring of all the mines in several counties in West Virginia, as well as some large properties in Pennsylvania. These sweeping consolidations are important enough, but hardly as startling as the dividing of the American continent into zones so far as the railways are concerned, with a few interests in almost absolute control. Thus the Goulds are to be masters of the Southwest, and are now combining their lines into a \$300,000,000 trust; the Harriman syndicate is to rule the great Central West, and J. P. Hill the Northwest. The Rothschilds control much of the South, and the Vanderbilt-Morgan interests hold almost absolute sway east of Chicago. Rockefeller is more or less interested in all the zones, and the bold buccaneers are now planning to girdle the earth with a transportation monopoly, and with this tremendous power control the markets of the world and absorb or paralyze industries in any country they choose.—Pages might be written of the movements among minor trusts, such as swallowing independent concerns, monopolizing raw material, reorganizing, increasing capital, beating down wages, raising prices, etc., etc., but the modest space of a monthly magazine will not allow it.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

I.

At the heart of nature, and working itself out in human forces, is a relentless and yet merciful law of truth. No lie ever permanently prevails, even though it lasts for years or for centuries. Somehow and somewhere the truth about collective and individual life is known. This is the ground of our faith in nature and in the good outcome of human evolution. To some of us it seems to disclose a universal will at the heart of things—a good-will that is to at least have its way in life and history. So we work with this will, treasuring every scrap of truth as its precious gift, no matter how great and terrible the cost.

II.

Either co-operatively or retributively we all have to fulfill the truth of things at last. Life moves on by exact law or principle. What we fail to give in love we give in suffering; what we fail to give in service we give in sorrow; what we fail to give in co-operation we give in the waste of strife. The debt of each life to the whole life; the debt of the whole life to each life has to be paid—paid to life out of life, paid either by freely-given life or by life exacted by retributive processes.

III.

For instance, the truth that the world owes each man a noble, full and free living, is demonstrating itself every year of history. Every gain of one man at the expense of another, of one class at the expense of another, of one nation at the expense of another, of one section or race at the expense of another, comes back upon the gainer with relentless exactness, demanding not only principal but compound interest. Whenever and wherever we fail to keep our brothers we are destroyed in their destruction, as we ought to be. In so far as the interests of all men are not made common and equally sacred by civilization, just so far civilization fills itself with tragedy and revolution. That some people are entitled to more than other people, that some are entitled to rule over others, that some have greater and more imperative needs and rights than others,—this is the master-lie of civilization. All existing institutions are built upon that lie by the capitalistic system. No lie can be a safe foundation for any institution or any individual life. No lie can bring any kind of individual or social peace. The truth of the common and equal needs

of all men, of the common and equal sacredness of all lives, is the only basis on which a social order can build, or really be an order. It is the only basis, or individual attitude, upon or by which a man may proceed to do good or be good.

IV.

The fear of truth is the security of evil. Upon the concealment of truth every tyranny rests. Upon the exposure of truth all liberty and safety depend. So long as there is any kind of a lie in the fabric of civilization, in its organization or activity, in its production or distribution, just so long will civilization be full of misery and violence. Every compromise with truth begets tyranny and social torment. We can never get along with nine-tenths of the truth, or three-fourths of the truth, or any fraction thereof, great or small; we can get along only with the whole truth. We have to take the whole truth about a thing, about an economy, a situation, a problem, or go without any truth. We cannot really live and free ourselves with scraps of truth. We cannot say, in justification of compromise or opportunism, that a half-loaf of truth is better than no truth. Truth is not to be had in half-loaves. There is no market in the universe for half-truth, and we should be grateful that there is not.

V.

Yet the fear of truth is the most apparent fact of human disorder. What preacher is expected or appointed to take a free look at life and tell just what he sees, with no more, as truth? What politician was ever expected to try to find the truth about any question, or even take truth into consideration? What religious newspaper ever thought of seeking to justly or fairly state the truth about an opponent? How much does a desire for active truth about anything or all things control human action, social and individual?

VI.

But we have no freedom except as we stand on truth. Not only are we made free by the truth—nothing else makes us free. No price is too great to be paid for the truth. So long as there is any kind of a lie in our life we are in danger and torment; but so soon as we stand upon truth we league the universe with us. At any cost the truth is sweet; let us out with the whole of it. It is better to be in hell with the truth than in heaven without truth, or with nine-tenths of the truth. Only the freedom of the truth can make us glad.

VII.

I sometimes try to imagine the moral ecstasy, the winged joy of a world in which only the truth would be thought good; only the truth about anything sought, or thought safe. A brotherhood of the world, in which each soul would stand naked, its whole truth exposed, before every other soul, and not be afraid or ashamed; that is one of the joys that shall fill the streets of the holy city of the co-operative commonwealth.

GEORGE D. HERRON.



BOOK REVIEWS



Oratory: Its Requirements and Its Rewards. John P. Altgeld.
Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 65 p. Fifty cents.

The person who opens this book with the expectation of finding the same old hackneyed "exercises" for voice and gesture, with mechanical instructions for proper "delivery," will be agreeably disappointed. On the contrary, he will find a body of condensed, almost epigrammatic, fundamental principles that, whether consciously or unconsciously followed, are the only possible foundation for successful public speaking. It is a book to be studied and learned by heart, rather than simply read or retained as a book of reference. The arrangement and language are of such a character as to make the book an excellent example of the art it teaches.

Summary of Report of New York Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1900. The first part is on "The Eight Hour Day," of which the report says: "About two-thirds of the 407,235 employes work from fifty-eight to sixty-four hours a week—most of them sixty hours a week, or ten hours a day—while 30 2-10 per cent work not more than nine and one-half hours a day, and only 8.1 per cent of the entire number enjoy a working day of eight hours, which for a third of a century has been the goal of trade union effort."

Detailed tables show that there has been practically no change in this regard for ten years, and that taking the state as a whole whatever change has taken place has rather been in the direction of lengthening than shortening the day. Part Third of the report is on "Economic Condition of Organized Labor," and presents some very interesting features. "From the first quarter of 1897 to the third quarter of 1899, the number of organizations in the state increased from 927 to 1,636." It is also interesting to note that a constantly increasing number of working women are uniting with the unions. The statistics show that the amount of unemployment among these most favored of the workers was in the neighborhood of 25 per cent during a large portion of the "time of prosperity" from 1897 to 1900. This fact does not appear so clearly in the direct statistics of unemployment as it does in the statistics of the number of days worked, where it is seen that a large portion of the laborers only worked from ten to thirty days during each quarter, while the average number was between sixty and seventy days, or but about two-thirds of the time.

The Trust Problem. Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, 281 pp.

Viewed from the point of view of the capitalist academic writer, this is probably the best of all the many publications on the trust question, and no one, whatever may be his economic beliefs, will deny that it contains very much of value. The chapter on "The Wastes of Competition" is full of matter of interest and value. We

learn that the American Steel and Wire Company "found it possible to dispense with the services of nearly two hundred salesmen," and "when one of the later whisky combinations was formed about three hundred traveling salesmen could be spared without the business being in any way neglected." When competition is removed cheaper salesmen can be employed than when rivals must be met and ruined. To say nothing of advertising, premiums, etc., the American Steel and Wire Company found that they could save \$500,000 a year on "cross freights," by being able to always ship from the nearest mill. Much interesting information is given on methods of organization and internal management, and the manner in which the "promoter" is rewarded for his work. But when it comes to any discussion of the trust in its wider industrial and social relations, the work becomes pedantic in its style, narrow in range, and indefinite in conclusions. The author takes shelter behind what his class call impartiality and a scientific attitude, but which could be better called uncertainty or cowardice, an attitude much affected by professorial writers in the pay of capitalism, and thus he finally ends what started out as an excellent book with a lot of flabby recommendations in favor of various measures of restriction, with the heaviest emphasis on "publicity."

The People's Marx. Gabrielle Deville. Translated from the French by Robert Rives La Monte. Cloth, pp. 13. \$1.50.

Just as he would know the doctrines of evolution must still begin with Darwin, just so the socialist student who would know his subject thoroughly must familiarize himself with the works of Marx. But many draw back because of the length and difficulty of "Capital" in its entirety, and so there have been many attempts to abridge and popularize his work. While all of these leave something lacking this is probably the most satisfactory of all. Anyone who reads "The People's Marx" carefully and thoughtfully will have secured an accurate and fairly complete idea of the philosophy contained in "Capital." The work consists of selected portions of the original work, taken almost verbatim from the original and yet so carefully are they selected that there is no sense of disconnection.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

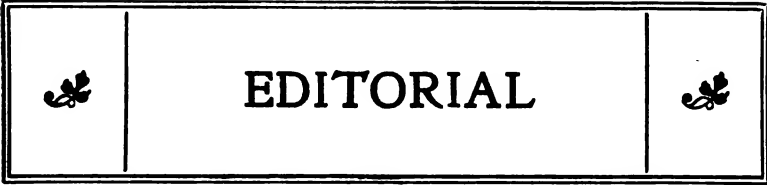
LeGrand Powers, chief statistician in charge of the department of agriculture in the census of 1900, has some advance statements in the "Review of Reviews" relating to the increase in the number of farms and rural wealth. These figures are apparently arranged with the intention of making them as useless and misleading as possible, and this idea is strengthened by the character of some articles the author is giving to the public press, in which some remarkable and ridiculous conclusions are drawn. Ray Stannard Baker calls attention to the fact that the United States is rapidly coming to the front as a producer of beet sugar. "Twelve years ago the total product of beet sugar in America was 255 tons; six years later the product had jumped to 16,000 tons, and last year (1899) the product was about 80,000 tons. For 1900, those who know predict a product of 150,000 tons." It is interesting to note that the bringing of this capitalized industry to the farm has brought with it an increased exploitation of child labor. Prof. John R. Commons discusses "A New Way of Settling Labor Disputes," by which he means the elaborate system of bargaining that has grown up between some of the more highly organized laborers and their employers. He gives a somewhat fanciful

comparison between these negotiations and the legislative, executive and judicial branches of representative government, but seems to utterly overlook the one most important point of all—that this is only play after all, as in the last resort the whole scheme is subject to the action of the regularly established capitalist government, controlled by one of the parties to the dispute.

As usual "The World's Work" is singing the achievements of the capitalism that is paving the way to socialism. The working of the Homestead law is discussed under the title, "The Maker of Four Million Homes." "Wake Up England" is a wild cry to the British laborer to permit himself to be better exploited, like his fellow slave in America. A most laudatory biography of P. D. Armour contains much valuable material on the growth of the great industries with which he was connected, but is decidedly nauseating to one who knows the truth concerning the blood-dripping Armour millions. The department, "Among the World's Workers," is always full of the most important facts of current industrial history, but is so condensed that a further summary is almost impossible.

Andre Lebon has an article in "The International Monthly" on the "Situation of France in International Commerce," in which he concludes that "from the standpoint of international competition the principal articles for consumption offered upon the markets of the world are no longer distinguished, for the most part, save by the margin of profits that they leave for their importers—that is, by their cost price, or, to be still more exact, by the only variable elements of this price, namely, proximity to the raw materials, facilities for supplying the motors of the mills, accommodation for transportation, etc." He is forced to admit that in all these natural qualities France is very deficient, and therefore concludes that henceforth she must largely confine her activities to supplying articles of artistic and ornamental character to the leisure class. Those who are interested in the new revolutionary thought in education will be interested in Prof. James Sully's "Child Study and Education," while the same tendency in the field of biology finds expression in Prof. Thomas H. Morgan's discussion of "The Problem of Development."

In the *Journal of Sociology* Miss Nelle Mason Austen has one of the most thorough studies yet made of the sweating system in Chicago. She shows that the wages paid are worse than ever alleged by any alarmist. In only thirty out of fifty-two cases was the wages as high as five cents an hour, while one "housewife pants finisher" was earning five-elevenths of a cent per hour and many others almost as little. Even these horrible pittances are steadily growing less, wages in the sweating industry having fallen ten per cent during the past year of prosperity. She makes the following significant observation: "Closely related with those who expect much from organization of the workers are those who feel that the whole existing order of society is unjust, and that the remedy is to be found in socialism, a state of society in which each man shall have what he produces, no more and no less. It is undoubtedly true that at present there is a class who do little or nothing to add to the sum total of the world's goods, yet who have the most. It is also true that many of those who work hardest have least. Something is wrong if these conditions can exist; and whether or not the solution lies in the inauguration of the socialistic state, it is a serious question whether, if it is true that each person has a "right to be himself such as he is," he has not also the right to have undiminished that which he produces."



A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Almost every day brings more startling rumors concerning the situation in China. More than three years ago socialist writers pointed out that if the competitive system continued a great international war must result, the contending parties to which would be determined by the lines of economic cleavage. These lines naturally separated the nations of capitalism into two great groups. On the one side is semi-barbaric Russia, with a group of weaker nations united to her by various ties. Opposed to her are the United States, England and Japan, representing the height of capitalistic development.

That England and Russia are destined to come into armed conflict is generally admitted by all students of the geography or the history of these nations. The imminence of this titanic combat has been pointed out over and over again and all manner of predictions offered as to its probable outcome.

When the problem is approached from the point of view of scientific inquiry, however, one is struck fully as much by the complexity as the immensity of the factors involved. This complexity makes all definite prophecy hopeless, and lends an elasticity to the relations affected that makes countless combinations, evasions and delays possible before the striking of any decisive blow. On the other hand many of the factors involved are of very sensitive and unstable character, making the whole combination highly explosive and liable to go off in a most unexpected way.

When the opposing forces met in China, England and the United States depended upon their superior competing power to found a commercial supremacy, upon which a political supremacy could be later based. For this reason they seek to enforce the principle of "the open door." Russia, being still dominated by dreams of military, territorial and political power, demands partition. Hence the conflict.

These various factors render the whole matter much more than a mere test of naval, military, or what is often more fundamental to-day, of financial strength, and all comparative figures along these lines, such as have been filling the columns of the press for the last few weeks, are practically meaningless. It is certain that no one nation will enter the fight unaided. We have neither the knowledge or the

space at our disposal to enable us to enter the tangled maze of European diplomacy and attempt to sketch the probable lines of future alliances. Suffice to say that when Russia shifted her efforts at expansion from Western Europe to Eastern Asia and put herself in a hostile attitude toward Great Britain, she linked to herself by various ties of interest the minor nations between her and the British Isles.

One phase often overlooked is that from the beginning Russia will to all intents and purposes fight as an ally of China. To be sure this will be with the ultimate design of gobbling China, but such a process will, from the Chinese point of view, be far less disturbing than "benevolent assimilation" by any less barbaric or less Asiatic country. Just how much actual assistance such an alliance would afford Russia it is hard to say. The Manchus and other North China people have never yet proved themselves to be of much use as fighters, the exploits of Gordon and the Black Flags being confined to the Canton provinces, which are inhabited by a very different class of people. But it would at least give a greater extent of territory to be crossed before the heart of Russia was reached, and the strongest defense of that country has ever been its majestic distances, which swallow up hostile armies.

On the other hand Russia has within her borders forces that may prove more dangerous than foreign invasions. There, as everywhere, tyranny has bred a fruitful progeny of revolutionary forces. With every day that passes those forces become less violent and spasmodic, but more determined, methodical and intelligent, and hence more dangerous to the tyranny enthroned as constituted authority. Poland is in a state of continuous revolt, and it is an open secret that her oppressed people are only waiting for foreign complications to afford them another opportunity to make one more desperate struggle for liberty. In this effort they will surely receive the support of the Finns who are at present bending under the double load of Russian brutality and an industrial crisis brought on by American competition.

But if Russia has foes within herself, the same is no less true of her opponents. While within the immediate confines of the British Isles the revolutionary spirit seems to have for the moment been stifled and bribed into an easy going, comfortable opportunism, yet such a condition cannot continue forever. The Englishman will stand almost unlimited oppression with only an occasional growl, if only it is done in a customary and established manner, but he will raise a rebellion if an old method of procedure is violated. Now he has long been taught that the one particular blessing for which he was to "thank God that he was not like other men" was in his exemption from "corn laws" and enforced military service. But an international conflict would at once introduce both the tariff and conscription, and might easily prove the last straw that would cause the English worker to throw off the whole load. There is little need to refer to

the tremendous handicap created by the Boer war, as foreign complications have been the last desperate hope of the burghers of the Transvaal for many months. It is perhaps less generally known that famines and official rapacity in India have built up another mass of highly inflammable material that might be easily ignited by some spark struck off in the clash of international interests.

These same internal complications will be found in almost every land concerned. Even the workers of America, the most exploited and most docile on earth, are beginning to revolt at the prospect of bearing further burdens in support of a policy of international piracy. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the great capitalists of any country desire an international war such as we are now describing. Such a struggle would disturb trade and commerce, and consequently exploitation, at a multitude of points. More important still, we have seen that it might lead to international disturbances that might easily mean the overthrow of the whole capitalist system. Such a struggle is not a mere plundering expedition like the late Spanish-American war or the British exploits in South Africa, or even the combined piratical attack upon China. On the contrary it is the desperate savage struggle among the robbers themselves. The great industries devour their smaller neighbors until the supply of weaker victims is exhausted, when they turn in cannibalistic fury upon each other and fight until all but one is eaten, or a treaty of peace providing for a truce and a trust is arranged.

These great combats are always avoided by the contending parties and ended at the first favorable opportunity. The same will be true regarding these national struggles. Every possible expedient will be sought to postpone the inevitable conflict. But in this case no complete combination is possible while capitalism remains. The only thing that can check the oncoming of this frightful day of Armageddon is the rise of a socialist movement so powerful as to constitute a bond of common interest sufficiently strong to curb the contending passions of the kings of capitalism.

CAPITALISM IN THE UNIVERSITIES

The trouble at Leland Stanford University will not down, and there is a prospect that we shall have an opportunity to apologize to the professorial cult in America for our reflections in the last issue upon their lack of class consciousness. The American Economic Association, which is the nearest approach to a trade union yet attained among the professors, appointed a committee to investigate the matter. This committee summed the whole subject up in a somewhat pedantic document, which "exonerated" Prof. Ross (as if he needed any such action) and mildly condemned President Jordan for his contemptible

toadyism (which they of course gave a much milder name). Since then two more professors, including Prof. Frank Fetter, who it is rumored was slated for promotion to Prof. Ross' chair, have resigned. This makes it certain that there were at least seven among the Stanford faculty who had evolved far enough from the state of savagery to begin to comprehend the meaning of social solidarity. In the meantime the owners of the institution seem to have no difficulty in securing scabs enough to fill all vacancies.

In this connection a recent occurrence in Chicago educational affairs present some extremely interesting phases. These have not yet been noticed in the capitalist press, and what we say here in regard to the matter is entirely on our own responsibility without consultation with or knowledge of the persons concerned. The facts to which we refer are these: Prof. John Dewey of the pedagogical department of the University of Chicago is perhaps the ablest living exponent of the "new education" of freedom and development. Accepting the full logic of his philosophy, he has pointed out its sociological relations and close connection with the doctrines of socialism. Such a man, whether consciously or unconsciously, is most effectively propagating socialism. Indeed there is today no field more full of promise of revolutionary action than that of education. It is but ascribing ordinary intelligence to the defenders of capitalism to suppose that they have already seen this and are seeking to side-track and emasculate this new revolutionary movement as they have all similar ones in other fields. Now it so happens the man of all others most capable of doing this is in the city of Chicago. Col. Francis Parker is widely known as one of the foremost defenders of the new education, and there is no denying that he is a master of its technique. His writings and public utterances, however, show an almost childlike ignorance of the wider philosophical and social relations of his subject. He calls himself an individualist and seems utterly unable to see that the reason he has himself suffered petty persecution for his educational work was because of its, to him unknown, hostile tendency toward the established social order. But the new education, like the comparative method and economic interpretation in history, realism in literature and art, and evolution in science is bound to come and the shrewdest representatives of capitalism are now only seeking to divert it and render it as harmless as possible. Hence we were not at all surprised to learn that the Emmons Blaine School of Pedagogy was to be affiliated with the University of Chicago and that Prof. Dewey was to be relegated to a subordinate position, his wonderful model school disbanded and, in general, his power for good to the cause of progress and injury to capitalism be destroyed. It is possible that this is but a mere accident incident to the process of consolidation, but if so it was a remarkably lucky chance for capitalism, and when we remember whose hand shook the throw we are naturally suspicious of loaded dice.

American methods of propaganda, like American socialism, must be the most advanced in the world in order to properly reflect and combat the most advanced capitalism. Hence it is peculiarly fitting to learn that the Minnesota socialists are arranging to send an automobile on a propaganda tour during the coming summer. By this means they will avoid the high railroad fares and hotel bills, and at the same time will reach a section of the population hitherto largely untouched by socialist propaganda and one which is now more than ready for it. The intelligence of the rural population and of the residents of small towns in this country is higher than in any other country in the world, and nowhere are they more ready for socialism. These are the ones who will be reached by such a propaganda and who can scarcely be reached in any other way. The Minnesota comrades have been particularly fortunate in securing G. F. Lockwood and wife, who have been engaged in this form of agitation for some years with great success. One thousand dollars are necessary for the equipment of the outfit, and about one-half of this amount has been raised. Contributions to make up the remainder are requested, and may be sent to G. F. Lockwood, 2615 Nicollet avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

"Mother Jones" writes us concerning her article for this number: "I am worked to death. Will you let me off this month? I will give you a good article next month." Those of our readers who know the heroic fight she has been making in behalf of the Scranton silk mill girls will realize how genuine her excuse is. Our next number will be a "First of May number," and will contain articles from all over the world, giving the most complete "bird's-eye view" of the international socialist movement ever compiled. Articles have already been promised from Denmark, Italy, France, England and several other countries, by the representative socialist writers of these countries. Nor will the United States be neglected, for articles have been promised by prominent socialist writers in all parts of the country, giving a summary of conditions in the socialist movement in their localities. This number will be of great permanent value and all socialist sections should secure a supply for future sale. Write for special terms to socialist organizations. Newsdealers should also take note and increase their regular orders.

Our Co-operative Publishing Business

HOW SOCIALIST LITERATURE IS BE- ING CIRCULATED BY SOCIALISTS.

The International Socialist Review, the Pocket Library of Socialism, the Library of Progress and our other socialist literature are owned, published and circulated, not by any one or two individuals, but by a co-operative company, consisting of a rapidly growing number of socialists, already exceeding two hundred, and most of whom have invested just ten dollars each. In answer to many inquiries from our co-operators and from other friends who are interested in our work and who are thinking of becoming members of the company, we shall try in this article to give a fuller account of our work than has yet appeared in print.

The publishing business carried on under the name of Charles H. Kerr & Company was established in 1886, but for the first seven years its publications were in the line of "a religion that is rational and a rationalism that is religious," rather than on economic or social lines.

In 1893 the business was incorporated, without change of name, under the Illinois laws, with an authorized capital of ten thousand dollars, divided into 1,000 ten-dollar shares. We began in that year the publication of "New Occasions," the name of which was afterwards changed to "The New Time." This was a semi-populist, semi-socialist magazine. Like numerous other Americans, we were looking for real socialism, but as yet knew little about it. "The New Time," after reaching a monthly circulation of over

30,000 copies, was separated from our book business and passed into the control of the editor, Mr. Adams, who in the course of four months came to the end of his resources and disappointed his friends by transferring the subscription list to the "Arena."

During the years 1893-1899 we published a number of books, starting with money reform, government banking, etc., and even taking in such books on the border line of socialism as "Merrie England," but our real connection with the International Socialist movement began in the spring of 1899, when the Workers' Call was started in this city. We at once cultivated fraternal relations with its editor and writers, and in April began the publication of the Pocket Library of Socialism, which has appeared monthly ever since. Twenty-five numbers have already appeared, and the total number of copies printed up to this time is 230,000, while editions already ordered will shortly bring the number up to 270,000.

In January, 1900, A. M. Simons became vice-president of this company, and in July we began the publication of the International Socialist Review under his editorship.

The first number of the Review appeared July 1, 1900, with a list of yearly subscribers already secured to the number of about 800. This list has now increased to about 3,500, in addition to an average monthly sale of as many more copies, and both subscriptions and sales are increasing so rap-

idly that a monthly edition of 10,000 copies will soon be necessary.

Among other socialist publications issued by us within the last two years may be mentioned English translations of Liebknecht's "Socialism" and "No Compromise," Engel's "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" and Kautsky's Life of Engels, also the "Socialist Campaign Book" and "Socialist Songs with Music," not to speak of the important works now in press which are announced on another page of this Review.

How was the capital raised to do all this?

About \$500 was subscribed by a few sympathizers who were able and willing to put in comparatively large sums to help the work, and somewhat more came from comrades who paid \$10 each for individual shares of stock. The money has not been used to pay running expenses; these have been met by subscriptions to the Review and sales of books. It has gone into editions of new books and into advertising which is daily increasing the circulation of the Review.

It is interesting to note that not a dollar of this stock was subscribed on the promise of dividends nor on the expectation of any profit on the labor of others. The one inducement offered, apart from the general motive of extending the socialist propaganda, is the privilege of buying our literature at cost, and it is an encouraging fact that a number of locals of the Social Democratic party have already subscribed for stock and are using their privilege to circulate increasing quantities of socialist literature at prices far lower than have been made before. The following table will show the exact location of our stockholders. We do not publish names, for the reason that publicity might endanger the jobs of many of our friends, but any socialist desiring the address of a stockholder in his own town can get it by addressing us with proper credentials from his S. D. P. organization.

List of Postoffices Where Stockholders Are Located

- ALABAMA—Branchville.
ALASKA—Douglas.
ARIZONA—Bisbee, Flagstaff, Safford.
ARKANSAS—Arkansas City, Hot Springs.
CALIFORNIA—Colusa, Glen Ellen, Healdsburg, Hemet, Independence, Jamestown, Lemoore, Los Angeles (three), Red Bluff, Virginia.
COLORADO—Arastra, Colorado City, Globeville, Leadville, New Castle.
CONNECTICUT—Berlin, Gildersleeve, New Haven (two), Torrington.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Georgetown, Washington (three).
FLORIDA—Gilmore, Kissimmee, Milton.
GEORGIA—Fitzgerald, Ruskin.
IDAHO—Garnet, Gibbonsville, Wallace.
ILLINOIS—Allerton, Caseyville, Chicago (24), Crete, Galesburg, Keithsville, Illiopolis, Jacksonville, Keithsburg, Morrison, Mt. Palatine, Pana, Quincy, Woodburn.
INDIANA—Butler, Greenfield, Hammond (two), Huntington, Indianapolis, Terre Haute.
IOWA—Clarinda, Davenport, Des Moines, Grinnell (two), Independence, Lenox, Sioux City, Van Home.
KANSAS—Halstead, Kansas City (two), Lawrence.
KENTUCKY—Covington, Louisville (three), Newport, Paducah, Science Hill.
MASSACHUSETTS—Boston, Brighton, Dorchester, Fall River, Fitchburg, Lawrence, Lynn (two), Newburyport, Springfield, Vineyard Haven.
MICHIGAN—Allegan, Detroit, Battle Creek (two), Benton Harbor, Eaton Rapids, Grand Rapids, Ithaca, Kalamazoo (two), Ludington, Ypsilanti.
MINNESOTA—Hubbard, Minneapolis (four), St. Anthony Park, Tracy, Two Harbors.
MISSOURI—Joplin, Kansas City, New Madrid, St. Joseph, St. Louis (four), Trenton.
MONTANA—Billings, Butte, Lewiston.
NEBRASKA—Bancroft, Columbus, Harrisburg, Omaha.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Chesham, Dover, Manchester.
NEW JERSEY—Orange, Passaic.
NEW YORK—Brooklyn, Daws, New York (five), Port Jervis, Rochester, Saranac Lake.

NORTH DAKOTA—Guelph, Mayville, Minot.

OHIO—Alliance, Cincinnati (two), Cleveland, Crestline, Latty, Massillon, Mechanicsburg, New Waterford, Salem, Springfield, Toledo.

OKLAHOMA—Augusta, El Reno, Filson, Wardin.

OREGON—Baker City, Eugene, Oregon City, Portland, Vernonia, Whitaker.

PENNSYLVANIA—Allegheny, Erie, Brownsville, Franklin, New Castle, Philadelphia (four), Pittsburg, Rodi, Wallaceville.

RHODE ISLAND—Providence.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Gann Valley.

TENNESSEE—Harriman.

TEXAS—Blanco, Killen, Mason.

UTAH—Clinton, Eureka, Murray, Sunshine.

VIRGINIA—Newport News.

WASHINGTON—Fairhaven, Langley, New Whatcom, Olympia, Parkland, Snoqualmie, Spokane, Tacoma.

WEST VIRGINIA—McMechen, Ripley.

WISCONSIN—Milwaukee, Madison.

CANADA—

British Columbia—Slocan.

Manitoba—Winnipeg.

Nova Scotia—Halifax.

Ontario—Collingwood, Kagawong, Malton.

The capital thus far subscribed is very far from being enough to meet the needs of the movement. Our monthly book sales have increased from \$409.15 for February 1900 to \$864.65 in February 1901, not including in the latter month the receipts of the International Socialist Review, which amounted to \$395.49 more. But this is only a hint of the increase that is possible in the near future if we can have the capital needed to advertise the International Socialist Review as it should be advertised, and to print the new socialist books for which a ready sale is almost certain as soon as they can be placed on the market. Six hundred shares at ten dollars each are still unsold, and the six thousand dollars that can be realized from their sale, if our comrades act promptly, will enable us to double and quadruple

the output of socialist literature and to reduce our prices even below this new scale now announced for the first time.

All stockholders, both those already holding stock and those who subscribe in response to this notice, will hereafter be entitled to the following special rates on book orders accompanied by the cash. (Keeping accounts makes needless expense):

Pocket Library of Socialism and other five-cent books published by us—Five thousand assorted copies, \$30.00; 1,000 assorted copies, \$8.00; 100 assorted copies, \$1.00; smaller lots two cents a copy.

Ten-cent books—One thousand assorted copies (freight at purchaser's expense) \$30.00; 100 assorted copies, \$3.50; 25 assorted copies, \$1.00; smaller lots, five cents a copy.

Other paper-covered books in hundred lots (freight at purchaser's expense) sixty per cent discount from list prices; in smaller lots, fifty per cent discount.

Cloth-bound books if sent at purchaser's expense, fifty per cent discount; if sent at our expense, forty per cent discount.

These rates apply only to books now published or hereafter to be published by ourselves. We shall as an accommodation to our customers supply other socialist books, but as we have to buy them of the various publishers at small discounts and as the labor involved is considerable, we cannot at present offer any reduction from retail prices on books of other publishers.

It is our hope and purpose to publish as fast as the work can be done a line of cloth-bound books to be known as the Standard Socialist Series, which will keep American readers in touch with the latest and most thoroughly scientific thought of the world, and at the same time will be readily understood by any attentive reader.

We can now definitely promise the first two numbers of the series early

in May. One will be Liebknecht's *Life of Marx*, described on page 589 of last month's Review. Even socialists usually think of Marx as a mere student, philosopher and critic. This book of Liebknecht's personal recollections of Marx, dealing mainly with the period of exile in London, shows Marx the man, his heroism through years of discouragement and persecution, his energy and steadfastness, his warm human sympathy and the atmosphere of love radiating from his home. The book supplies an indispensable chapter in the history of socialism.

We can also promise for publication in May the translation by Charles H. Kerr of Vandervelde's "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution," the table of contents of which is printed on page 588. We have just received Professor Vandervelde's manuscript of his preface to our edition, in which he says: "At the hour when the United States, finishing their industrial evolution, penetrating as victors into the markets of Europe, joining the capitalist crusade in the Orient, are mingling more and more in the concert of the powers of the old world, it is imperatively necessary that the socialists of Europe and America come into closer and closer touch with each other, learn to know each other better and better, and in so far as the diversity of environment may be reconciled with their common aspirations, unify their international propaganda against international exploitation."

Still another work of prime importance, which we hope to have ready early in June, is Engel's "Origin of the Family," translated by Professor Un-

termann. Space forbids a detailed description this month.

These three books, soon to be followed by others, will be issued in neat cloth binding and in convenient shape for the pocket, the size of page being that of the Pocket Library of Socialism. The retail price will be fifty cents a copy and the price to stockholders twenty-five cents.

There are other important books which we shall publish as soon as the stock subscriptions justify us in undertaking the expense, among them a translation of Professor Vandervelde's "Socialism and Belgium" and an original work by A. M. Simons on the Future of the American Farmer.

We have tried to show that every dollar invested in our company will bring large returns in two ways: first, to the local work of the comrade or the socialist club which pays for a share of stock, by the privilege it secures of buying socialist literature at the lowest possible prices; second, to the general work of socialist propaganda, by still further increasing our output of socialist literature.

If you individually cannot spare ten dollars, get other comrades to join with you in sending for a share of stock. It will have to be issued in one name for voting purposes, but each of you can have the privilege of buying books at reduced prices.

Do not put this matter off. Now is the time the money is needed. Send a postal order for ten dollars and you will get your stock certificate by return mail and will thereafter be entitled to all the privileges of a stockholder.

ADDRESS

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The Labor Movement in Great Britain

IO understand the labor movement aright it is necessary to know of what it is composed. There are in this country several distinctively working class organizations, all of them exercising an influence after their kind on working class life and thought. The wage-earners are estimated to number 14,000,000, of whom one man in four and one woman in ten are members of a trade union. The total membership is, roughly, 2,500,000, and the reserve funds amount to £3,500,000. Several of the miners' unions have a parliamentary fund, and they have at present five representatives in the House of Commons.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain is at present balloting its members on a proposal to contribute one shilling a year towards a labor representation fund, and W. B. Pickard, M. P., the president, stated in his presidential address, that if this be carried, the miners will nominate seventy candidates next election. The engineers, the shipwrights, the steel and ironworkers, the gasworkers and other unions have also parliamentary funds. (It may perhaps be necessary to remind some of your readers that the whole of the cost of an election, together with the maintenance of a member when elected, has to be borne from private resources, since the nation neither pays the cost of the election nor provides a salary for members of Parliament). The co-operative movement has a membership of close upon 1,500,000, a yearly turnover in distribution of more than £20,000,000 sterling, and is in addition doing a very large productive business. Parliamentary representation is a stock subject of discussion at its annual congress and several of its leading members were accepted as Liberal candidates at last election, although none of them were successful in getting returned. In Scotland the movement is actively iden-

tified with the labor representation committee, of which more anon.

I pass over the Friends' Society movement, great and powerful though it be, for the reason that it is in no sense, nor ever likely to become, political.

Socialism is represented by three organizations—the Fabian Society, mainly educational, and as such of great service to the movement; the Social Democratic Federation, mainly a London organization, and the Independent Labor party. In its early days the S. D. F. attracted to its ranks the best minds in the movement, but somehow it could not retain them. In these days it was neither distinctly political nor definitely revolutionary, but a cross between the two which was a continual cause of internal friction. For years it was to trade unionism what De Leonism was in America in 1896.

In 1893 the I. L. P. was formed, in the main, by leading trade unionists who were socialists but who for one reason or another would not identify themselves with the existing organization, and from then until now it has borne the brunt of the fighting, whether as regards parliamentary or municipal contests. Its example and influence has so molded the work of the S. D. F. that the differences between the methods of the two organizations are no longer so pronounced as they were a few years ago.

From the outstart of its career the I. L. P. has recognized the great potential force with which the trade union and co-operative movements are charged and has sought for a common ground of action among those who hold so much in common, whilst carrying on an unceasing socialist campaign by means of the platform and the press, embracing the smallest villages in the central parts of England, as well as the big centers of population all over the country, and whilst holding itself above suspicion in its political independence, the I. L. P. has yet sought to secure political allies for independent action in the trade union and co-operative movements.

So much by way of necessary introduction that your readers may the better understand what follows.

I use the term labor movement advisedly. Like the late Caesar de Pape, labor seems to me more comprehensive than socialist. I may best explain my point of view by saying that socialism is a body of doctrine upon which and out of which the labor movement grows and is built up. My purpose, however, in this article is to describe the present position of the political labor movement in Great Britain. Like all working-class movements it has gradually evolved itself. Twenty-five years ago an attempt was made to organize a Labor Representation League and a few of its members succeeded in being returned to Par-

liament. Once there, however, they settled down into comfortable commonplace party followers. The movement was purely political in those days, and had for its aim the extension of the franchise.

Various spasmodic attempts to create a labor party followed, but no marked success was attained. In 1887 the trades union congress tried its hand at a labor party and for a few years the outcome of the attempt struggled along, but finally died of inanition. It had as its basis a platform partly economic, partly political; the political, however, largely predominated.

This state of affairs continued down to 1893, when the Independent Labor party as a national organization was definitely formed. At a conference held to form a national organization that year over 120 representatives from trades unions, socialist societies and other movements in favor of labor representation attended, and it was unanimously agreed, first, that the program should be distinctly socialistic, and second, that the political side of the movement should be conducted on absolutely independent lines. Those who affirm, as some do, that the Independent Labor party thus created has only gradually evolved into a socialist organization are either ignorant of the facts or not above misrepresenting them. I quote here the declaration carried at this first conference:

“That the object of the Independent Labor party shall be to secure the collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange.”

From that declaration it has never varied, and the whole of its propaganda has been conducted on definitely socialist lines.

The formation of the Independent Labor party marks a very distinct stage in the evolution of the Socialist Labor party. It was not, however, until 1899 that the trades union congress formally and authoritatively endorsed the position of the Independent Labor party by carrying a resolution in favor of what practically amounts to a federation of all existing socialist, trade union and other working class organizations willing to co-operate in securing the return of labor members to the House of Commons. The trades union movement with us, as seems to be pretty much the case still in America, was for years in the hands of men who did not believe in a separate labor party, at least not in practice. They endeavored to keep the trade union movement clear of politics by taking sides with one or other of the existing orthodox political parties and denouncing those who sought to form a real labor party. Bit by bit, however, the rank and file came to realize the absurdity of this position with the result outlined above.

It may be of interest to your readers to describe the actual working basis upon which trade unionists, socialists and co-

operators are finding common ground of action in politics. To begin with, these three movements are, more or less, agreed on the necessity for having direct representation in Parliament. That being so, the question arose how each could aid the others in the matter. It was felt that without all-round co-operation there was not much chance of success for any. It was further recognized that if any section sought to bind the other sections to accept any dogma of its own, the result would be continued chaos. After much conferring it was finally determined that when an organization affiliated to the labor representation committee, which is composed of representatives from socialist bodies, trade unions and the co-operative movement, decided upon putting up a candidate for election to Parliament, the organization nominating the candidate should select him, be financially responsible for the conduct of the election, and decide upon his program, or platform, whilst the candidate himself would be pledged if returned to the House of Commons to assist in forming a separate labor group in the House, having its own whips, deciding upon its own policy, prepared to co-operate with any party which for the time being is promoting legislation in the interests of labor or to oppose any party going in the opposite direction. This may not seem a very heroic policy, and yet it is all that is needed to secure the development of a definite socialist group, not only in Parliament but on all local governing bodies. Such a group in the House of Commons, no matter how heterogeneous its elements, would find itself drawn closer and closer together as time went on by being continually compelled to co-operate, either in promoting certain definite objects of legislation or in opposing such when put forward by a reactionary government. Not only so, but its socialism must become increasingly definite with the years.

Those of us who believe that there is no other solution to the labor problem save that which socialism offers know that just as our propaganda work has its effect so will the men who are selected by trades unions as labor candidates be more and more imbued with the socialist ideal. If, however, an attempt was made at this moment to lay down a hard and fast principle that only socialists were to be eligible as candidates to the new labor group the result would be to bar out a very large number of able, conscientious men and also to prevent that cohesion without which practically no progress at all is possible.

Your readers will do well to bear in mind that the methods of election in this country are so altogether different from those which prevail in America that we have no means of testing nationally what is the strength of any particular movement. The only way in which an approximate idea can be obtained is to run a number of candidates for constituencies in different parts of the country, and then take the results in those constit-

uencies as an indication of the state of feeling prevailing over all. The House of Commons is composed of 670 members, and the country is divided up into say 650 separate constituencies, a few of which return two members, but the greater bulk only one.

At the last election, then, eighteen candidates submitted themselves for election, either directly under the auspices of the labor representation committee or under conditions similar to those laid down by the committee. It should be borne in mind that the circumstances under which they fought were not favorable to success. For four or five years trade has been exceptionally good, work plentiful, wages high. Under such conditions social and labor problems are apt to be forgotten, and by none more than by the working class itself. In addition the war fever was very high at the time and every one of the candidates was either pronouncedly pro-Boer or at least opposed to the war. The result of the election was that three of the candidates were successful, and the total vote recorded for the eighteen was 76,906 out of a grand total of 206,920 cast in the divisions for which the candidates were put forward. I do not claim for a moment that all these were socialist voters, but it cannot be denied that they were all convinced of the necessity for a separate labor party in Parliament and most of them must have had sufficient intelligence to know that that group could not fail to be dominated by socialist thought and influence. In one case the I. L. P. candidate was only forty-two votes behind his successful opponent, and in several others a change of a few hundred voters from one side to the other would have given our man the victory. Of the eighteen candidates thirteen were members of the Independent Labor party, two of the Social Democratic Federation—all of these ran as avowed socialists—two were trade unionists and one the nominee of the trade unionists although not himself a worker. But for the fact that the election was sprung upon the country unexpectedly and was fought upon an old register, the results for us would have been much better.

Taken as a whole there is good reason for being satisfied with the result of the experiment in uniting the forces of labor. There are two labor representation committees—one for Scotland and another for England—and the trade unions affiliated with them have a combined membership of over 500,000. Several of the large unions outside the committee have, as already stated, labor representation funds, and the adhesion of these is only a question of time. There is more political solidarity throughout the working class movement here than has been witnessed since the days of the Chartists, and it is growing daily. The period of trade depression upon which we have entered and which threatens to be severe and prolonged, will

tell powerfully in our favor. Our stand against the war will also bring us support, as it has already done, and altogether there is good reason for hoping that by the exercise of some tact and patience the next general election, which may come soon, will find the Labor party in a position of such strength as will insure the return of a decent group of representatives to the next Parliament. Twelve members of the present Parliament are drawn from the working class. Of these three are from Ireland. How far co-operation on a militant policy can be secured remains to be put to the test. Were they to make a definite and pronounced stand upon labor questions the effect upon working class opinion would be very great. More than that I do not care to say at present. One always likes to hope for the best.

Meanwhile the socialist propaganda is in full swing. Since the general election there has been a distinct revival of activity. The Independent Labor party is organizing a big campaign for this year and is raising a special guarantee fund of £1,000 for this purpose alone. I desire it to be clearly understood that whilst we have been working, and intend continuing to do so, for political union at election times, we are not neglecting nor abating one jot of our definite socialist work. The principles of socialism are permeating all ranks and classes. The criminal war the country is waging in South Africa at the behest and in the interests of a gang of high financiers is awakening thoughtful people to the menace which uncontrolled capitalism carries in its train. Already £100,000,000 have been spent upon the war and 80,000 lives lost or wasted, and as an outcome it looks at the moment of writing as if South Africa was lost to the British beyond the possibility of recall. Our growth towards socialism will be slower than with you—a fact due to differences in temperament and circumstance, but its coming is none the less irresistibly certain.

J. Kier Hardie, M. P.,
Editor of The Labor Leader.

Socialism in Italy



THE methods of propaganda, agitation and organization employed by Italian socialists vary according to the wide and profound differences in the physical, economic and social conditions of the Italian population. Italy unites by the ties of a national conscience two countries, different in customs, civilization and race. Compared to the North, the South of Italy presents a veritable *social atavism*, reflecting in the majority of its ideas a sentiment worthy of the civilization of past centuries. I do not wish to dwell on the anthropological and psychological differences which are marked and aggravated by the climate and by the lowest possible level of subsistence. Limiting myself to the subject of organization in keeping with modern progress, I can say with Niceforo* that "among the Aryans of the North, the individuals are easily organized into bodies and held by discipline; but among the dark-skinned Mediterranean population, such work is impossible. For there the individual, swayed by his restless and emotional *ego*, will not and cannot be assimilated by large bodies. We can, therefore, understand how this Southern population, passionate, individualistic in the highest degree, excited by the light and heat of the sun, unfit for adaptation to collective organization, could become great when forced to submit to the despotism of the Greek and Latin rulers who stifled the will of the individual. But under a democratic government they are incapable of that united action to which despotism compelled them."

In view of this we can understand why the organization of a class-conscious party, so flourishing in northern and middle Italy, is so difficult in the South, where the industry is almost sporadic; why the activity of socialists in the South is mainly concentrated on the effort to eradicate the effects of those two social phenomena, the *Mafia* and the *Camorra*, which are among the consequences and survivals of feudal despotism. The whole public life is saturated with them; elections, municipal administrations, the attitude of representatives in the Chamber, etc. The result, complicated by economic misery, is distressing in the extreme. This state of barbarism hinders all improvement of economic conditions in those regions. In consequence no elevation of the intellectual and moral level of the laboring classes, no effective propaganda or education is possible. This accounts for the vigorous efforts of the socialists to expose the

*A. Niceferro, *Italiani del Nord e Italiani del Sud*. Torino, Bocca, 1901.

tricks and the immorality of the bourgeoisie. The latter maintains its power in the municipalities by exploiting the *Camorra*, the *Mafia* and the submissive spirit of the wretched masses. The socialist campaign, opened by the party press, often finds its conclusion in court with the condemnation of the socialists. Although the proofs collected by the latter are numerous and conclusive, still the judges manage to evade them by legal tricks. Of three cases tested by the socialists—Taka versus Senator Paterno, De Felice versus Senator Codronchi, and "Propaganda" (the organ of the Neapolitan socialists) versus Deputy Cassale—only the latter ended in the condemnation of the chief of the *Camorra*. The other two cases brought sentences to the socialists, in spite of the fact that *the judges had to admit the truth of the indictments and the perpetration of the crimes!*

However, the socialists are not discouraged by these partial reverses. Nor do they entirely abandon all attempts to organize class-conscious bodies. In the South and in Sicily political groups of socialists are quite numerous and in Naples a recent strike was even carried to victory.*

But who can speak of a class struggle and hope to be understood by the laborers of Apulia, thousands of whom are subsisting on nothing but the boiled roots of trees, and demanding work at 20 centesimi (4 cents) per day? Who will speak of class-consciousness to the industrial laborers of Palermo who, duped by the employers' council, strike and make violent demonstrations in order to embarrass the government and prevail on the Chamber of Deputies to vote premiums for the construction of merchant vessels, premiums that are pocketed by the industrials at the expense of the Italian consumers? We do not exaggerate by affirming that socialists carry on their propaganda in the South at the imminent risk of their daily bread, often of their liberty and sometimes of their life.

On the other hand, in northern and middle Italy, where the social spirit is better developed by the side of an industrial evolution and where economic conditions are on a higher level, the movements of the socialists are different and many-sided. The political groups form the local centers of the nervous system of the socialist party. On the first of September, 1900, there were 546 locals with 19,194 members, and at present there are 783 locals with 29,497 members paying dues. Popular universities that give evening classes and scientific and sociological lectures to the laborers are now established in nearly every large town as a result of socialist propaganda. The distribution of free meals to poor pupils, now introduced by several muni-

* The longshoremen of Naples, in connection with the strikers in Marseilles, France, refused to discharge the vessels coming from the latter port. In Genoa the same course was adopted.

palities, is likewise due to socialist activity. To-day, even conservatives advocate this measure. In industrial centers socialists form unions for the purpose of keeping up wages, and labor exchanges (*camere del lavoro*) with a view to giving unity to the actions of workingmen's organizations and for assistance in strikes. In Milan, a "Maison du Peuple" will soon be opened.

Most interesting is the work of organizing the rural population. Along the whole immense coast between the Po and the Rubicon—the two famous rivers, one known for its grandeur, the other through its historical role—between the Appennines and the Adriatic, socialist propaganda has taken root in the form of agricultural laborers' organizations that differ in character according to the various conditions of the farmers.

The farm laborers of the province of Mantua have organized a league of amelioration (*Leghe di Miglioramento*) with a membership of 17,000, that will reach from 30,000 to 40,000 in a few months. Their purpose is to obtain higher wages from the land owners. To-day men receive at best 1 fr. (20 cents) per day in winter time and 1.70 fr. (34 cents) in summer time. Women work ten to twelve hours a day for 60 to 70 centesimi (12 to 14 cents), standing in boggy fields under the scorching rays of an August sun or in the chilly rain of an April morning.

Furthermore, twenty-five co-operatives for consumers are distributing groceries to the rural population of that region. The results of this movement, that forms a topic for discussion even in the capitalist press, are already very appreciable from an economic, political and social standpoint. Under the pressure of the laborers' demands the landowners were forced to improve the tillage of the soil and to increase its productivity by the help of machinery, chemical fertilizers, etc. Plundering of fields, gambling and drunkenness have almost disappeared among the laborers. The spirit of association has surprisingly developed in them; in certain localities to such a degree that the proceeds of labor are at the end of the week equally and equitably divided among young men and old, among strong and weak. Even their political consciousness has evolved; for when the employers argue their inability to increase the wages of the laborers, the latter reply: "Well, unite like we do and resist the demand of the government for taxes! Refuse your assistance and your vote to the demand for funds to support an army that crushes us!"

In the province of Reggio Emilia where small proprietors and tenant farmers are more numerous, sixteen consumers' co-operative societies were formed. There is also a co-operative for the purchase of agricultural implements, fertilizers, etc., and for the sale of the products.

In the provinces of Forli and Ravenna in Romagna, where

the tenant system is the only form of contract in use, brotherhoods (*Fratellanze*) of several thousand members were formed. Their purpose is to obtain from the employers a revision of the contract system and its modification in a sense that will benefit the laborers.

In Montferrato (Piedmont), where small vineyard owners are very frequent, co-operatives of consumers and buyers were organized, and associations regulating the handling of grapes and sale of wine with a view to abolishing the exploitation of the producer by the middleman and the wholesale dealer.

To protect the lives, to improve the physical condition of the farm laborers by raising their wages and increasing the yield of the soil, to educate their intellects, to awaken the spirit of solidarity and to make them conscious of their rights as a class—these are the ends to which socialist activity among the rural population must be directed.

I now come to the political work that has been accomplished in the country and in the parliament by the twenty-eight socialist deputies. It is no exaggeration to say that since the sad days of May 1898 there is not a fight against the forces of reaction, not a contest in the parliament, but was led by the group of socialists that form the extreme left, assisted by republicans and radicals. Even the solution of the late cabinet crisis in an almost democratic sense is due to the energy of the socialist deputies. After the spirited campaign of obstruction maintained by the extreme left for the purpose of defeating the attacks of the reaction, we finally arrived at the Saracco ministry, on which devolved the duty of removing the sad debris of the reactionary period. But like all such transitional governments, this cabinet was ever balancing itself, without bringing any actual results, between the pretentious demands of the still reactionary majority of employers and the alertness of the extreme left that was always ready to obstruct a backward movement. At last the government found itself in a trap when the strike of the longshoremen in Genoa broke out a day after the prefect had ordered the closing of the Labor Exchange. After a splendid fight, the extreme left, always led by the socialists, brought about the downfall of the cabinet that had permitted the closing of the Labor Exchange in violation of the laborers' right of association. Better still is the complete rout of the reactionary center and the extreme right who upbraided the government for its lack of energy in suppressing the strike. After eight years of continual parliamentary crises, a sufficiently clear vote of the Chamber was obtained and the king forced to call the liberals into power, restricting them somewhat by some member of the right. Even pending the solution of the crisis, the extreme left remained active. The liberals, Zanardelli and Giolitti, unable to dispense with the help of the extreme left,

invited the radicals to enter the cabinet. But these demanded as the first indispensable condition the curtailing of military expenses. Now the king had made it a condition *sine qua non* that the military budget should remain inviolate and that the old ministers of war and marine should be retained. Therefore the radicals declined to accept the invitation. Thus the country had an opportunity to learn that the real obstacle to a more rational policy in harmony with the economic needs and resources of the land is the military budget on which the king and the adherents of militarism, still strong in Parliament, obstinately insist, even to the point of renewing the triple alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. From now on, however, the socialist party will inaugurate a campaign for anti-militarism. For the military moloch is the veritable enemy of all financial and economic progress and improvement in Italy. Just at the present time economic life begins to awake and to grow in the North, but the military budget crushes it in the bud. In order to understand this it is sufficient to examine the following table showing how the increase in the budgets of the five great European powers from 1876 to 1900 was spent. The numbers indicate millions:

	Expenses.		Increase.	Disbursement of the Increase.		
	In 1876	In 1899-1900		Debt.	Military Expenses.	Public Service
Italy	1280	1665	885	173	187	76
England.....	2015	3118	1108	0	387	766
France.....	2639	3684	1045	0	305	740
Germany.....	3400	5073	2673	450	505	1718
Austria }	1617	2891	1374	212	182	980
Hungary }						

It follows from these figures that Italy has done precisely the reverse of what civilized countries are doing, viz.: it has increased the military expenses and reduced the expenses for public services that really contribute to progress and civilization.

Still another battle was fought by the socialists in parliament for the reduction of the price of bread and grain which is higher in Italy than in any other European country, thanks to the import duty of 7.50 fr. (\$1.50) per 100 pounds. This fee to agrarian protectionism has brought to the state a revenue of four hundred and ninety millions in fourteen years and stinted the stomachs of the consumers in order to present the landed proprietors with three billions. But not one hectare of land planted in grain has been added, and the yield per hectare has remained the same. The Italian farmer consumes only 92 grams of albumen per day, while according to Voit the minimum should be 118; assimilates only 67 grams when the mini-

mum should be 105. In the United States the laborer consumes 100 to 220 grams of albumen per day.

This has not hindered the majority of the Chamber from defeating the bill of the socialists to abolish the duty on grain, although certain conservative agrarians admitted that this protectionism is "theoretically doomed." The socialists in turn will not be prevented from renewing their campaign more vigorously than ever, confident of victory next year.

Other measures advocated by the socialists in speech and in writing through their fifty-two weeklies and their daily "Avanti" are:

A bill regulating the length of the working day for women and children and providing for their protection.

A divorce law.

Bills for the application of the law instituting *prud'hommes* and for providing insurance against accidents to those farm laborers and seamen who are at present excluded from such benefits.

It will also not be long before the fight against the priests will be taken up. The latter are the deadliest enemies of socialist propaganda in the country districts. We had even in this country a rising school of Christian socialists, who assumed the aspect and character of socialists in mingling with the laborers in their recreations. But the last encyclica of the Pope has torn the mask from their faces. They sought refuge under the wings of *Santa Madre Chiesa* (Holy Mother Church) and when challenged by socialists to debate they were forced to avow their conservative and anti-socialistic spirit, just as the Jesuits and the employers were before them. Their church takes its revenge by excommunicating the "Giustizia" (Justice) of that apostle of Italian socialism, Camillo Prampolini.

But the era of *autos da fe'* is passed, and to the superannuated phrase of "*ad majorem Dei gloriam*" we reply by the cry: "Hurrah for socialism! Hurrah for the International Union of workers!"

Alessandro Schiavi.

Rome, March 24, 1901.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

Socialism in Canada



THE Canadian Socialist movement is in a similar position to that of the child learning to walk. The movement has been born, it has passed through the crawling stage, it has taken a few steps and had a few tumblers, and in the swift evolution of events it will soon be beyond the walking and into the running stage.

From a historical standpoint it would be difficult to name a commencing point. Canada was originally taken from the Indians by the French, and after the defeat of the French by the English the country was used as a retreat for the ultra-loyal persons who preferred to live under the government of King George rather than under the presidency of George Washington. For half a century after the American revolution this class misgoverned Canada and "divided up" the new country amongst the members of their families. In 1837, the radical pioneers of Upper and Lower Canada rebelled against the autocratic manner in which they were governed, and although the rebellion was unsuccessful in overturning the government, it succeeded in establishing more democratic political conditions. Many of the descendants of the rebels of 1837 are taking an active part in socialist propaganda in 1901, the grandfather of the writer being one who had the honor of serving three months in jail as a rebel.

In early days the privately-owned tollroads were the only means of inland transportation, but the public ownership idea grew apace and when in 1867 the various provinces federated into the Dominion of Canada, the postoffice and most of the roadways had been nationalized. Since that time progress has been made in many directions. Municipalities have established water, power and lighting plants, public libraries, etc., and the municipal initiative and referendum has been introduced. Provinces have established public schools and state universities and the federal government owns and operates the canal system of the country together with the Intercolonial railroad running from Montreal, Quebec, to Halifax, Nova Scotia. It also recently built a government telegraph line 800 miles long in British Columbia, over which messages can be sent for one-tenth the charges made on private lines; and it is expected that within a year the government will nationalize the entire telegraph system of the country, a clause in the existing charters giving the government power to do this upon ninety days' notice.

Although no socialist has yet been elected to parliament or

legislature in Canada, the public ownership principle has found several advocates amongst progressive men in the old capitalistic parties, some of whom have accepted the name socialist in parliamentary debates. Canadian socialists are alert, however, in pointing out the great distinction between "government" and "public" ownership and in reiterating the socialist demand for the complete public ownership of all the means of production and distribution as the only cure for the evils of the competitive system.

The first organized socialist movement in Canada was inspired by Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and several "Nationalist" Clubs were formed. Previous to this the Knights of Labor political movement had done considerable educational work amongst the partisans in the cities and towns, and a few years later the Patrons of Industry did similar work for the farmers by organizing them for political and educational purposes. The "Canada Labor Courier," St. Thomas; "Palladium," Hamilton; "Labor Reformer," and "Canada Farmers' Sun," Toronto, amongst other papers did good educational work, and in the natural course of events died from the lack of support. Other minor movements which have come and gone are the Anti-Poverty Society, Producers' Exchange, Henry George Club, Social Reform League, and the Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth, the latter of which for a short time published "The Searchlight" at London.

Following the Nationalist Club and the old Canadian Socialist League in Toronto, sections of the Socialist Labor Party were organized in Toronto and London about 1894, and later on three sections were organized in Montreal, Quebec, and one each in Halifax, N. S., Winnipeg, Man., Vancouver, B. C., and Hamilton, Brantford and Ottawa in Ontario. Of these four are still in existence, and the "Cause of Labor," a monthly pamphlet published at Halifax, N. S., is the national organ, the "Commonwealth," Montreal, Quebec, and "Better Times," Brantford, not now being published. The Canadian sections of the S. L. P. have followed the DeLeonites of the United States in their attitude of refusing to allow officers of trades unions to join their ranks, and this action, together with their severe criticism of all who cannot see eye to eye with them, has made the growth of their organization almost an impossibility. F. J. Darch, London, Ont., is their national secretary.

Socialism in Canada is more generally represented by the Canadian Socialist League, of which seventeen branches have been formed in various parts of the Dominion, and which is now establishing a fund for placing a paid organizer and lecturer in the field and for publishing propaganda literature. A national organization is also being perfected, this having been purposely delayed until a score of leagues have been formed, when a refer-

endum vote could be taken. These leagues have always worked in harmony with trades unions in recommending members to join the union of their trade, if one exists. They are also fortunate in having the co-operation of the radical element of the Canadian clergy, the churches in this country wielding a great influence and being more in touch with the socialist movement than in other countries. Until a national organization is perfected C. S. L. No. 2, Toronto, is acting as the central body, the organizing secretary being G. Weston Wrigley, 293 King West, Toronto.

Canadian Socialist Leagues have been formed in the following places: Montreal, Que.; Toronto, West Toronto, London, Malton, Poplar, Mount Forest, Galt, St. Thomas, and Hamilton, Paris, Ont.; Pt. Moody, Ferguson, Sapperton and Victoria, B. C., and Tantallon and Banff, N. W. T. Leagues are being organized in many other places and unaffiliated socialist bodies have been formed as follows: United Socialist Party, Vancouver and Nanaimo, B. C.; Socialist Educational Club, Nelson, B. C.; People's Union, Brantford, Ont., and Social Science Club, Ottawa, Ont. Labor parties have also been formed in Winnipeg, Man.; Rossland, Nelson, Nanaimo and Vancouver, B. C., but the body in the last-named place at a recent election fused with one of the capitalistic parties. The future of the organized movement looks very bright, and with the placing of a paid organizer in the field by the C. S. L. a solidified movement should be in existence within a year.

In 1897 two socialists were nominated for the Ontario legislature in London, Ont., H. B. Ashplant polling 126 votes and C. H. Gould 57 votes, the former representing the S. L. P. and the latter the Co-operative Commonwealth. In 1900 the S. L. P. nominated R. Rhoadhouse for the London seat in the Dominion Parliament and 214 votes were polled. In Vancouver, B. C., the United Socialists nominated Will MacClain for the Legislature in June, 1900, and he polled 684 votes, twenty-seven of the twenty-eight members elected polling a smaller vote. In 1900, socialists aided labor candidates in several places, polling 3,441 votes for A. W. Puttee, M. P., in Winnipeg, Man.; 2,564 for Chris Foley in Rossland, B. C.; 1,660 for Hugh Stevenson in West Toronto, and 179 for Dr. H. G. Hargrave in Center Toronto, the latter being a straight socialist on a labor ticket in a strongly partizan constituency.

In Toronto in 1899 S. L. P. candidates for aldermen in four wards polled 706 votes. In 1900 five candidates polled 1,453, and in 1901 the mayoralty candidate polled 221 votes. In Hamilton two S. L. P. aldermanic candidates polled 283 and 342 votes in 1899 and 1900 respectively and in 1901 the vote was 441 for the whole city. In 1899 and 1900 tickets were nominated by the S. L. P. in London, but only figures for the may-

orality candidate are at hand, being 656 and 2,402 respectively, in the latter case the trades unions having endorsed the candidate, an alderman being elected by the joint vote. In 1901 R. N. Price, St. Thomas, of Canadian Socialist League, No. 16, was elected alderman in St. Thomas, his vote being 975; and in Brantford, C. M. Durward was elected alderman on the socialist platform of the People's Union, the S. L. P. having polled 250 votes in that city in 1899. It is safe to say that socialist candidates will be nominated more frequently in the future, although restrictive legislation is already being drafted to curb our progress in this direction.

"Citizen and Country," published weekly at Toronto, is Canada's leading exponent of socialism. It is edited by George Wrigley, who has been a central figure in every radical movement during the past twenty years. The paper was originally a social reform journal, but is now recognized as the national advocate of trades unionism and socialism. Several labor papers, "The Voice," Winnipeg, Man.; "Industrial World," Rossland, B. C.; "Independent," Vancouver, B. C.; "Industrial Banner," London, and "The Toiler," Toronto, also devote considerable space to socialistic questions, the labor movement throughout Canada being very friendly to socialistic propaganda. Many thousands of Bellamy's "Parable of the Water Tank" have been circulated by the Canadian Socialist League in all parts of the Dominion, and two lecture tours each by Comrades Herbert N. Casson, Eugene V. Debs and George E. Bigelow have also aided very materially in the propaganda work.

Few persons have aided our movement more than Comrade T. J. McBride, Melbourne, Australia, formerly of Toronto and Winnipeg. Comrade Phillips Thompson is our pioneer writer and lecturer and has been ably assisted by Comrade G. G. Purdey, Dr. H. G. Hargrave and W. J. Clokey, Toronto. Amongst the active pioneer workers throughout the Dominion the following comrades may be mentioned: A. F. Landry, Amherst, N. S.; C. McKay, Montreal, Que.; J. M. Macoun, Ottawa, W. A. Ratcliffe, Port Hope, H. P. Bonny, Hamilton, J. D. Mullholland, Brantford, T. A. Forman, Woodstock, R. N. Price, St. Thomas, H. B. Ashplant, J. T. Marks and J. C. Spence, London, Ont.; J. T. Mortimer, Winnipeg, Man.; W. R. Abbott, Maple Creek, Assa; Thomas Farrar, Lethbridge, Alta, R. P. Pettypiece, Ferguson, J. M. Cameron, Point Moody, and O. Lee Charlton, Victoria, B. C.

Various co-operative enterprises have been launched and our Canadian comrades have had their share of experiences in this direction. Labor exchanges and co-operative stores have been established in many places, but only in Lethbridge and Calgary, Albt., and Rossland, B. C., are co-operative enterprises in ex-

istence at present. In Brantford, Ont., a co-operative coal company has met with success. The Hamona Co-operative Farm Colony at Tantallon, Assa, has survived several years' existence, while the lumbering colony at Ruskin, B. C., disbanded a year ago.

From every standpoint the outlook for socialism in Canada looks promising. As in other countries, business is centralizing rapidly and the iron heel of private monopoly is forcing every class to study the industrial evolution. The Eastern provinces have been the slowest to move; Ontario is rapidly learning the socialist lesson and Western Canada is honey-combed with our doctrines. With this outlook we have every reason to send a message of encouragement to our comrades throughout the world.

Toronto, April, 1901.

G. Weston Wrigley.



Trade Union Movement



THE growth of organized labor during the past year, in point of new unions formed and members gained, is very gratifying to those who are enlisted in the cause; and it appears from the evidence at hand that in proportion as they organized, agitated, went on strike and boycotted were the conditions of the workers improved. Abstract theories, comprehensive philosophy and reasons without number have been given to show why working people should unite; but I believe none are as eloquent and convincing as the following plain facts and figures of what has been accomplished which I have condensed from official reports:

Miners formed 498 new unions and gained 67,086 members during the year. The increase of wages secured will approximate \$20,000,000 annually. The raise ranges from 10 to 20 per cent, and benefits workers in Alabama, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Kansas and Missouri, where strikes were waged successfully, and in other states through joint conferences. Minor concessions were also obtained.

Oil well workers gained 23 new unions and 531 members. Increase of wages average 50 cents for twelve hours.

Brickmakers made net gain of 7 unions and 600 members. Won three strikes, two pending and one lost. Secured eight-hour day, recognition of the union, and 5 per cent more wages.

Potters made net gain of 8 unions and 957 members. Won one strike, secured recognition of union, uniform scale and 15 per cent increase of wages.

Glass bottle blowers gained 200 members and 7 per cent more wages. Work eight and one-half hours per day.

Bakers report net gain of 51 unions and 1,997 members. Won three strikes, 10 per cent more wages, recognition of union, and reduced labor time one hour.

Butchers made net gain of 38 unions, 2,900 members, 10 per cent increase of wages and reduced working time two to four hours.

Tobacco workers report net gain of 9 unions and 2,149 members.

Cigarmakers report net gain of 27 unions and 6,717 members. Won 92 strikes, compromised 10, lost 20. Over one-half of persons engaged in strikes secured additional benefits, and of the 12,153 strikers one-half were non-union.

Tailors show net increase of 44 unions and 3,000 members. Won 21 strikes, compromised two and lost three, gaining in wages \$100,000 a year and \$25,000 without strikes.

Garment workers report net gain of 39 unions and 2,500 members. Hours of labor were reduced, wages advanced and other matters adjusted in several places by arbitration.

Ladies' garment workers organized 9 new unions, won two strikes and lost four, and state wages were raised 25 to 30 per cent and 18 shops unionized.

Hatters won a strike and compromised one. Unionized two factories and obtained higher wages.

Shoemakers report a net gain of 22 unions and 2,963 members. Won three strikes, compromised one and lost one. Secured better prices and conditions for many members.

Saddlers had net gain of 22 unions and 900 members. Won 10 strikes and lost one, wages advanced 40 per cent, and hours of labor reduced.

Spinners organized 3 new unions and increased membership by 616. Two strikes were won and 10 per cent wages gained.

Lace curtain operatives gained 10 new members and reduced hours of labor and raised wages 15 per cent without strike.

Elastic web weavers held their own in organization and won two strikes, benefiting all the members of the union.

Upholsterers had net gain of five unions and 207 members. Won eight strikes, compromised four and lost two. Approximate gain of wages, 25 per cent. Also secured advantages without strikes.

Granite cutters increased membership by 1,500. Enforced the eight-hour day throughout the country, raised wages 16 2-3 per cent and secured general recognition of the organization.

Painters report net gain of 154 unions and 13,000 members (largely through amalgamation). Won 14 strikes, compromised two and lost two. Raised wages and reduced hours of labor.

Lathers start national union with 59 locals, nearly all of which got more pay and shorter hours.

Amalgamated carpenters secured 5 unions and 809 members. Won 10 strikes, compromised one and lost one, gaining eight-hour day, Saturday half-holiday and 2½ per cent increase in wages.

Woodworkers had net increase of 51 unions and 5,400 members. Won 16 strikes, lost two and three pending, the increase of wages averaging 15 per cent. Enforced eight-hour day for 2,000 men in Chicago.

Wood carvers gained one union and 277 members. Won 10 strikes, lost two and compromised three, securing 10 per cent raise in wages and reduction of working time average five hours a week.

Coopers had net gain of 26 unions and 1,148 members. Won 15 strikes, compromised three, lost seven. Raised wages 20 per cent and cut hours in ten cities.

Trunkmakers gained 4 unions, 85 members and 5 per cent wages.

Broom-makers made net gain of 11 unions and 350 members. Six strikes won and raised wages 15 per cent.

Carriagemakers had net gain of 10 unions and 125 members. Won four strikes, lost two and reduced working time one hour a day.

Horseshoers had net gain of 11 unions and 500 members. Won four strikes, lost four and enforced nine-hour day.

Boilermakers report net gain of 44 unions and 2,212 members. Won 49 strikes, compromised three and lost four; gaining 5 to 10 per cent wages, shorter hours and better conditions generally.

Iron molders had net gain of 72 unions. Won eight strikes, compromised one, lost 15, eight pending. Increased wages.

Machinists had net gain of 91 unions and 13,000 members. Won 24 strikes, compromised nine, lost five, enforced shorter workday and raised wages.

Steamfitters gained 9 unions, compromised one strike and lost two.

Patternmakers gained 5 unions and 306 members and better wages. Won four strikes, lost two, compromised one.

Stovemounters gained 4 unions, 300 members and 5 per cent in wages. Lost one strike, compromised one, won four.

Tinplate workers gained 2 unions, 300 members and shorter workday.

Metal mechanics announce increase of 19 unions and 2,000 members net.

Metal polishers made net gain of 36 unions and 2,000 members. Compromised two strikes, lost one, won 14, raised wages and reduced working time.

Jewelry workers lost a strike, raised wages 10 per cent and reduced hours.

Watch case engravers report 8 new unions and 100 members. Won three strikes, 15 per cent more wages and abolished piece-work.

Bookbinders gained 10 unions, 1,209 members, 20 per cent wages and cut off an hour a day from working time. Won three strikes and lost two.

Papermakers report net increase of 3 unions and 500 members.

Printers had net gain of 67 unions and 1,500 members. Won seven strikes, lost 11. Slight increase in wages.

Plate printers secured 25 new members and won a strike.

Musicians report net gain of 30 unions and 2,100 members.

Printing pressmen had net gain of 27 unions and 2,190 members. Won 15 strikes and compromised five.

Theatre employes gained 7 unions and won three strikes. Secured raise in wages 25 to 125 per cent.

Engineers made net gain of 19 unions and 1,272 unions. Won five strikes, five pending, and increased wages.

Coal-hoisting engineers increased 19 unions, 400 members, advanced wages, reduced hours and won a strike.

Firemen gained 37 unions, 2,100 members, raised wages, reduced hours. Won three strikes, compromised one, lost one.

Railway trackmen had net gain of 50 unions and 1,350 members. Reduced working time on 10,000 miles of railway and raised wages by \$200,000 a year.

Street railway employes show net gain of 35 unions and 1,000 members. Won six strikes, lost three. Reduced hours and raised wages in many cities.

Team drivers had net increase of 88 unions and 4,100 members. Won 12 strikes, compromised two, lost three.

Longshoremen gained 79 unions and 6,000 members. Increased wages 10 per cent, reduced hours 5 per cent. Won nine strikes, compromised two, lost one.

Retail clerks report net gain of 175 unions and 10,000 members. Two strikes won, hours of labor reduced.

Barbers made net gain of 68 unions and 3,152 members. Reduced labor hours generally and advanced wages.

Waiters and bartenders report net gain of 73 unions and 5,007 members. Won 14 strikes and bettered conditions.

While the foregoing summary proves that something has been gained in the matter of shortening hours of labor and raising wages by and through organizing unions and meeting the capitalist class with the strike and boycott, practically nothing has been won through political effort. It is true that in the various state capitals and at Washington committees have been kept busy, at an enormous expense, in lobbying for legislation, but their efforts have uniformly met with failure.

The legislative committee of the A. F. of L. reports that the eight-hour law as it stands can be violated at will, and that the amendment to make it operative was pigeon-holed in the Senate. The prison labor bill met the same fate. All the power and influence of the Federation was centered on these two measures, but election was over when the "hold-up" session met, and labor, having been used again by the politicians, received its usual treatment.

In the states in which legislatures met the same complaints are heard. In Massachusetts, although Representatives Carey and MacCartney, Social Democrats, fought valiantly to secure the enactment of laws to enforce the eight-hour day on government work, to raise the age limit of child labor, to introduce the referendum and similar concessions, the Republican and Democratic brethren were too much for them. In New York

most of the labor bills were turned down; in Nebraska twelve out of fourteen were defeated; in North Carolina and Georgia child labor and other bills were defeated; in Montana, despite the fact that Senator Clark promised to support certain labor measures, his henchmen were against them when the test came; in Washington and other states the laboring people's demands were also spurned.

In some instances, to quiet the clamors of trade union committees, bills are rushed through the hopper, their authors and the leaders of the legislature understanding clearly that they are loosely drawn or are unconstitutional; but they serve their purpose as electioneering baits, and after campaigns the courts throw them out. During the past year many meritorious laws—such as the measures compelling contractors on public work to pay prevailing (or trade union) rates of wages, providing for eight-hour workday on municipal and state work, to require that the printers' union label be placed on public printing, giving mechanics a lien on work performed and similar acts—have been declared unconstitutional in the various states. It has come to be regarded as almost a foregone conclusion that whenever a test case is made of a labor law, so-called, those most vitally interested, the working people, are the ones who are disappointed when the decision is handed down.

The one bright spot in the political horizon of labor is the growth of the socialist movement as expressed by the Social Democratic party. This new force is composed largely of trade unionists and thinking working people who can readily see that the reason labor secures no favorable legislation is because it would jeopardize the interests of the class in power, and that no matter how persistently labor may plead for palliatives it will be given nothing but the traditional stone to feed upon.

When Lincoln issued his famous call to the people for volunteers to save the nation, 100,000 men responded. History is repeating itself in a way, for a year ago the Rochester and Indianapolis socialist conventions also issued a call for volunteers to save the working class from being plunged deeper into wage-slavery, and once more 100,000 brave and honest souls responded with the glad refrain: "We are coming!"

Let the trade unionists who have struggled against hostile legislators and courts and militia and police, who have waged strikes and boycotts against fierce opposition, take heart and new courage. An army of class-conscious men is marshaling to gain final emancipation from all forms of slavery. As the union is a class-conscious body that opposes the capitalist class on the industrial field, let the members of the unions and their friends and sympathizers become thoroughly consistent and join the political movement of their class—the Social Dem-

ocratic party—and march forward to the co-operative commonwealth. That goal reached, labor will not need or desire the palliative crumbs of politicians, but will receive the full product of socialized effort—all the wealth it produces—and one thing more, **ECONOMIC FREEDOM!**



Socialism in the Middle West



MISSOURI, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa are four states which best typify the growth of the socialist movement in the Middle West. Some idea of the status of this movement may be obtained from the following comparison: In 1840, there were 7,059 votes cast throughout the United States for James G. Birney, candidate of the Liberty party for president, and this was the political nucleus of the movement which twenty years later resulted in the abolition of slavery. In 1900, Missouri alone cast 7,475 votes for socialism, 416 more than were cast in 1840 for Birney in the nation. During the past ten years Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa have been the chess-board for great political moves in the final struggles between the capitalist class interest represented by the Republican party and the middle class interest represented by the Democratic and People's parties. The result has been the disappearance of one and the disintegration of the other of the two last named, and what is most significant, the sweeping away of much of the middle-class ideas of economics which have confused the public mind. During the ten years' conflict referred to the socialist movement has been slowly evolving in these states, through what might properly be called a generative period, reaching its fruition in 1900, when it came forth as a new-born political child with the proportions and strength portending a giant. Apart from the political death-throes of capitalism and its resultant suffering, there are influences which have directly contributed to the growth of the socialist movement in the Middle West that may be traced back as far as 1878. In this year, as a result of the widespread excitement over the great railroad strikes and Mollie Maguire trouble, there was started in St. Louis a daily socialist paper, *Volkstimme des Westens*, which had quite a large circulation and came near bringing about the election of a congressman on a socialist platform. "St. Louis Tageblatt" was a daily German socialist paper started in 1888 and continuing in circulation until 1897. In 1888 came Bellamy's "Looking Backward," producing a profound impression, especially in Kansas, followed in 1890 by the formation, mainly through the Kansas Farmers' Alliance, of the People's party. The People's party, while not a socialist party, nevertheless carried on a propaganda with stump and platform speakers, a numerous press and campaign pamphlets like "Ten Men of Money Island" and "Seven Financial Conspiracies," which gave a great stimulus to the study of eco-

nomics and indirectly made thousands of socialists among the farmers and the working class generally in the Middle West.

In 1890 was also established the Labor Exchanges on De Barnard's plan, quite a number of which still exist in the Middle West, and on account of their co-operative methods have had a socialistic influence. The year 1893 marks a milestone in the socialist movement in the Middle West. In this year, with the "panic" as an appropriate capitalist background, the publication of "Labor" was begun by the Socialist Newspaper Union at St. Louis, and furnished simultaneously with separate local headlines to thirty-five cities, containing sections of the Socialist Labor party.

Among these besides St. Louis were Lincoln, Neb., Omaha, Neb., Kansas City, Mo., and Council Bluffs, Ia. The publication of "Labor" in 1893 also meant the Americanizing of the movement in the Middle West. In this year Albert E. Sanderson, one of the managing publishers of "Labor," was nominated as the first socialist candidate for mayor of St. Louis, polling 1,631 votes. "Labor" continued in circulation until April, 1897, when it was discontinued owing to local publishers' complications and internal differences in the S. L. P. about policy. The Pullman strike of 1894, Coxey's Army and the trial and imprisonment of Debs contributed to fan the flame of popular but unconscious resentment against the capitalist system and gave increasing virility to the socialist movement.

In August 1895 the "Appeal to Reason" was established at Girard, Kan., by J. A. Wayland, and it has been a powerful factor in making converts to socialism and nourishing the movement in this section. "Coin's Financial School," published in 1895, with its sale of a million copies, principally in the Middle West, had a far-reaching influence upon the development of socialism. While not a socialist work, it presented the supposedly dark science of economics in an attractive manner never before achieved by any writer, causing thousands of its readers to go the full gamut of political economy to the extent of finally repudiating the very doctrines advocated by the book and openly avowing socialism.

The People's party reached the climax of its strength in 1896, when (excepting a small remnant) it was absorbed by the Democratic party. In this year also, owing to unfortunate internal dissensions, the vote of the Socialist Labor party in St. Louis decreased to 596, as from 1,631 in 1893. The announcement by Eugene V. Debs of his conversion to socialism in January 1897, the formation of the Social Democracy in June and the holding of a Labor and Reform Conference at St. Louis in August of that year, mark the period when the labor unions and socialist organizations began to converge, giving a great impetus to the agitation for socialism in the trade unions. This

found an expression in the following year in the socialistic resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor in annual convention at Kansas City in December and which revealed a surprising showing of socialist delegates to that body. The influence of these events on the socialist movement of the Middle West was undoubtedly important.

During 1898 the "Arbiter Zeitung," a weekly German socialist paper, was started in St. Louis. It is still in circulation and is doing creditable work for the movement. In November 1898 the socialist vote in Missouri was 2,700, which showed gratifying evidence of the socialist propaganda among the trade unions. In June 1900 the Social Democratic party convened at St. Louis in the first socialist state convention ever held in Missouri, with delegates present from St. Louis, Liberal, Kansas City, Poplar Bluff, Union and Washington. They indorsed the nomination of Debs and Harriman and also nominated a complete state ticket, including Caleb Lipscomb, of Liberal, Mo., for governor. As Comrade Lipscomb had a few years previous been the candidate of the socialists of Kansas for governor of that state, he enjoys the distinction of running successively for governor of two different states. National and state tickets were also put in nomination in this year by the socialists in Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska.

The "middle of the road" People's party also had a ticket in the field in each of these states excepting Kansas, and recent developments show that the rank and file of this party are determined to join the socialist forces. The following table shows the socialist vote and the "middle of the road" vote in the states comprising the Middle West:

	S. D. P.	S. L. P.	People's (Middle Road)	Total
Missouri	6,181	1,394	4,244	11,719
Kansas	1,606	.....	.....	1,606
Nebraska	828	.....	1,104	1,937
Iowa	2,742	269	613	3,614
	<u>11,351</u>	<u>1,563</u>	<u>5,961</u>	<u>18,865</u>
S. L. P.	1,553			
Straight Socialist Vote	12,904			

In December 1900 the national committee of the People's (middle road) party held a meeting at St. Louis to decide upon the future course of their party, and as a result of these deliberations they have submitted a referendum to their members, proposing an indorsement (with reactionary qualifications) of the "co-operative commonwealth." In the meantime quite a number of their party papers have openly espoused socialism and socialist party action, while the rank and file are joining the socialist branches throughout the Middle West and re-enforcing the movement with new and capable workers. On January 1, 1901, the Social Democratic party of St. Louis began the

publication of "Missouri Socialist," a weekly English paper. In the recent municipal elections in Missouri the local organizations of the party have published weekly papers during the campaign at Kansas City (where the party owns a printing plant), and at Sedalia, the issue at that point being known as the "Liberator."

A year ago the number of American-born comrades in the movement in St. Louis was almost insignificant. To-day, they constitute a numerous and effective addition to the movement, whose foundation was laid by the German element. During the presidential campaign of 1900 the Social Democratic party of St. Louis raised and expended \$700 for literature, speakers, public meetings, etc. Immediately following the campaign they raised over \$50 for the Massachusetts movement, and during the recent municipal election they raised and disbursed a campaign fund of nearly \$200 besides the separate fund for the maintenance of the English organ.

The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, consisting of 200 delegates, representing 30,000 organized wage-earners, has the reputation of being a socialist body. A fair-sized minority of these delegates are class-conscious socialists and if they largely influence and at times control that body, it is because of their pre-eminent ability and integrity and their disinterested and recognized devotion to the labor movement. The socialist movement in the Middle West to-day includes at least 1,000,000 unattached socialists, most of whom cling to the half-way and "step-at-a-time" measures advocated by capitalist politicians who endeavor to ride into office and emolument on the crest of the socialist wave. On the other hand, there is a marked increase in the number of socialists who demand action along uncompromising party lines, this being due to suffering and impatience under capitalist development and growing lack of confidence in middle-class political measures. In addition to this, the conviction is now rapidly gaining ground among trade unionists that while the trade unions are essential to maintain and enlarge advantages gained on the industrial field, the capitalist system is inherent with economic error and injustice, the conditions of which are constantly aggravating, and which can only be rectified through political action.

Leon Greenbaum.

A Latter-Day Brook Farm



WAY up in the Adirondacks, two thousand feet above sea level and twenty miles from the nearest railway station, lies "Summer Brook Farm," overlooking a panorama of Alpine grandeur. To the east is Mount Hurricane, with undulating slopes and pine-clad ridges; to the west stretch away great valleys, beneath the shadow of mountain ranges topped by "Marcy" and "White Face." "Summer Brook" is made up of cottage and chalet built of picturesque spruce logs, and the visitor, entering the vine-bedecked porchway of the cottage, finds himself in a room whose vast proportions and rude rafters recall some baronial hall of mediaeval times. The great open fireplace, facing the door, bears the inscription "Ad Majorem Gloriam Amicitiae." Above its mantel is a portrait of William Morris, the poet-artist, and one of Walter Crane's socialist designs, picturing the workers as they march in triumphal procession bearing aloft banners dedicated to "Liberty, equality, fraternity." There is a piano, and some rustic tables and chairs, and on one side a stairway, covered by clustering ferns, leads to the apartment above. Facing the west and occupying almost the whole wall is an immense window, commanding a superb stretch of hill and dale as far as the eye can reach.

"Summer Brook" was built some six years ago by its present owner, Prestonia Mann, who has consecrated it in large measure to the service of the socialist cause. Prestonia Mann, a kinswoman of Horace Mann, came of abolitionist stock; the reformer's blood is in her veins. She inclines to Fabianism, rather than Marxism, and was for some years the editor of "The American Fabian." Early in her life she fell deeply under the glamor of "Brook Farm," and she determined that she would at least make an attempt to perpetuate, in concrete form, the ideals that found expression in that fraternal group of high-souled New England thinkers, whose community life during a few short years, though it was proclaimed a failure by the prosaic, has yet kindled a beacon whose light has shone around the world. An exact imitation of the earlier project was neither possible nor desirable, for the founder of "Summer Brook" has studied the evolution of society too well to believe that great social changes can be achieved by isolated experiments. But it was perfectly practicable to establish a summer community which should express a socialist's ideal of fellowship and beauty, and this was the form that her experiment took.

As the summers come and go, there meet in this earthly paradise among the mountains groups of kindred spirits—men and women whose lives are attuned to high ideals, whose efforts are pledged to the betterment of society. They gather fresh inspiration for the winter's work from mutual intercourse and from communion with nature's beauty. Here in the twilight, as the crimson glory of the sunset fades and the mist gathers on the dim mountains, the "sisters" and "brothers" come together in the great hall and discuss the serious problems of life, of labor, of love. Some "brother" will give an informal lecture on a subject that is nearest to his heart. Or some "sister"—perhaps the hostess herself—will take her place at the piano, and strains from the splendid operas of Wagner, or the sombre sonatas of Beethoven, re-echo through the hall and drift out over the valleys.

The community that gathers here from year to year has always been an interesting one, and has included the names of many well-known social reformers (mostly of Fabian thought), including Henry Demarest Lloyd, the modern knight of chivalry who entered the lists against bloated privilege and monopoly; Charlotte Perkins Stetson, poetess and socialist, pointing the way to a nobler day for womanhood and all humanity; Professor Frank Parsons, author of many books on the theory and practice of collectivism; W. D. P. Bliss, editor of the "Encyclopedia of Social Reform"; John Martin, the Fabian lecturer and writer. Two survivors of the "Brook Farm" community have carried its old spirit into this later prototype. They are Mrs. Macdaniel, the sister of the late Charles A. Dana, and John Thomas Codman, author of "Brook Farm; Historical and Personal Memories." There are many other interesting types to be found here, including authors, artists and professors. There is the young and ardent Jewist socialist from the East Side of New York, who lives amid scenes of factional strife and wrangling, yet remains firm in the faith that his idea of truth will triumph finally. His bible is Marx, and he talks learnedly and understandingly of industrial evolution, of "surplus value," and the "class struggle." There is the young English Fabian, fresh from contact with a Sidney Webb or a Bernard Shaw, and ablaze with his idealism. In the fall evenings he will stretch himself beside the crackling logs in the fireplace and read aloud by the hour together from "Sigurd the Vol-sung" or the "Earthly Paradise." There is the young girl whose heart has blossomed, to the greatest of all loves—the love for her kind. She is writing her first articles, preparing her first lectures; she longs to enter the arena of public life to plead the cause of the poor and oppressed.

The whole atmosphere around "Summer Brook" is intellectual and artistic. At the neighboring inn may be found men

of letters and learning. On the adjoining farm is the summer school of the late Professor Thomas Davidson, with its lecture hall and cluster of cottages among the trees. Professor Davidson, who since his death has been acclaimed by the London "Spectator" "one of the dozen most learned men on this planet," carried on his studies and wrote most of his books in this summer home. A strong individualist in his thought and teaching, his settlement naturally presented a strong contrast to "Summer Brook," and there used to be frequent intellectual clashes between his center of learning and the socialist group. On one memorable occasion his mountain lecture hall was the scene of a spirited debate between Prestonia Mann and the individualist philosophers.

George Ripley said of the "Brook Farm" experiment that his hope was "to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor than now exists; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible, in the same individual; to guarantee the highest mental freedom, by providing all with labor adapted to their tastes and talents, and securing to them the fruits of their industry; to do away with the necessity of menial services by opening the benefits of education and the profits (fruits) of labor to all; and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent and cultivated persons whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions." The same words may be used to describe the deeper meaning of this modern community in the Adirondacks. Co-operation, fraternity, equality, are the underlying principles. One of the rules of the settlement is that every member shall do at least two hours' manual labor daily for the common good. "Sisters" and "brothers" take their part cheerfully in the menial and out-door work of the community, which becomes pleasure, instead of drudgery, because it rests on many shoulders and is achieved by associated labor. "Washing day" is a most cheerful, not to say jolly, function, and is participated in by all. The professor finds that his brain is sharpened, not dulled, by a morning's work in the potato patch or the woodshed. The rendering of Chopin and Liszt is not found to suffer from the musician's useful labor in the kitchen or the hayfield. Every night, at the evening meal, the "Labor Book" is passed around, and each individual is called upon to inscribe conscientiously therein the service he has performed during the day. Meals are taken on a piazza overlooking the mountain panorama, and in place of "grace before meat" the hostess is accustomed to read a brief selection from some ethical teacher or inspiring prophet of the new life, whether it be Bellamy (a special favorite), Ruskin, or Morris.

Leading from the great hall of "Summer Brook" is a pas-

sage-way which is dedicated in a special sense to socialism. Its walls are a mosaic of designs, portraits and printed matter. Here we may see the portraits of Washington and Lincoln side by side with those of Carlyle, Thoreau, Walter Crane, George Ripley and Margaret Fuller. There are stirring mottoes and quotations from Ruskin, Emerson, Howells, Tolstoi, Mazzini, Sir Thomas More, Plato, as well as great numbers of clippings from socialistic papers and pamphlets. Two selections are worth quoting here, for they express so well the soul of "Summer Brook" philosophy. The first is from Ruskin: "It is only by labor that thought can be made healthy, only by thought that labor can be made happy, and the two cannot be separated with impunity." The second is from Morris: "What I want to do is to put definitely before you a cause for which to strive. That cause is the democracy of art, the ennobling of daily and common work, which will one day put hope and pleasure in the place of fear and pain as the forces which move men to labor and keep the world a-going."

Two marriages have been celebrated in this mountain haunt. In 1896 a young Scotch barrister and socialist took his bride here, and the union was solemnized in the great hall beside the great window. The night was stormy; the thunder rumbled through the mountain fastnesses; the lightning flashed over the valleys. It was like some splendid drama; it was the very embodiment of the spirit of poetry and romance. Last September the hostess herself was married beside the same window, and she and her husband were escorted to the gateway through a fairy pageant of gay lanterns and sped on their bridal journey.

"Summer Brook" is a place fit for kings, and its very atmosphere brings inspiration to the lover of beauty. To those who are able to look back over pleasant days spent there, there is a glamor like that of a dream which makes one feel that the experience was unreal, so far is it removed from the sordid city life to which so many of us are condemned. Its indescribable beauty, its exquisite simplicity, its fraternal fellowship, carry with them the fundamental principles which shall finally find expression in the redeemed social life of the future.

On a knoll apart from the cottage is a sun-dial, and upon it is hewn in rough characters the legend: "The shadows pass." With what meaning are these simple words fraught! Aye, as one stands in that place, overwhelmed by the proportions of the towering hills, dazzled by the loveliness of a scene such as man's eye seldom rests upon, it is not hard to believe that the black shadows of strife and injustice are passing, and that humanity will step out at last into the sunlight of truth, of justice, of peace.

New York, February, 1900.

Leonard D. Abbott.

RELEASE

There's a crash of anguish breaking,
 There's a hush both deep and long,
 There's an echoing cry of triumph
 As they crush out shame and wrong.

Swirling, flinging through the darkness
 Stretch a million gleaming hands;
 They are swift and sure in judgment,—
 Hark! they're breaking iron bands.

From the gulfs where blackness shudders
 Cry on cry is ringing out—
 Cries of hope long centuries sunken,
 Deep within the depths of doubt.

'Twill take long, you say, to break them—
 All these fetters—every chain?

Know you then, we're growing stronger,
 Strong in body, heart and brain,

Till with all our strength united,
 In some future sun-lit day,
 We will free each man in justice,
 Till the last bond fall away.

There's no time to wait or question
 "Is this best?" or "Is this right?"—
 All is best which leads to freedom—
 And all freedom ends in light.

And you'll know at last, O proud one,
 That your brother standing there
 Has more love and God-sent beauty
 Than *you* ever thought to share.

Ah! you're dazzled by the glory
 Since you thought a sordid life
 Lay beneath the wreck and ruin
 Of the centuries' blood and strife.

'Tis not so—tho' inner radiance,
 First faint glimmering through the night
 Flung itself upon the darkness—
 Sprang to meet the outer light.

Freedom! freedom! freedom—silent,
 With resistless mighty force
 Is forever sweeping onward
 From the one exhaustless source.

Rose Alice Cleveland.

The Trade Union Movement in France



THE Annual of Trade Unions for 1900* just published by the Labor Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Industry gives decisive figures for the progress of the trade union movement in France. It is certain that the development of labor unions is a characteristic fact of social evolution in France in these last years. Not only does the union become more and more the representative organ of organized labor in the economic field, but it is also recognized as such by the law. In order to account for this it suffices to review the road traveled by us, without considering as yet the "Annual" for 1900.

From the legal point of view the progress is immense. The Chapelier law of June 17, 1791, absolutely forbade the formation of trade unions: "The abolition of all kinds of corporations composed of citizens of the same calling or profession being one of the fundamental principles of the French Constitution, it is forbidden to revive them under any pretext or form whatever."

This suppression of guilds by the French revolution had a double cause. First, historical; the abuses engendered by the egoism of the masters and the unscrupulous trafficking in privileges on the part of the royal power. Second, an economic cause; industrial development was breaking through the narrow confines of ancient rules, for it needed absolute freedom for its unlimited expansion, and the new economic regime was still too little defined to make the least attempt at organization possible.

But this absolute prohibition to organize professionally applied in reality only to the laborers. As a matter of fact, the masters continued to unite, so that in 1848 the "Group of Sainte-Chappelle" in Paris comprised eleven local employers' unions. And in 1857 the "National Commercial and Industrial Union" was founded, a famous and powerful organization of manufacturers and merchants.

On the other hand, the strictest measures were adopted against laborers till 1860. Legislation was harshly unjust against them; while lenient for employers, it was oppressive for laborers. The persecutions by the police and the judges were unremitting for all laborers who showed the least inclination to form groups. Under Louis Philippe, public opinion was agitated by great strikes and attention called to the legal con-

* *L'Annuaire des Syndicats Professionnels pour 1900.*

dition of the laboring class. The revolution of 1848 brought the right of suffrage, but not the right of association. During the first half of the second empire, from 1851 to 1860, new strikes occurred; the "Liberal Empire" made its first step in the direction of liberty. The law of May 25, 1864, established the freedom of coalition, but it denied the right to meet and associate. The first stage was nevertheless passed. Temporary coalition must of necessity produce permanent coalition sooner or later.

In order to fight the industrial bourgeoisie that became troublesome the Liberal Empire began to favor the laborers. Since 1848, the latter had become a growing political power, and it was wiser to manage them diplomatically than to persecute them. The vigorous economic development, furthermore, filled the laboring class with a new vitality and intensified its desire of association. In short, the central power showed itself tolerant, and we may say that from this moment dates the trade union movement in France.

The development of labor unions under the Liberal Empire was facilitated, apart from the political and economic causes first mentioned, by other equally important factors. In the first place, the old system of "compagnonnage" (companionship) was far from being extinct and furnished to the unions the first framework for their organization. The mutual benefit societies that had been formed in great numbers during the century also became the first embryos of unions. But above all the labor delegations to the international expositions of London in 1862 and of Paris in 1867 gave the strongest impulse to the labor movement. The laborers who had come to London and Paris felt more strongly than ever the necessity of forming trade unions, and the result of their meetings was the creation of numerous trade associations. And lastly, the formation of the "International Workingmen's Association" in London, 1864, was a further factor stimulating the growth of the labor movement. Especially the Paris section of the International was singularly effective in the formation of labor unions. As a result sixty-seven unions were running smoothly in the beginning of 1870, when the empire began to totter, when the Franco-German war was threatening and the Commune in Paris impending.

The events of 1870-71 led to the dissolution of all labor associations. The suppression of the Paris Commune naturally did not encourage their revival. The laborers viewed the central power with pronounced distrust, and the active and energetic militant members had disappeared into a forced or voluntary exile. However, during 1872-73, when business began to revive, the trade union movement again made its first timid

appearance. The labor delegations to the exposition of Lyons in 1872, of Vienna in 1873 and of Philadelphia in 1876, greatly encouraged this awakening. Public opinion was strongly affected by the reports which these delegations published. Employers, unattached laborers and politicians daily recognized more and more the growing influence of trade unions. In 1876 the first labor congress was held in Paris; another took place at Lyons in 1878; a third at Marseilles in 1879, and many others followed during the next years. Unions appeared in great numbers without interference. The law of March 21, 1884, sanctioned this new state of affairs and brought the freedom of professional association to the world of labor: "The unions or professional associations, even of more than twenty members of the same calling, of similar trades or of related vocations. . . . may be freely constituted without the authorization of the government." (Art. 2.)

Thus, after long and painful struggles, the laborers were allowed to unite on the field of their economic interests. Still, at first, the trade union movement did not develop as rapidly as might have been expected. The working class, long persecuted by the central power, mistrusted the law and refused to take advantage of it. Moreover, no habit of association had been acquired, and where the laborers did not openly oppose the law, they manifested indifference toward it. Besides, the slow industrial development of France was not favorable to organization of the proletariat and it could not be torn by force from its hostility or indifference. And finally, political dissensions divided the laborers against one another. The socialist factions (Guesdists, Blanquists, Broussists, Allemanists, etc.) carried their rivalries and fights into the unions and completely paralyzed the usefulness of the latter. In consequence, the development of the trade union movement was extremely slow from 1884 to 1890-92.

But from 1892 to 1900 the growth of this movement has been very rapid. By degrees the laborers adjusted themselves to the law of 1884 and accepted its rules. The habit of association evolved gradually. The industrial development of the last years exerted its wholesome influence on the labor movement. And finally the latter separated from the political movement and developed independently.

The years 1899 and 1900 were especially marked for the great advance of the trade unions. Industrial prosperity was general and business made itself strongly felt everywhere. The preparations for the Universal Exposition gave a still more vital impulse to the economic development in France. Great strikes broke out in all parts of the land, as the laborers demanded their share of the general prosperity in the form of

increased wages. Numerous unions were formed after these strikes. To this economic was added a political reason: The presence of a socialist minister in the cabinet, M. Millerand, strongly encouraged the creation of trade unions. The whole series of legislative measures which he introduced assisted this tendency still more.

The most significant of these measures from the standpoint of the trade unions is the law of September 17, 1900, decreeing the formation of Labor Councils. Article 5 declares: "As electors shall act in every section...the legally constituted trade unions." This practically forces the trade unions on the laborers, makes them indispensable to those who wish to participate in the management of Labor Councils. It is the first step toward the obligatory union.

Such is the historical and legal evolution of the French trade union movement; prohibited at first, then permitted, the union gradually tends to become obligatory.

The "Annual of Trade Unions for 1900" marks in the first place the stages from 1884 to December 31, 1899. The development is growing:

1884.....	68 unions.
1885.....	221 "
1886.....	280 "
1887.....	501 "
1888.....	725 "
1889.....	821 "
1890.....	1,006 "
1891.....	1,250 "
1892.....	1,589 "
1893.....	1,928 "
1894.....	2,178 "
1895.....	2,163 "
1896.....	2,243 "
1897.....	2,324 "
1898.....	2,361 "
1899.....	2,685 "

The progress in the number of trade union members is equally constant:

1890.....	139,692 members.
1891.....	205,152 "
1892.....	288,770 "
1893.....	402,125 "
1894.....	403,440 "
1895.....	419,781 "
1896.....	422,777 "

1897.....	437,793	members.
1898.....	419,761	“
1899.....	492,647	“

On the 31st of December, 1899, then, we had in France 2,685 unions, with a total membership of 492,647, equal to one-eighth of the laboring class which numbers about four millions of workers.

In comparing the trade union movement to that of the employers, we find that on December 31, 1899, there were 2,157 employers' unions with 158,300 members.

We have pointed out the progress of trade unions during the last years, especially in 1899, and indicated the causes. A simple comparison of the figures brings out this pronounced success still more clearly: while in 1898 the number of trade unions had only increased by thirty-seven, the increase in 1899 was 324; while in 1898 the number of members showed a loss of 18,032, there was a gain of 78,886 in 1899.

“Mixed” unions, comprising employers and laborers, are few in number. There were 175 in 1898 with 34,236 members; in 1899 only 170 were left with 28,519 members.

The “Annual” indicates the number of trade unions and their membership, arranged according to provincial departments. If, figures in hand, we try to determine which department has the most unions and members, we arrive at the following results:

The departments having the greatest number of unions are: Seine, 494; Rhone, 157; Mouth of Rhone, 129; North, 109; Gironde, 92; Loire, 86; Lower Loire, 75; Naine and Loire, 66; Herault, 63; Allier, 61; Lower Seine, 60, etc.

The greatest number of union laborers are in the following departments: Seine, 196,150; Pas de Calais, 39,743; North, 31,377; Saone and Loire, 26,287; Loire, 17,538; Rhone, 17,333; Mouth of Rhone, 13,610; Gironde, 11,583; Lower Seine, 8,605; Allier, 6,531, etc.

We can likewise consider the distribution of unions and union laborers by trades. The grouping of the trades under investigation is the same as that adopted in the Trades' Census of 1896.

The following trades comprise the greatest number of unions: The wood industry, 311 unions with 21,469 members; earth and stone construction, 253 unions with 20,429 members; iron, steel and metal industry, 226 unions with 23,510 members; publishing industry, 173 unions with 12,754 members; leather and hide industry, 166 unions with 18,792 members; textile industry proper, 161 unions with 33,970 members; promiscuous trades, 160 unions with 34,302 members; clothing industry, 126 unions with 8,801 members; stone cutting and

polishing, 95 unions with 7,728 members; metallurgy, 82 unions with 14,015 members, etc.

The following trades employ the greatest number of union laborers: Transportation, 93,490 members; mining industries, 40,796; various branches of commerce, 34,302; textile industries, 33,970; iron, steel and metal industries, 23,510; wood industries, 21,469; earth and stone construction, 20,429; leather and hide industries, 18,792; state and communal industries, 14,235; clothing industry, 8,801, etc.

A new feature of the "Annual" for 1900 is the appearance for the first time of statistics concerning female union laborers. These statistics are, however, very incomplete, for they give only rather general figures. We simply learn that 30,975 out of 42,984 union women are laborers.

These statistics are also arranged by departments. We find that the following departments comprise over 1,000 union women: Seine, 10,940; Mouth of Rhone, 1,695; North, 1,601; Saone and Loire, 1,495; Lower Seine, 1,221; Isere, 1,209; Indre, 1,197.

There are two categories of union women, not mentioned, by the way, in the "Annual." One of them includes women belonging to the same union as the men of their trade; these unions are also "mixed," comprising men and women. The other category includes solely women's unions for the reason that a certain trade employs only women or that the women organize separately.

The greatest number of union women are in the tobacco and match industries and among the house servants. In the tobacco industry there are about twenty-seven unions composed wholly or in part of women; in the match industry, six unions. The house servants in Paris have two unions, one containing 3,930, the other 1,001 members.

Next on the list of trades employing union women are: The plume and artificial flower industry, public instruction, stenography, typesetting, seamstresses, laundry business, massage, cashier business, etc.

The lack of development in the female labor movement is easily explained. The economic condition of women is inferior to that of men, their wages are low and they have no power of cohesion. They will rather compete with men than to combine with them for the purpose of obtaining higher wages for equal work. Moreover, many women work at home and all association is forbidden to them. Finally and psychologically, the female laborer is not yet fully conscious of her rights and of the necessity of self-defense.

The "Annual" for 1900 furthermore gives statistics of the federations of unions and of the labor exchanges (*bourses de travail*) on December 31, 1899.

The statistics of the federations of unions are not clear. The figure of seventy-three unions comprising 1,199 federated unions makes no distinction between local, provincial and national unions, nor between trade and industrial unions.

There are few local or provincial unions of diverse trades. The labor exchanges assume their functions. There is only one great national federation of unions and amalgamated unions of different trades: The "Confederation Generale du Travail" (General Federation of Labor), founded in 1895 at Limoges. There was formerly a "Federation Nationale des Syndicats Ouvriers de France" (National Federation of French Labor Unions), founded in 1886 at the labor congress of Lyons; but it was killed by the rivalries of the socialist factions.

The labor exchanges are at high tide of growth. In 1898 there were 55 of them comprising 1,136 unions with 159,284 members; in 1899, we find 65, with 1,350 unions and 239,449 members. In the single year 1899, then, we had an increase of 10 new labor exchanges with 214 unions and 80,165 members.

The labor exchanges are centralized under a "Federation des Bourses du Travail de France et des Colonies" (Federation of Labor Exchanges in France and the Colonies), which is the next in size to the "General Federation of Labor"; it comprises 43 labor exchanges representing 747 unions.

As for federations of trade or industrial unions collecting under one central body all trades employed in the production of a certain article, they are few in number. We find only about 41 of them, while 250 trades are unionized. National federations of trades are very scarce; the most important of them are the Federation of Millers, the Federation of Hat-makers, the Federation of Mechanics, etc. National federations of industries are more frequent; we mention the Federation of Building Corporations, the Federation of Workers in the Publishing Business, the Federation of Metal Workers, the National Union of Railroad Employes, the Federation of Miners, etc.

It is very difficult for official statistics to summarize the activity of trade unions and its results. The "Annual" cannot tell us how much the level of wages was raised or how much the industrial profit fell under the pressure of the activity of trade unions. It is also unable to ascertain to what degree the regulation of the labor market has been effected. Nor can it indicate the influence of trade unions on the process of production—development of technique, regulation of production, etc. These effects of trade unions can only be ascertained by monograph and special investigation. For this purpose the "Office du Travail" (Department of Labor) is engaged in pub-

lishing a voluminous work on the "Associations Professionnelles Ouvriers" (Professional Labor Associations), the second volume of which is just out.

The "Annual" gives, however, an exact account of institutions established in 1899 by labor unions. Six hundred and fifty-three unions founded employment bureaus; 598 of them have professional libraries; 298 have funds for mutual assistance; 108 have funds for assistance in case of sympathetic and other strikes, etc.; 370 have funds for the assistance of unemployed; 396 have organized traveling funds; 274 have professional courses, schools and conferences; 42 have funds for the assistance of disabled workers; 10 have professional meetings and labor expositions, and 49 publish bulletins, journals or annuals.

If we occupy an absolutely objective standpoint, it is evident that neither the number of labor unions nor the number of their members, nor the results realized by them, are in any way exceptional. In order to judge correctly the labor union movement in France, we must take up a wholly relative position and consider the obstacles that had to be overcome as well as the unfavorable soil in which it had to develop.

The trade unions are now well under way in France. The public power safeguards their free development, and a law was introduced by the government bestowing on them a legal character. We must conclude that the working class will avail itself of all the facilities now offered for association and that the French proletariat will again occupy the prominent place in the history of organization that many other labor movements have gained over us.

Hubert Lagardelle,

Paris, April 10, 1901.

Editor of "Le Mouvement Socialiste."

(Translated by E. Untermann.)



Socialist Propaganda Among Women in Germany

THE first efforts to form organizations of female laborers in Germany did not emanate from socialists. Neither were the first groups of this kind composed entirely of women of the laboring class. The initiative for their formation was taken by women of the bourgeoisie who were engaged in work for the emancipation of women. Persons of both sexes belonging to the middle class were admitted into those clubs as honorary members. Elevation of the intellectual level of laboring women was their main object. Thus the first club of this kind, founded in 1869 by Mrs. Otto Peters, in Berlin, called itself "Society for further education and intellectual stimulation of women of the laboring class" (*Verein zur Fortbildung und geistigen Anregung der Arbeiterfrauen*).

The majority of these clubs soon disappeared from lack of attendance. They were shunned by women of the laboring class for pretending to better the condition of the latter without taking notice of their material wants, or rather because no better plan for the improvement of their material condition was offered than culture of the brain and amelioration of the heart.

New societies of laboring women arose out of the co-operation of women of the laboring class and the bourgeoisie, attempting to cater at the same time to the material and moral interests of their members. The management of these societies soon passed out of the hands of bourgeois women into those of laboring women. In these societies and in others that were founded and directed by laboring women, economic questions took the foremost place. The same evolution that brought the management of the *labor movement of women* into the hands of women of the laboring class directed this formerly purely intellectual movement into the economic fight for higher wages and better conditions of life and labor.

The women of the laboring class separated from the bourgeois women and followed their own independent course. In 1896 they refused to take part in the International Congress of Women in Berlin that had been called by women of the bourgeoisie.

In the same measure in which the movement of female laborers emancipated itself from the influence of the bourgeois women, it approached the movement of the male workers, the socialist movement. And the police who endeavored to ob-

struct the working-class movement by incessant persecutions, while giving free scope to the bourgeois women, contributed to the best of their ability to this tendency. From these causes the movement of the women workers to-day has become an integral part of the socialist movement, within the limits and forms permitted by law. Militant female workers of Germany took part in 1889 in the International Socialist Congress of Paris, where, at their suggestion, the women's question became the subject of special discussions. At their request the urgency of an active propaganda among women was emphasized. Since then laboring women have been represented by delegates of their sex in all international socialist congresses and in all the congresses of the German Social Democratic Party.

Socialist propaganda among women must essentially remain in touch with the movement of working women, for this movement fulfills the highest demands of such a propaganda.

We do not pretend that laboring women are the only women among whom the German socialists wish to carry on their propaganda. They address themselves to all women, because they hold that the women of all classes would become socialists if they recognized the true interests of their sex. "In the family," said Engels, "man is the bourgeois and woman represents the proletariat." From this point of view the socialist party is a women's party, as it is the party of all proletarians. Socialist propaganda embraces all the women of all classes.

It would be necessary to analyze Bebel's book, "Woman in the Past, Present and Future" chapter by chapter in order to show what this propaganda signifies in its full meaning; in order to show that the "Woman's Problem" in all its different aspects finds its solution in socialism. Suffice it to repeat here the fundamental truth that the dependence and slavery of women have their roots in the economic dependence on men, and that this dependence and slavery will not cease until the economic dependence will be abolished. At the time of primitive communism, woman was independent and her own mistress. Individual appropriation of the land and establishment of the regime of private property marked the beginning of woman's servitude. This state of things was sanctioned by Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan law. It was established under different forms among the Greeks and Romans, in the middle ages as in our day. An indissoluble tie links the servitude of women to the system of private property. The efforts of women of the higher classes to emancipate themselves within the plane of the present economic system are doomed to certain failure. A few superficial reforms may give them a temporary illusion of victory, but the roots of woman's social slavery reach down deep into the system of private property, and only by sapping

the base of this system can the evil be eradicated and the slavery ended. Socialism alone, by abolishing social classes, will abolish the class character of the sexes, will permit the free unfolding of woman's faculties and, through this freedom, make her the equal of man.

Independently of theoretical arguments of this order that have become classic among German socialists since the publication of Bebel's book, the propagandists in their arguments can bring different facts to bear on women. In the first place, the socialists alone have embodied in their programs of immediate measures the demand for the political and social equality of women. Besides, the socialist representatives in the parliament have always, and very often alone against all the other parties, defended the movement of women for emancipation and even such endeavors as are only in the interest of women of higher classes. Finally, within the party itself, women enjoy complete equality with men, for they are chosen as delegates, members of commissions and members of the executive committee of the party. Under Social Democracy the female citizen has the same rights as the male citizen. Therefore the Social Democracy of to-day offers the surest pledges of woman's position in the social republic of the future.

Although the socialist party appeals to all the women, it is no less true that it directs its principal efforts to the enlightenment and organization of laboring women. Socialists are well aware that strong ties bind women to their particular class. They are well aware that the women of the middle and higher classes, however strong the reason that should make them socialists, will in the majority of cases be prevented by class prejudice from understanding the evidence before them. The women of the laboring class, on the contrary, are by birth and environment predisposed to understand and feel the truths of socialist arguments.

The main object of socialist propaganda among women is to point out to them that their proper place in this fight is not by the side of bourgeois "woman movement" but of the socialist laborers. Women must comprehend that the women of the bourgeoisie fight for equality with the men of their own class only. But when the general interest of that class comes into question, then they instinctively join the men of their class in defence of their common class interests. The emancipated bourgeois women make common cause with their bourgeois opponents whenever the interests of the bourgeoisie come into conflict with those of the proletariat. The bourgeois adherents of emancipation are unable to understand that the enfranchisement of women is impossible in the bourgeois society; that the interests of their sex conflict with their class interests, and that

their sex interests are identical with those of the proletariat. Only the victory of the latter will make women the equals of men. The bourgeois friends of emancipation are bourgeois before they are in favor of emancipation. They respect the bourgeois order of society so deeply that it never occurred to them to protest against any of the frequent suppressions of laboring women's societies or meetings. The bourgeois female suffragist is in favor of the bourgeois system at the expense of the proletarian women. The latter would violate their duty if they were to make common cause with the bourgeois.

They must make common cause with the socialist laborers. While the interests of bourgeois women are opposed to those of the men of their own class, the men and the women of the proletariat have common interests. As far as wages are concerned, the female laborer, like her male fellow-worker, can only be released from the capitalist yoke by socialism. Furthermore, as stated before, socialism alone will free the female laborers as women. And finally, while waiting for the hour of female and proletarian freedom, the true interests of male and female laborers under capitalism are the same.

Too often conflicts arise between them, when female laborers, in competition with men, take the places of the latter for lower wages. Too often laboring men demand measures forbidding women to take the bread out of the men's mouths and lower the price of manual labor. Sometimes, even laws are demanded prohibiting all industrial employment for women, just as men formerly would destroy the machines that threw them out of work. These men do not understand that industrial evolution cannot be arrested by arbitrary acts of violence. Such acts always betray ignorance of economic laws. The attitude of enlightened laborers has always been different. They did not smash the machines; for they understood that the machines would cease to deprive them of employment if the hours of labor were reduced in the same measure in which labor, thanks to machinery, became more productive. And they organized for the purpose of reducing the hours of labor. Likewise, seeing that female employment is a necessity arising out of the present system of production, they simply demand that women's wages shall be lower than men's only when their labor is less productive. They ask that women's wages be raised.

These intelligent laborers furthermore invite women to unite with them for the purpose of obtaining a raise in wages and a general reduction of working hours, in order that every laborer, male and female, may obtain work. The trade union men will help women to obtain higher wages and shorter hours. And laboring women will always find advice, help and protection in the unions. The unions, while protecting the material

interests of the laboring women, will at the same time give them instruction and that strong training of character which is the result of fighting for a common purpose. What bourgeois women's clubs will never be able to give laboring women, the union does offer. Self-interest, class interest and sex interest demand that laboring women should join trade unions. Laboring women must become members of trade unions and socialists.

Thus propaganda leads us to emphasize organization as the essential factor. Under the present state of German legislation trade unions are the most effective and often the only possible form of organization for women. In several of the most important states of the empire women are not allowed to become members of political parties. As soon as the police decides that a certain women's club or a club admitting women as members is political, its dissolution is decreed. It is, therefore, out of the question to organize women politically. What is to be done? They must be organized in non-political bodies that will give them, in the absence of other advantages, at least a certain cohesion.

This cohesion is obtained in societies of different character. One of these, the "Kranken und Sterbe Kassen" (Sick and Death Funds) were for a time the principal rallying centers. The organization published a paper, "Die Staatsbürgerin" (The Female Citizen). This paper was confiscated. Societies for the Education of Women (Frauen Bildungs Vereine) took its place and serve the same purpose to this day; but their existence is very precarious, for they are at the mercy of police commissioners. When the laws of exception against socialists were abolished in 1890, the majority of trade unions changed their constitutions in such a manner that women could become members. Inside of these unions all efforts were directed to the education of women. Apart from their economic function, the trade unions serve as centers of organization for socialist women, as a means of education for those who are not yet socialists and who only join these unions because they find in them protection of their material interests. The union itself does not meddle with politics, but the organ of the union, which is delivered to all members, may discuss politics. In social meetings of the union politics must not be discussed, but the union may hold public meetings in which male and female members may take part in the discussion of political questions. And as members of trade unions women live in a socialistic atmosphere, and if they are not yet socialists they have numerous chances of becoming so.

How shall the propaganda among unorganized women be carried on? How should direct socialist propaganda be managed?

After the Paris Congress of 1889, commissions were formed for the propaganda among women. But these were suppressed in 1895 as political bodies. Thereupon a system of trustees (*Vertrauens Leute*) was created. These trustees were elected at public meetings and charged with all questions relating to the propaganda among women. This system is in force at the present time. Women trustees call propaganda meetings, arrange for the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, and organize the propaganda among women of their own town or district. A trustee for all Germany serves as mediator for them and lends unity to their efforts. Their principal assistants are female speakers, who address the propaganda meetings, and the women authors of pamphlets and leaflets for propaganda purposes. Nearly all of these trustees, speakers and authors are laboring women or wives of workingmen. The trade unions also employ mostly women for propaganda work among female laborers. Independently of the influence exerted on them by the trustees, the women engaged in propaganda work keep in touch through a weekly "*Die Gleichheit*" (Equality), an "organ for the protection of the rights of laboring women."

Officially, the propaganda among women is resting solely on the female trustees and the press organ. Officially, no socialist organization of women exists. But behind these trustees, bound by no other tie but confidence, are other devoted women who remain in obscurity. And on arriving in any town, these women find, in the absence of an organization, a spirit of harmony and good will that makes up for the lack of organization. In places where no political organization of women exists, the women comrades have joined non-political organizations, educational clubs and unions. And even then such organizations become, without violating the law, the centers of propaganda for socialist elements, by pure force of intercourse. Thus the work of propaganda and organization goes on in spite of the law and in the face of the most powerful antagonism, by the sole agency of conviction and will.

Edgard Milhaud,
In "Le Mouvement Socialist."

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

A Letter From Japan

[The following letter, although not intended for publication, contains so much interesting news that we give it to our readers.—EDITH.]

Unitarian Association, Shiba, Tokyo, Japan,
Mr. A. M. Simons: March 2, 1901.

Dear Comrade—Your two kind letters, one dated December 13 and the other January 28, reached me duly, and two copies of your magazine with the first one. I must thank you indeed for them all. To my great regret, however, I am hardly able to comply with your request just for the present. The fact is that when I received your first letter I set to work at once and wrote an article on the prospect of socialism, but was obliged to leave it unfinished owing to some pressing matters that I had to attend to. I hoped then I could soon manage to complete the article and send it to you, but by bad luck I was taken ill and have still been feeling unwell. The trouble with me seems to be a sort of nervous prostration, and yet I believe I shall get over it before long, when I shall gladly finish up the article and send it off. But I feel deeply sorry that you will not get it so soon as you wish, that is before the middle of the present month. You shall, however, have my essay sooner or later.

It so happens that this very day we are going to hold the first public meeting of our socialist association. We are praying for its grand success, though there is no doubt about it. The interest of our people on socialism has been greatly awakened these days, especially among our laboring people on one hand and young students' circle on the other, as much as we can draw an earnest and enthusiastic audience and fill our hall that holds two thousand. You may be interested to hear something about the speakers of this evening. I was one of the speakers, but my present condition of health does not allow me to take part in the meeting. What a pity! It is gratifying to say that we have a number of fine and well-trained public orators among our leaders of socialism in Japan. The first speaker to-night is Mr. Kiyoshi Kawakami, editor of one of our city dailies, a strong, independent and decidedly socialistic paper, circulated far and wide. Mr. Kawakami is a scholar as well as a popular writer. He is going to speak to-night on the subject, "The Essence of Socialism—the Fundamental Princi-

ples." The next speaker is Professor Iso Abe, president of our association, whose subject of address is "Socialism and the Existing Social System." The third speaker is Mr. Naoe Kinoshita, the editor of another strong journal of the city. He speaks on the subject, "How to Realize the Socialistic Ideals and Plans." Next is Mr. Shigeyoshi Sugiyama, a graduate of Hartford Theological Seminary and an advocate of Social Christianity, who is to speak on "Socialism and Municipal Problems." And the last speaker is the editor of the "Labor World" and foremost leader of the labor union movement in our country, Mr. Sen Katayama, who speaks on the subject, "The Outlook of Socialism in Europe and in America." These addresses are going to be published in book form afterwards and to be distributed among our people to enlighten their minds on the subject. I shall perhaps write you again further about the meeting after I attend it to-night.

Your International Socialist Review is a grand thing, and that is the very thing I have long been hoping to see published. I read the two copies you so kindly sent me—read them with a great pleasure, delight, and was greatly encouraged. You will please continue to send the magazine. Yours fraternally,

Tomoyoshi Murai.



The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER V.



HE next day, when Julian told the story of his adventures at the ball and repeated somewhat drolly the tragic plaint of Miss Gertrude Vaughn, Denning said, with evident concern:

"That was really too bad—too bad! You should have come to me at once—I would have helped her out sooner, had I known—although my hands were dreadfully full during the early part of the evening."

"I saw you in a new role," said Julian, laughing; "the Don Quixote of the ball room, and as romantic a knight errant as myself! It would not do, though, for us to exchange worlds."

Denning looked down modestly. "I do what I can; I like to see young things enjoy themselves. The trouble with the little Vaughn girl is that she has never been introduced properly. The Vaughns were a good old family in their day, but the sister—well, no one knows the family she married into at all. Of course, the doctor is known professionally—but this is not Philadelphia."

"Isn't it possible for Mrs. Starling to shine a little—by her own light?"

"She is beautiful, and she gives charming musicales, I am told. It will do you no harm to go there." Denning's tone was indulgent; his smile gleamed with kindliness, albeit he had spoken of social lines more definitely than he cared to; the subject was painful—to be very explicit, was a vulgarity. Within certain prescribed limits, he strove always to be the chivalrous knight which the secret tenderness of his heart had evolved as an ideal of manly excellence. It was a queer little world for a knight to roam in—about as romantic as a Swiss toy village with painted green shavings for trees, and red and white blocks for houses—but such as it was Denning made the most of it and compressed his knightly spirit into the narrow situation without misgiving, with such old-fashioned simplicity and such entire absence of any desire to create an effect, that no one suspected him of anything more than a very commonplace kindness of heart.

A week later he urged Julian to attend a large reception on the opening night of an art exhibition, and as there was a

promise of good music and pictures, Julian donned broadcloth and fine linen again with docility.

He began to speculate with sudden interest on the probability of meeting Mrs. Starling during the evening.

He did not meet her until the evening was nearly over. His legs had now become weary with tramping through the galleries, and his head dizzy from looking simultaneously at rows of oil paintings and the faces of a constantly moving crowd of people. The effort produced sensations similar to those experienced in falling from the top of a very high church steeple.

Landing suddenly upon his feet after turning a sharp corner—as if he had really completed a successful somersault—Julian beheld the object of his search seated upon a low divan. Her upturned face was seriously regarding two fair-haired youths who were standing over her in an attitude of adoration. Julian put himself in the line of vision with her eyes and waited for a glance of recognition. It was bestowed with such a lighting up of welcome that he did not hesitate to station himself shoulder to shoulder with the adoring youths, whose dissatisfaction became instantly apparent.

Conversation being blocked by the anxiety of the first-comers to monopolize it, Julian stood by Marian's side in grave contemplation, until she demanded the reason of his silence.

"I have been wondering if I shall ever hear you sing," he answered, with such simple directness that she felt compelled to give him her undivided attention for three minutes. The brief interview resulted in Marian's agreeing to sing for him, provided he should call on an evening specified, which he promised to do. He left the reception soon afterwards, and went home to lay his dizzy head on a pillow whereon he tossed sleeplessly until morning.

Julian remembered soon afterward his promise to search for the younger brothers of Martha McPherson. He set about it rather listlessly at first, confining his efforts to mailing a series of inquiries to the institutions which he believed might have received them.

After two weeks of search he succeeded in tracing the elder boy as far as a reformatory; but here his history became a blank, for he had been given away to a farmer in Delaware, and both the boy and the farmer had disappeared. Letters sent to the address of the farmer had been returned with the inscription, "Name unknown." The other child—the beatific and beautiful "Tahmmy"—he learned had contracted, while in an Orphans' Home, a contagious disease of the eyes; this had caused him to be transferred to the poorhouse where, after becoming totally blind, he had died of inanition six months later.

Julian knew, not only by report but by personal inspection, that this particular "Orphans' Home" was always overcrowded.

He had every reason to believe that its inmates were half-starved, yet every year a steady stream of "rescued" children poured—benevolently—from the "Cruelty Society's" office into this den of wretched, sore-eyed starvings.

The little Princes of the Tower were smothered quickly. Why, O ye managers, why was it necessary to put out little "Tahmy's" eyes with slow, exquisite torture? Julian was in misery as he regarded these victims of philanthropy. His vocation seemed to have turned into a demon's opportunity. In fact, the charity of a Christian public could hardly be said to have exhibited a much higher sense of responsibility toward these children than their drunken mother had formerly evolved. If left to herself, might she not have done as well? Might she not have risen to the benign tenderness of flinging one child into the mill-grind of a reformatory and the other over the blank wall of a city poorhouse—even though she groped her way without the moral stimulus of adding two more children to the thousands rescued to adorn the pages of an Annual Report? These reflections made Julian very sick at heart. And as for Martha—ah, poor Martha!

He was glad she was far away in the home of a Mennonite widow, who was now instructing her in the duties of motherhood and the mysteries of the multiplication table at a cost to the Association of two dollars per week. He could postpone the painful news that one brother was lost and the other dead until it was time to visit her. In the meantime, Martha, without knowing it, was relieved of the burden of self support, and was given time for moral and mental growth, the arrangement being the result of a vigorous wrestling match between Julian and his conscientious managers, who had not yet lived down a deeply rooted conviction that their first duty to the public was to get something for nothing; the second being to invest a large balance in mortgages at the end of every year. Julian argued that society owed Martha for those early years of toil on a truck farm during which she had borne all the burdens of life. He figured it out in dollars and cents, showing a large balance in Martha's favor.

"Society," he explained with cunning plausibility, "had robbed her of her childhood and had then mortgaged her future to cover the cost of her board and lodging while she was yet a child. Her present helpless condition expressed the terms of the mortgage—with the interest added."

This was convincing, because many of the managers knew a great deal more about mortgages than they did about homeless children—though this does not imply that their knowledge of financial operations was extensive. They felt a renewed confidence in their young secretary who could thus reduce the moral problems of the world to terms comprehensible to a

commercial intelligence, and they repeated his remarks to their husbands, who nodded approval with the dull stare that they always bestowed on philanthropic schemes which they felt bound—for some inexplicable reason—to support.

Julian made his plans to call on Marian Starling at the appointed time. As he drew near the house, the light of a street lamp revealed a physician's sign on the window sill. He looked at the initials which he was aware were those of Marian's husband. Her delicate personality did not harmonize in his mind with the idea of a husband—even in the abstract. There was about her a subtle air of detachment which seemed to assert that she belonged exclusively to herself.

He was shown into an apartment at the head of the first flight of stairs, where he found Marian seated by an open piano. Gertrude was also in the room, reading a novel by the light of a rose-shaded lamp. She accosted him, but quickly disappeared, throwing a peculiar glance over her shoulder at her sister to express commiseration for martyrs who are to be subjected to the terrors of boredom; but it awakened no shadow of response in her sister's face, which remained sweetly and hospitably eloquent.

Julian was aware of the presence of flowers in odd corners, of rare pictures looking down from the walls, of rich rugs under his feet, and of books and portfolios of music lying open and accessible. His eyes fastened immediately on the white-robed figure of Marian advancing to meet him—surely a tender, beautiful incarnation of womanhood, if not a holy priestess at the shrine of music!

Marian greeted him in a low voice, as if shy of revealing the world of expression that lay in her fuller tones. They stood together by the piano before which Julian begged her to be re-seated. He asked her to go on with the song she had been practicing.

There was no reason why Marian should have blushed deeply when she began to sing before this unsophisticated young man. It was not because she feared his criticism or distrusted her control over her highly cultivated voice. She had sung at public concerts without embarrassment. Perhaps she became conscious that she was addressing a nature that might recognize her gift of song as a personal revelation. All her life she had felt that her song had fallen on deaf ears—it was as if she had been offering flowers to the blind, and incense to the insensible—but now it seemed that she was speaking face to face and eye to eye in a language that was understood. All this she explained to Julian afterward. Never before had the exquisite and touching quality of her voice carried such meaning; as it mounted from lower note to higher it seemed to gather up all the pathos of life.

"Behold the sorrows of the universe!" it said. "Behold my secret sorrow—and yours!" it cried to Julian. The lament was not in the words; neither was it wrought by the composer into the phrases of his music; it was the message of the voice itself. As Julian listened, all that he had felt and suffered in his chosen work rushed back to him; humanity's passionate cry clutched his heart as if he were indeed a "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

But when Marian ceased singing and turned her eyes upon him with a rather wistful smile, not as if she sought applause, but rather as if she wanted to escape from the emotions she had raised within herself, the sorrows of the world—the irony of civilization's boastfully recorded charities—its unnumbered cruelties—faded away like a dream. He held his breath, and as he followed with his eyes the hand she laid upon the bosom of her gown—she was plucking it in an embarrassment that was new to her—he was mindful only of the supreme claims of the individual to escape the universal destiny.

"Music is the speech of the unhappy," Marian said, suddenly pushing herself from the piano. "The joyousness in it is only the joy we have missed."

"Few of us know what we have missed," said Julian; but he knew that he was merely repeating something he had read, and he blushed for the truism.

"Happy are they who never find out!" she answered, looking into his eyes. She asked if he could play an accompaniment. He offered to try, and they began a serenade together. It was as if they had started on a flight through the upper harmonies, and could look down upon strife and sin below, the echoes of which reached their ears without disturbing their enjoyment.

"It is hateful to sing to one's own accompaniment," Marian sighed softly.

"It is hateful to play alone," said Julian, thinking of the cheaply hired piano that stood in his lonely bed chamber. Later in the evening it was disclosed that Julian had studied the violin and flute, though sadly out of practice on either, and Marian knew several lovely trios.

Another engagement was made for another musical evening; and when Julian stepped out into the night he felt with a wave of thankfulness that he had at last returned to a world of art and beauty after a long period of suspended animation underground. He would be glad to return to his work on the morrow, but the discovery that it was unwholesome to remain always buried alive in one's task was surely significant and prophetic of great results.

CHAPTER VI.

The weeks flew by; Julian was now living in two worlds, with-

out consciousness of a dual personality. In truth he was not much given to self-analysis. He was accustomed to say that he hoped he had a soul, but so far, it had never manifested itself in the way psychologists delight to describe. He did not know that it might not rise into consciousness some day like an old-fashioned, punctilious ghost, whose time for appearing and disappearing had been set between the tolling of the bell and the crowing of the cock; but neither of these signals had as yet been sounded in his experience. Or it might be, he said, that a soul like a healthy organ in a healthy body could give no hint of its existence until affected by some unhappy malady, and by this hypothesis it were better to leave well enough alone.

The champions of moral progress are not often of a subjective cast of mind. When one imagines that one is made use of as a regenerating force, self-love is imperiled; there is little time for self-culture, and the sweet graces that win popularity are too often left to take care of themselves. Whatever charm of personality existed in Julian he had done all in his power to destroy by overwork and anxiety.

But now his youthfulness blossomed suddenly into an artist's intense enjoyment. Into his starved musician's soul came the joy of sharing things of beauty with a lover of beauty as reverent as himself.

Many evenings were spent in Marian's parlor by the side of the open piano, and often in the unobtrusive presence of an old music teacher who played a piano accompaniment whenever Julian chose to experiment on the flute or violin. These attempts were sometimes provocative of laughter from Marian; but her tuneful nature—even in its merriest moments—never laughed at, but always with her comrades, and thus added archly to the general harmony. But often they drew from her eyes a quick look of wonder and appreciation, while the grey-haired master gave a nod of approval to many a passage which Julian executed with fire and delicacy.

Life seemed to be arranging itself on a basis of scales, chromatic chords and discords, out of which Julian found himself evolving delicious harmonies. A fatiguing, running accompaniment of heavy work, including much painful scrutiny of pitiful life tragedies, affected him as would a series of complicated arpeggios requiring flying leaps of action, such as Chopin builds for his exquisite and most difficult nocturnes; to his artistic soul this seemed a masterful groundwork, above which now soared the new and lovely melodies of his life—like the song of birds in the tree tops of a dense forest.

Never, however, did he go to Marian's house unbidden, except on one occasion when he was not admitted, although her voice floated distinctly down the stairway to his ear. His visits were arranged to avoid interference with her other engage-

ments, of which he knew she had many. Thus he avoided an awkward meeting of strangers, and Marian was able to give him her undivided attention for whole evenings. On Sunday he met her often on the street, sometimes walking with a tall, dark man whose deep-set, fierce-looking eyes were fixed upon her face. Julian supposed him to be her husband until he met Dr. Starling soon afterward in his own house. Their intercourse was formal and infrequent. He often heard the doctor's footsteps about the house, and occasionally his voice addressing patients in tones that were depressingly cold and measured. Marian told him that the doctor had no comprehension of music and was rather annoyed by it than otherwise. So the parlor door was generally closed when the music lovers played their trios.

The tall dark man sank into ignominy when Marian explained that he was a morbid creature who could find nothing in the world worth living for, and was bored to the point of extinction even when she exerted herself heroically to interest him. It was her kindly ambition to bring him to a sense of obligation to the world around him, but so far her efforts had been unsuccessful. But one day she startled Julian by alluding to the bored stranger as her "evil genius," to which Julian replied playfully that he had supposed her role to be that of an admonitory angel; it was confusing to picture supernatural beings holding such involved relationships! One should eliminate the other.

"Have you never pitied Mephistopheles?" asked Marian looking away from him with a dreamy expression. "Suppose an angel had descended to help that wretched, sin-satiated creature?"

"To fight him, you mean," said Julian, laughing, but glancing behind her somewhat uneasily, as if half expecting to discover a shadowy form at the back of her chair.

"He is not there," she said, smiling; "but if he were, this would put him to flight."

She struck the opening chords of the celebrated largo of Handel's, and Julian picking up his violin to accompany her, dismissed his uncomfortable fancies. At any rate, the evil genius could not play a note of Handel's; he would not live alone in boredom if music were within his reach.

In Julian's other world, it might be said that the shadows were not quite as black as they had been. Emergencies were not as much the order of the day as formerly; misfortunes were to be expected, but it was certainly the part of wisdom to introduce a little philosophy into one's contemplation of them. The woes of humanity which Julian carried so close to his heart had become a somewhat more adjustable burden; the load could

now be shifted about, and there were times when it could be shoved altogether out of sight.

It was odd that among his assistants, Elizabeth should stand forth as the most helpful. More and more Julian began to depend upon her for the performance of difficult tasks. If a runaway boy were to be apprehended, Elizabeth was found to be the one who could be counted upon to return with the boy held fast by the hand. If there were crying children to be soothed, Elizabeth, detached from her writing and sent up stairs, produced a dove-like peace in three minutes. When it was a question of eliciting confidences, it was Elizabeth's ear that received the pitiful tale or the long-hidden, childish ambition to break down barriers and achieve the impossible. And yet one could not discern what was the Russian maid's secret of power. So silent—so self-repressed was she—a quick glance of her eyes was often her only response when she arose to execute Julian's commands. Her stock of sympathy could not be described as abundant; or possibly her ability to express it was weak. In dealing with children she may have found channels of expression unknown to other adult mortals; but when Julian followed her, as he did once through curiosity, he found the same inexpressive Elizabeth; the children were crowding fearlessly against her, but her only form of communication with them seemed to be a series of abrupt questions and answers, such as shy, strange children address to each other when they first meet.

Julian found it often convenient to require heavier tasks of Elizabeth than he would have deemed prudent to ask of any other assistant. She never rebelled, and he thought it probable that she suffered less through her sympathies than the others. She was not given to headaches, she was innocent of hysterics, and she appeared to be indifferent to the length of a day's service. It was only when summer had set in, that Julian noticed with some remorse that her color was fading and her young face looking thin and tired.

It was the season for holidays, but on broaching the subject, he discovered that Elizabeth's only plan was to visit a farmer's wife with whom she had once lived in a state of partial servitude, and whom she personally disliked. Julian then appealed to his mother, and drew such a pathetic picture of Elizabeth's friendlessness, that the good lady wrote back promptly inviting Elizabeth to spend two weeks with her. This was a charitable offer, and Julian exerted himself to bring about its acceptance. Finding the young Russian disposed to demur, he asserted the authority of a guardian and asked her to prepare a letter of acceptance. He made some corrections; the letter was mailed, and a few days later Elizabeth was put on the train that was to carry her to Julian's quiet country home in the interior of New York state.

❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

Professor E. Untermann

RUSSIA.

In order to understand the deep significance of the widespread manifestations that shake the foundations of absolutism in Russia, it is necessary to know that the longing for more freedom in accord with economic, scientific, literary and artistic progress pervades all strata of society. The young tsar was the star whose light was expected to penetrate the gloom of darkest Russia. But on January 17, 1895, Nicholas II. crushed the fond hopes of his people by declaring: "Let all know that I devote all my strength to the good of my people, but that I shall uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and unflinchingly as did my ever lamented father."

Ever since, the revolutionary sentiment has been growing. Most active in its propagation were the young students of both sexes. Enthusiastic, courageous and resourceful, they spread the agitation among workingmen, secretly and in constant danger of losing their lives. Through their initiative and by their assistance, the Working Class Emancipation Leagues of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and the Russian Social Democratic Party were formed. Strengthened by these organizations, the workingmen were enabled to test their strength in several strikes and force the government to acknowledge their demand for a law limiting the hours of labor. At the same time, the sympathy with this movement grew among all classes.

On the 5th of March, the anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs, the male and female students of Petersburg made a revolutionary demonstration. The police and the Ural Cossacks, who had been kept in readiness for the occasion, attacked them and drove them to the police station. Many students were killed and about sixty severely wounded. Women were beaten down with nagalkas (cossacks' whips), trampled upon, dragged along the streets by their hair and kicked to death. The multitude, who had come to view the procession, sided with the students and defended them against the cossacks. Workingmen, artists, literary men and even officers tried to keep the cossacks back. The latter finally succeeded in arresting about 300 students. Some of these were sentenced to be hung, others were forced to serve as common soldiers in the ranks of southern regiments. Of these, about 20 refused to take the military oath. It was rumored that they would be sent to Siberia, but later reports do not confirm this and their fate is unknown. One student was shot because he struck an officer who had insulted him.

No wonder that the students, in several orderly and well-conducted meetings, passed resolutions demanding protection by properly constituted courts of justice against the insolence of the police. No wonder that another still more violent demonstration took place on March 17. The atrocities committed by the cossacks on this second occasion defy all description.

Society stood aghast. With praiseworthy unanimity, the students of all other universities in the empire followed the example of their Petersburg comrades, and in a short time, 30,000 students refrained from attending lectures. Several professors sided with them and were promptly discharged and arrested. Others had to close their departments from lack of attendance. On being officially ordered to continue his lectures, one professor said: "All right, but where am I to lecture, in jail or at the university?"

Forty-five of the most prominent Russian writers signed a document protesting against these outrages, and unable to obtain redress at home, appealed to the sympathies of the world. But the tsar defies the world and arrests many of the men and women who champion the cause of humanity.

Even in the army and navy revolutionary echoes answered the challenge of feudal despotism. A tsar cannot stop the law of evolution. By inoculating the army with such revolutionary elements as Russian students are, Nicholas unconsciously becomes one of those forces that, aiming at evil, must produce good.

It must be remembered that he has indulged in the practice of forcing rebellious students into the ranks since July, 1899. During this time thousands were subjected to this degradation. In the military district of Kiev alone, over 2,000 students from different universities are serving their term as privates. The good seed is bearing fruit. Nor were the demonstrations and protests confined to Russia alone. In Belgium, England and Italy, the students passed resolutions of sympathy and entered a protest against the barbarous treatment of their Russian brethren.

FRANCE

A while ago there seemed to be a well-founded hope for complete unity of the socialist forces in France. To-day, the different parties are farther apart than ever. A few powerful personalities can make it possible to gather around them a host of followers and keep in discord those who should be fighting shoulder to shoulder. Though the interests of all these men, the leaders included, are absolutely identical, still they prefer to split on questions of theory and tactics, and march on separate roads. As in actual warfare, so on the political battlefield marching separately may be advantageous, but only for the purpose of striking together.

However, in the third congress of French socialists to be held during the last days of May in Lyons, the Guesdists will not be represented. "Neither in Lyons nor anywhere else" is the slogan issued by their organ, "Le Socialiste." None of the other parties participating in the congress shows the least inclination to merge its identity into a great party comprising them all. The Allemanists, the Blanquists, the Broussists and the Independents, each and all prefer to maintain their own pet organization. In view of the many and difficult problems requiring immediate solution in France, one feels tempted to exclaim: "Socialists unite! You have nothing to lose but a few leaders!"

Jaures declares in the "Petite Republique" his intention of introducing at the Lyons congress a motion that a socialist shall be permitted to enter a capitalistic cabinet only with the consent of two-thirds of the party delegates.

Meantime the struggle against capitalism still continues with varying fortune. The strike in Marseilles seems to be ending in a fizzle,

if we can believe the information given by the capitalist press, and little, if any, actual benefit will result from it to the toilers.

In Montceau-les-Mines, the "yellow" scabs—poor deluded army of unemployed—are taking the places of their class-conscious fellow-workers, protected by troops. The soldiers are replaced by new companies from time to time, in order to prevent their being influenced by the strikers, who appeal to them not to shoot the men of their own class. Bouverl, the socialist mayor of Montceau-les-Mines, writes in "Le Mouvement Socialiste":

"We are tired of being oppressed, bullied and cheated. We want the liberty of our conscience. We demand only our share of sunshine. In order to obtain it, we shall stop at nothing. . . . We count on the French proletariat for the triumph of our just endeavors."

SWITZERLAND.

The dependence of Swiss industry on foreign imports, the absence of large industrial centers, the mingling of agricultural with industrial laborers and the influx of foreign laborers, who are not naturalized and cannot vote, confront socialist propaganda in Switzerland with difficulties not met in any other country.

Agricultural laborers are, as a rule, not as well informed, less independent and more conservative than city laborers. The difficulty of organizing them is increased by their distribution over a wide extent of territory. And the number of foreigners, amounting to 15 per cent of the entire population, gives rise to national jealousy increased by the fear of competition.

Under these circumstances, the absence of at least one great source of dissension among socialists of other countries is very opportune—theoretical discussions.

"The Swiss laborer," writes Otto Lang in "Le Mouvement Socialiste," "takes no interest in the discussion of theoretical questions. The conviction that the socialists have practical problems of the utmost urgency to solve, gives harmony to their movement. They realize that the union of exploiters necessitates a union of the exploited. Therefore, they are tolerant in points of theory."

The socialist movement in Switzerland did not acquire any political influence until 1880. At present the strongest political organization, the Swiss Union of Grutli, numbers about 11,500 members in 324 sections, while the number of socialist votes amounts to about 100,000, equal to 13 per cent of the total vote.

The strongest labor union is the Federation of Swiss laborers, comprising about 200,000 members, while the number of skilled workers organized in trade-unions is about 40,000, equal to 20 per cent of the laborers employed in trades.

With the progress of economic evolution, the socialist movement in Switzerland is gaining ground steadily.

Such incidents as that related in the following item, which is not clipped from the capitalistic press, tend to hasten the process:

During the last two months a strike was fought out at Azwil (Canton St. Gallen) between 120 metal workers and the owners of the machine factory, Benninger & Co. Although no disturbance had taken place, the president and all the members of the strike committee were suddenly arrested. The "Arbeiter Stimme" (Voice of the Workers) reports the mayor of Azwil as saying to a member of the committee: "If the leaders of the strikers will go to Benninger and announce that work will be resumed, they will get a note from him requesting the

sheriff to release the prisoners." America is not the only place in the world, where the officials, elected by the workingmen, assist the capitalistic masters. There is no liberty for workers in a capitalistic republic!

SPAIN.

In the interest of truth, we are compelled to state that the recent disturbances in Spain are not, as generally represented, of socialist origin. True, the source of the trouble is found in the economic field. It is the unprecedented economic development—of the religious orders. By dint of superior business talent, acquired by the study of the saintly Ignatius Loyola, these orders enter into competition with the middle class industrials and actually push them to the wall. And lo, the God-fearing bourgeois friend of the church suddenly becomes a priest-hater.

This sentiment found vent in the boyish demonstrations of some hot-headed middle class students, who regarded the recent marriage of the Princess of Asturia to Don Carlos de Bourbon as a further strengthening of the clerical position. The rowdy element, always ready for pranks of this kind, joined them. Stones were thrown at some Jesuits, windows broken in some convents, police and soldiers indulged in a free fight with the mob and killed a few innocent persons, as usually, and—the cause was given for demonstrations of a similar character all over the land.

The socialists have no interest in this farce. There is nothing in it either for them or the cause of the proletariat. As individuals and as a party, they don't care how much their common enemies lacerate one another. They can only work on patiently and wait for the enlightening influence of economic evolution. In a country so backward in industrial development as Spain, socialist influence unhappily misses one of its strongest allies, the educating force of economic pressure.

"A more rapid advance on the road of progress will be made," says Pablo Iglesias in "Le Mouvement Socialiste," "when the bourgeoisie will more clearly understand its own interest and when the proletariat, more powerful and numerous than at present, will exert its influence on public affairs."

The socialist press, hitherto represented by a few weeklies and periodicals of a somewhat vague and utopian character, lately received a valuable addition in the form of a monthly, "La Nueva Era" (The New Era), designed to fight the battle of the proletariat on scientific lines. Among its contributors is Bebel, the noted German socialist. A. Garcia Quejido, 31 Gobernador, bajo, Madrid, is the editor.

DENMARK.

The Danish government is no longer "in it." During the last five years the conservative party has been losing ground rapidly. In 1895, the number of conservatives was reduced from 32 to 24 of 114 seats in the Folkething; in 1896 this number further decreased to 16; and at the recent elections they only secured 8 seats, and these by very narrow margins. No more than 5 of the newly elected candidates will support the government.

The number of socialist votes has increased by 11,100 during the last three years. Beginning with 268 votes in 1872, the socialists in-

creased their vote to 8,408 in 1887. Three years later, in 1890, they obtained 17,232 votes in ten election districts; in 1892, they received 20,094 votes in 15 districts; in 1895, 24,508 in 17 districts; in 1898, 31,872 in 23 districts; and in 1901, 42,972 in 30 districts.

Most surprising is the growth of socialism in the provinces. In districts that placed a socialist candidate into the field for the first time, over 1,000 socialist votes were cast.

The number of moderates decreased from 36,587 in 1898 to 23,606. Although only half as strong as the socialist vote, this number, thanks to the iniquitous Danish election laws, secured 15 seats for the moderates, while the socialists with all their strength only place 14 candidates.

The rest of the seats went to the radicals.

The elections for the Folkething brought a complete defeat to the government. The returns are as follows: 73 reformers, 15 moderates, 14 socialists, 6 conservatives and 2 independents.

AUSTRALIA.

The Socialist Labor Party of Australia recently took part in the general elections for the first time. The party is only two years old and was formed by the separation of the socialistic elements from the Labor Party.

In the program of the new party we find the following demands:

Universal and equal suffrage; the initiative and the referendum; abolition of the standing army and institution of a militia; refusal to the eight-hour day; direct employment of laborers by municipalities; pass the marine budget, until the navy will belong to Australia instead of England.

Nothing is known as yet about the outcome of the elections.



THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

New York and Chicago daily papers and technical journals are discussing a new revolutionary device which makes it possible for any person who can operate a typewriter to send a telegram. By the skillful manipulation of electrical currents a typewriter keyboard located 400 miles from the receiving point has been so arranged that it recorded words which were spelled out by an operator. Frank D. Pearue is the inventor of this marvelous device, which will probably revolutionize telegraphy in the near future. Until two years ago Pearue was superintendent of construction for the Iowa Telephone Company, and made his home in Davenport, Iowa, but recently he has spent most of his time in Chicago and Syracuse, N. Y., where his models are manufactured. He has protected all his rights by patents, and demonstrations given in Chicago and Omaha prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Pearue printing telegraph will supplant the old-fashioned system. "I expect to perfect my machine and make it possible to use it in connection with the Mergenthaler type-setting machine," said the inventor. "In a short time it will be possible to send a message from New York to Chicago and put it into type without the assistance of an operator at the receiving end or a typewriter. My invention will revolutionize the transmission of news." Four distinct parts make up the apparatus, which does the sending and printing of messages. The sender is a keyboard which has electric wires connected with each key and is similar in appearance to the keyboard of any writing machine. At the receiving end are a selector and intermediate switch, and the portion of the typewriter which does the printing. One remarkable feature of the new system of telegraphy is that it can be used on either telephone or telegraph wires, and that the wires may be used for other purposes while messages are being transmitted. The operation of the Pearue machine in no way interferes with telephonic communications which are being sent over the same line, and is possible while the line is being used by a Morse machine. There is a variation in the strength of the currents which are transmitted by touching different keys. The selector and switch, which are situated at the receiving station, are so effected by these currents that electrical connection is made with the letter which corresponds to the key which was struck by the operator, and the words are printed automatically. The great telegraph companies of the United States have allowed Pearue the use of their lines and are said to be negotiating for the use of the new device. These facts are worthy of the careful thought of telegraph operators and printers and others who imagine that the world stands still.

Contrary to general expectations, the miners did not go on strike, though there are some ominous rumblings in Pennsylvania, Indiana and other states. The anthracite men demanded recognition of their union and joint conference with the operators, but the latter refused

to yield. It is now stated that J. P. Morgan assured the representatives of the miners that if the organization could demonstrate that it can control its members, and prevent them from inaugurating local strikes, the union would be recognized at the beginning of the new year. It may be stated here, on very excellent authority, that Mitchell and his friends took several other important matters into account in agreeing to a temporary truce, one of which was the fact that the hard coal men have been too recently organized to clearly understand the discipline and sacrifice that is required in a long national struggle, which could have been expected if a strike had been ordered. Another fact is that complete harmony does not exist in the national union. The Lewis-Dolan faction is opposed to Mitchell, who is charged with being too radical, and it is significant that at the Columbus conference with the bituminous operators the latter cheered Lewis, while Mitchell was treated with the utmost formality. Further facts will probably develop in the near future that may demonstrate the wisdom of the course adopted.

Labor continues to fare badly at the hands of the courts. The eight-hour laws relating to public work in Ohio and Washington, the enactment of which cost the unions of those states no mean sums of money as well as plenty of hard work, have been badly disfigured. In the latter state the Supreme Court declared with great profundity, that the eight-hour law merely applies to day laborers, and not to those who are employed under contract by the week, month or year. As workers are seldom if ever employed by contractors for one day at a time, it will be readily seen that chicanery has practically killed the law. In Ohio a circuit court curtly threw out a case in which a contracting firm had been sued for employing laborers more than eight hours a day, the law stipulating that \$50 must be paid for each day that the law was violated. The court did not deign to give any other reason for its action than to state that "the law is unconstitutional," and that decisions in similar cases in Nebraska and New York covered the case brought up from Cleveland.

Municipal elections held in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri and one or two other states show steady increase in the Socialist, excepting the old Socialist Labor (or De Leon) party, which has almost completely disappeared.—Both the Chicago and Springfield factions of the Social Democratic party, as well as a number of independent state and local Socialist organizations have voted almost unanimously to hold a joint convention and formally and finally amalgamate. Negotiations are now being carried on to definitely arrange the date for the convention, which will probably be held in Indianapolis.—A number of national organizers are now in the field forming local branches, and arrangements are being made to divide the country into circuits and send out more organizers.

Building craftsmen have been very successful in Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland, St. Louis and other large cities in gaining concessions in the matter of higher wages, shorter workday and other improved conditions. Iron workers and blast furnace laborers have also gained slight advances. On May 20 the machinists will make a national move to enforce the nine-hour day. They expect to have trouble in a number of cities, and request all unorganized machinists to join the union, as well as the aid of sympathizers to strengthen their lines, in order that their fight may be a successful one.—Longshoremens accepted slight reduction at lower lake ports, and engineers are still on strike at this writing.

City council of New Haven, Conn., passed a resolution requiring that only union labor be employed on municipal work. Corporation council knocked out the resolution, claiming that it was unconstitutional, interfering with the "freedom of contract," etc. He concluded by saying: "This very question, whether a city has a right in making contracts to discriminate in favor of union men, has been decided by a number of courts, and in every case the court has decided against such a right."

Another step has been taken in the game of court injunctions that capital is playing against labor. In Waterbury, Conn., the unionists were carrying on an aggressive and effective boycott against a scab bakery. The boss went into court and not only secured an injunction, but also attached the savings in a bank belonging to two members of the brewers' union in a suit for \$2,000 damages, and good lawyers opine that he can get a pretty good piece of their money.

New York cigarmakers, the national union and the A. F. of L. have combined in sending out a joint circular calling attention to the fact that 5,000 craftsmen are locked out in the former city, and that the newly-organized cigar trust is absorbing and building factories all over the country and making war on trade unions. All unionists and sympathizers are urged to purchase only cigars the boxes of which bear the blue union label.

May Day will be celebrated by holding parades and meetings in many cities. In New York the trade unions and Social Democrats have united for an imposing demonstration in favor of the eight-hour day. In Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland and other places the same elements will join in making demands for better conditions for those who toll.

Despite the settlement of the Chicago building trades' strike and lockout with the understanding that the council should pass out of existence, a reorganization is taking place, all but one or two conservative organizations taking part. It's another case where the so-called leaders were unable to hold the rank and file in line.

New York Legislature turned down two labor bills in one day, breaking the record in showing contempt for unions. One was to compel street railways to place vestibules on cars, and the other to prevent courts from issuing injunctions in times of strikes.

Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright is quoted as saying that the employers' liability laws of the various states are practically worthless as a means of protection to injured employes. Now, will you be good, and careful?

Railway trainmen and boot and shoe workers have absorbed many local unions in Canada recently and added thousands of members to their rolls.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

Towards the gifts of Mr. Carnegie to the public, the socialist can have but one attitude. While refusing to pass any judgment upon the giver's motives or individual character, he cannot but regard capitalistic gifts of libraries and semi-public institutions as an unqualified curse to society. They thoroughly blind the eyes of the people as to the real human issue—the issue now dividing the world into a capitalistic or exploiting class on the one side, and a producing and exploited class on the other side. It is easy to get glory by giving away what does not belong to one; easy to get glory by ostentatiously presenting to society a fraction of that which has been wrested from it by sheer economic might and cunning. So easy is glory thus obtained that a metropolitan clergyman has just hailed Mr. Carnegie as a new Messiah. But the reception of such gifts by the class that establishes our moral and intellectual standards is a disclosure of the utter prostitution of the teachers and morals of civilization. Only a society thoroughly grounded in immorality and inhumanity—a base and prostituted society, without faith, or religion, or ethics—could fail to discern and analyze the sources and character of its munificent gifts. It is a society that kisses the hands of those who successfully exploit and destroy it; a society that hails as public benefactions, institutions that live by eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the people; a society that mistakes successful parasitism for genius and philanthropy. With such imposture and social ignorance the socialist can make no terms. From such hands the socialist can receive no gifts, no favors, no concession, no compromises; for in so doing he simply puts into the hands of his capitalistic destroyer a torch with which to burn down the socialist house.

This makes perfectly clear the ethical or spiritual integrity of the class-conscious position. Nothing can obviate the horrible truth that one class is producing the things upon which the world lives, and that another class is luxuriously living off the producing class. The class that produces in no real sense lives; while the class that consumes produces hideous misery, waste and disorder. Yet this parasitical and devouring class makes the laws, the religions, the morals, the education, of the class upon which it lives and which it devours. To try to identify the interests of these two classes; to try to bridge the

chasm which lies between them and which ought to lie between them; to try to mend an exploiting and sponging civilization by wresting or accepting concessions or privileges from it; anything resembling a concealment or misapprehension of this class distinction is a betrayal of the people and of the socialist cause. Any attempt at social reform or progress by any other than a thorough-going class-conscious socialist movement is to again build upon the old lie upon which civilization now rests. Evade this lie at the heart of civilization as we will; garnish it, sanctify it, institutionalize it as we may, the lie remains; and no religion, no culture, no state, no custom, no god, has power to make a lie moral, or safe, or sane. Yet it is a plain and evident truth that existing institutions and their scribes are deluded with the notion that they can build truth and righteousness upon a lie. They will fail, as they ought to fail, and their every seeming success is but a tragedy and a fundamental immorality.

If the socialist would keep his hands clean and his eyes clear, he must accept no favors from capitalistic teachers, or churchmen, or philanthropists, or politicians. He need sit in judgment upon no individual's character; but he needs to discern very clearly and constantly the nature of the capitalistic system, and the fatality of receiving any favors or compromises at its hands. A great teacher once said to a ruling-class inquirer, who came to him by night because he was ashamed and afraid to be found seeking the truth in the open day, that he could not be saved from his false living by mending his ways; he could only be saved by ending his then existing quality of living and beginning an entirely new quality of life. In fine, Nicodemus must be born again; he must undergo a complete revolution. Most aptly and urgently can the figure of the new birth be applied to civilization. Its ways cannot be mended; they can only be ended. Civilization cannot be reformed by public libraries from Mr. Carnegie, nor by municipal water-works and milk-wagons; it must undergo complete revolution; it must be born again. There must be a wholly new quality of civilization before a free, sound and truthful ethic can even take root. To preach the socialist revolution is the sacred duty of the hour. To consent to nothing less is the present test of noble faith. Revolution with the socialist must be a religion, a moral splendor, a holy and regenerating task. No other preparation for a true morality, a natural and indigenous religion, is possible.



BOOK REVIEWS



Industrial and Pecuniary Employments. Prof. Thorstein Veblen, University of Chicago. [Paper read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the American Economic Association, Detroit, December 29, 1900.]

Whether considered as a scientific criticism of current economic thought, a biting satire on classical political economy or as an exposition of socialist philosophy this pamphlet must be admitted to be a masterpiece. Beginning with the statement that "The economists of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were believers in a Providential order, an order of nature," he points out that their main task was to bring the facts of economic life under these natural laws. Society was assumed to be an organism engaged in the production of goods and the energy so expended was supposed to be exactly equivalent to the resulting product. This same equivalence was supposed to hold good in each economic process although such a supposition "remains a dogmatic postulate whose validity cannot be demonstrated in any terms that will not reduce the whole proposition to an aimless fatuity." "Under the resulting natural-economic law of equivalence and equity, it is held that the several participants or factors in the economic process severally get the equivalent of the productive force which they expend. They severally get as much as they produce; and conversely, in the normal case they severally produce as much as they get." However, as this position becomes more and more difficult to maintain, productiveness is translated into "serviceability" and it is held that whoever performs any essential "service" in existing society is engaged in production. But there begins to appear a series of occupations which tax even this ingenious phraseology and so Prof. Veblen gravely suggests that it would be well to introduce a new classification into classical economics and make a new division into "pecuniary" and "industrial" employments. At present, he says, "acquisition is treated as a sub-head under production, and effort directed to acquisition is construed in terms of production. . . . Pecuniary activities are handled as incidental features of the process of social production and consumption, as details incident to the methods whereby the social interests are served, instead of being dealt with as the controlling factor about which the modern economic process turns." The great task of the political economists has been to somehow justify the existence of these "pecuniary employments" and find them a place in some scheme of production. "But the fact has come to be gradually more and more patent that there are constantly, normally present in modern economic life an important range of activities and classes of persons, who work for an income, but of whom it cannot be said that they, either proximately or remotely, apply themselves to the production of goods. . . . Such pecuniary employments . . . are nearly all, and nearly throughout, conditioned by the institution of property or ownership." When we come to attempt to justify the existence of this

class by their serviceability to the productive process as a whole we find that "the cause of the dependence of industry upon business in a given case is to be sought in the fact that other rival ventures have the backing of shrewd business management, rather than in any help which business management in the aggregate affords to the aggregate industry of the community." These latter are principally engaged in giving the character of "vendibility" to the goods produced by the industrial workers.

"What the Marxists have named the 'Materialistic Conception of History' is assented to with less and less qualification by those who make the growth of culture their subject of inquiry. This materialistic conception says that institutions are shaped by economic conditions." Now bringing this to bear upon the present organization of society it is seen that "in our time, in many branches of industry, the specialization has been carried so far that large bodies of the working population have but an incidental contact with the business side of the enterprise, while a minority have little if any other concern with the enterprise than its pecuniary management."

"The two classes of occupations differ in that the men in the pecuniary occupations work within the lines and under the guidance of the great institution of ownership, with its ramification of custom, prerogative and legal rights; whereas those in the industrial occupations are, in their work, relatively free from the constraint of this conventional norm of truth and validity." As a horrible result of this condition of things the men in the industrial pursuits, not having much to do with the ownership of property grow to have a disrespect for the institution as such. A result of this is that "the most insidious and most alarming malady, as well as the most perplexing and unprecedented that threatens the modern social and political structure is what is vaguely called socialism. The point of danger to the social structure and at the same time the substantial core of the socialistic disaffection, is a growing disloyalty to the institution of property, aided and abetted as it is by a similarly growing lack of deference and affection for other conventional features of social structure. The classes affected by socialistic vagaries are not consistently averse to a competent organization and control of society, particularly not in the economic respect, but they are averse to organization and control on conventional lines. The sense of solidarity does not seem to be either defective or in abeyance, but the ground of solidarity is new and unexpected. . . . To the socialists property or ownership does not seem inevitable or inherent in the nature of things. . . . Among these men, who by the circumstances of their daily life are brought to do their serious and habitual thinking in other than pecuniary terms, it looks as if the ownership preconception were becoming obsolescent through disuse. . . . The industrial classes are learning to think in terms of material cause and effect, to the neglect of prescription and conventional grounds of validity."

These scattered extracts can give but a faint idea of the charm and ability of the work. It takes all the pet phrases of the classical economists of the colleges and uses them to make their teaching ridiculous. How any of the professors who listened to this talk could go back to their classes and continue their work with sober faces is hard to comprehend.

A Visit to a Gnanl. Edward Carpenter. Alice B. Stockham Co.
134 pp. \$1.00.

Of all the books treating of the new psychic thought in its relation to occult phenomena, this is perhaps most satisfactory for the average

reader, and especially the socialist reader. There is a sanity and a reasonableness about it that appeals to the reader whether he believes in the phenomena described or not, and it must be admitted that much that is found in Oriental lands requires either further investigation of Western science or else a recasting of some of the principles of that science.

Edward Carpenter: Poet and Prophet. Ernest H. Crosby. Published by "The Conservator," Philadelphia. Paper 50 pp.

This is at once a biographical essay (with portrait), a summary of Carpenter's Works and philosophy and a series of observation on various subjects by the author. In covering so much there must be something neglected, but as a whole the work is well done. In this age of reviews, summaries and condensations this little work cannot but be of value to those who have not the time to read all of Carpenter's works. There is much keen analysis of present conditions, and striking criticisms of present abuses but little that is definite and constructive. But since there are many who are now doing the constructive work this can but do good, and will reach and be read by many who will be caught by the charm of its literary style and thus be led to read further.

Peru Before the Conquest. G. B. Benham. International Publishing Co., San Francisco. Paper 94 pp.

It has long been known that the government of Peru had solved the problem of poverty and through a paternal despotism was able to provide the necessaries of life for all its members as well as great luxury for the few and at the same time accomplish works of engineering that are still the wonder of those accustomed to modern works of that kind. But all information regarding this organization of society has been hitherto concealed in expensive volumes beyond the reach of the average worker. Hence this little volume is a welcome addition to the literature of socialism as showing that misery and suffering are wholly unnecessary. On the other hand the author is very careful to point out that, aside from the fact of industry being organized, there is no resemblance whatever between the empire of the Incas and the co-operative commonwealth into which capitalism is growing.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Our June number will contain an extensive review of Prof. Jacques Loeb's Comparative Physiology of the Brain and Comparative Psychology, one of the most epoch making works that has appeared in many years, which recasts a whole science and brings it into accord with socialist philosophy.

The Procession of Planets, Franklin H. Heald, Los Angeles, Cal., Paper 93pp., \$1.00.

The Politics of the Nazarene, O. D. Jones, J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kan. Paper 288 pp., 50 cents.

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The leading article in "The International Monthly" is a study of "The Russian People," by J. Novicow. It is an exhaustive survey of the psychological forces at work in the Russian Empire and contains much of interest to the student of national psychology and will help to a better understanding of social problems.

Perhaps the most interesting article to the social student in the April number of "The World's Work" is William R. Lighton's discussion of "Our Prairies and the Orient." He points out that in the central portion of the United States there is a gigantic farm "of more than one million square miles, capable of producing everything from cotton to wheat, capable of yielding an abundance to feed and clothe all the swarming millions of the earth." A large part of this, and that the most fertile portion, must be irrigated, but we are growing to look upon this as an advantage rather than a drawback. The great need of some general power to organize the system of irrigation and build great reservoirs at the head-waters of the rivers that will at once solve the double problem of irrigation and floods is pointed out. Then the writer goes into capitalistic ecstasies over the opportunity that "expansion" will offer to export these products to the Orient and even points out in some thinly veiled phrases that the American farmer, like the American wage-worker, can be exploited to the point where he can undersell the Chinese. The portion on irrigation gains additional interest from another article in the same number on the remarkable solar engine now running at Pasadena, Calif. Unlike former attempts to utilize the heat of the sun no attempt is made to utilize the heat directly, but it is simply focussed by a great system of mirrors upon a peculiarly constructed steam boiler, which runs an ordinary steam engine. This engine is used to pump water and "it lifts fourteen hundred gallons a minute. * * * Once started the machine runs all day without any attention whatever; it oils itself. The supply of water for the boiler is regulated automatically, as is also the steam pressure, and there can be no explosion." Other articles of interest are a very thorough discussion of "The American Trade Invasion of England" and a series of articles on the leading men concerned with the formation of the great steel trust.

Prof. Leon C. Prince has an article in the last number of the *Arena* on "The Passing of the Declaration," in which he tells the readers of that journal some very wholesome truths. He points out what socialists have always known—that class rule in America was equally "imperial" and absolute with that of any monarchy or empire on earth—although he does not himself recognize the fact of class rule, he sees that "The main trouble with the Anglo-Saxon is that he constantly professes to act on higher principles than those that govern the policy of other nations." It is about time that some socialists began to realize with Prof. Prince that "In discarding the Declaration of Independence we shall lose nothing of political or moral value. We shall merely drop a few glittering phrases of French sophistry and exploded sham borrowed from the agitators and pamphleteers of the Revolutionary period, and which never have been and never can become a serious part of any system of political truth." What the writer does not see, however, is that this foolery has served a valuable purpose to capitalism in hoodwinking the masses and that the abolition of this hypocrisy is much more likely to lead to the downfall of capitalism and all tyranny than to the extension of imperialism. Other features are an extremely interesting article on "Farming in the

Twentieth Century" (which would have been much more valuable had its final paragraphs been guided by scientific examination instead of imagination) and a very good review of the life and work of Ernest Howard Crosby, with an excellent portrait. There is also a review of "Socialism in Europe and America," which is principally remarkable for the number of errors and misstatements the editor has been able to crowd into a few pages.





EDITORIAL



AN IMPENDING DANGER TO SOCIALISM

Our columns are filled this month with stories of the marvelous extent and growth of the great international socialist movement. It is a story of which no other age and no other movement has ever shown the equal. It is a recital that should fill every socialist with pride and encouragement. And while America cannot show the solidly trained battallions of voters of Germany, the remarkable co-operative and trade-union organization of Belgium and Denmark, or the extensive and varied literature of France and Italy, yet it is the American socialist above all others who has the best right to rejoice on this May Day, when all over the world the hosts of labor are passing in review and lining up for the last desperate struggle for human liberty that is to finally wipe away the last remnant of human slavery from this old planet.

The reason for this optimistic view may not appear at first sight. Our vote is small, insignificant our enemies say, although those who know the possibilities of germs, whether of thought, seed or deed, will hesitate about calling anything so pregnant with life and growth of small account. Our organizations are rent with internal dissensions and while there is now every reason to believe that this condition will soon be at an end it is not from any of these reasons that the greatest cause for socialist thanksgiving is to be found.

Socialism is the child of capitalism, the developed and ripened fruit of the competitive system and impossible of realization until that system shall have run its course and reached its culmination. Now it is becoming a commonplace to call attention to the fact that in America more than anywhere else that system is ripe to rotteness — is nigh unto death with the fierce birth-pangs of a new era. Yet few even among the socialists realize how true are the words they so often speak, any more than they realize the magnitude of the numbers that mark the size of modern capitalistic combinations. American capitalism is rushing on to its climax and its disappearance at a pace so swift and terrific that the mind is simply dazed that seeks to comprehend it, like the mind of one who gazes on some mighty catastrophe of geologic ages.

Three months ago the competitive system seemed still entrenched behind almost impregnable barriers. Not even the most sanguine among the socialists or most far-seeing among capitalists dreamed of

the revolution that was so soon to take place. The Chicago Economist (the organ of the stock-brokers and great capitalists of this city) in its issue of January fifth, headed its leading editorial "The Monopoly Scare Waning," and assured its readers who were beginning to be worried at the little cloud of concentration just then arising upon the horizon, that "competition between corporations is as natural as competition between individuals." A list of new and competing corporations was given and it was gravely stated that "industrial consolidation had reached its height." Only a little less than three months later, in its issue of March 30th, the leading editorial in this same publication is headed "The Trusts Triumph" and the whole competitive position is surrendered with the statement that "The whole tendency of commerce is in the direction of combination of individuals and corporations engaged in the same business, and this tendency is like a law of nature which it is useless and foolish to resist." Verily the walls of the capitalistic Jericho have fallen before the trumpet blasts of the socialist philosophy without striking a blow and it only remains for us to enter in and possess the promised land in the name of all the producers of wealth.

The "Billion Dollar Steel Trust" is but a stepping stone in the headlong process of expropriation of small producers and formation of a plutocratic autocracy that has been going on in these few months. Eighty thousand miles of railway have been brought into practically complete consolidation, which means that their controllers hold dominion over the whole two hundred thousand miles of railroad with their thirteen billion capitalization that goes to make up the inland communication of the United States. The Steel Trust is gobbling up new industries at a rate considerably in excess of one hundred million dollars worth per week. Insurance companies with three and a half billions of policies and nine hundred millions of assets on hand are taking up as mere side investments the national debts of a dozen European nations. They struggle with the recent banking trust of over \$550,000,000 for the privilege of financing the governments of other lands and play with rulers as they play with stock values. These latter are so completely in the control of these gigantic combinations that the element of chance has been abolished from stock "gambling" and speculation has ceased to be a matter of uncertainty. Invading the markets of the world they fill the exploiters of England and the continent of Europe with terror, and finally drunk with the very abundance of their riches they seem to be rushing on toward a financial panic that will shake modern civilization to its deepest foundation stones.

But they will not yield without a struggle. All along the line the outposts of capitalism are capitulating to the logic of events and admitting that that logic has won the argument for socialism. But here in the very hour of the victory of the producers, the exploiters seek to make one last effort to thwart the progress of the ages and

cheat the laborers of the fruits of their toil. Governments are still in the control of capitalism and unless the workers wake to a sense of their interests they will find those governments used to install a sham socialism under the guise of ownership of industry by a plutocratic state while exploitation and wage-slavery will go on as before. Just how thoroughly the truths of socialist logic are now accepted by those who have most to lose by their acceptance, and just how they expect to twist them to their own purpose is shown by the following, which constitutes the first article and leading editorial in the April number of the *Bankers' Magazine*—the foremost organ of Wall street financiers and of the newly formed banking trust.

"The history of the progress of the human race abounds in instances of the power of government to influence the methods of trade and the power of organized industry to influence the form of government. There has always been a struggle between the forces that rule and the masses who are ruled. * * * The business men of the middle ages obtained scope for their energies in the midst of the oppression of the feudal system by organizing for themselves municipal governments suited to the pursuits of the governed. As paternal and proprietary governments have given way to such as are more or less representative and derived from the people, the idea has been to shape laws so as to encourage industry and the accumulation of property. But there is still, even under governments purely republican, a remnant of the old antagonism between the ruler and the ruled.

* * * When individual competition is uncontrolled the action of trade and productive industry on government is comparatively feeble, as the conflicting interests are so numerous and contradictory that they tend to neutralize one another. The growth of corporations and combinations tends to strengthen the forces which seek to control the machinery of government and the laws in behalf of special interests.

"In the United States the purely representative character of the ruling powers lends itself easily to the control of the influence of organized industry and commerce, and in no country has the organization of the forces of production proceeded so far with the promise of still greater concentration. Theoretically, the ballot controls everything; but the spirit of political organization which has grown up outside of legislative enactment now goes far to control the ballot. Industrial and commercial organization, when it desires to control the government, either federal or state, finds a political organization ready for its uses. The productive forces are the purse-bearers. They furnish the means by which alone governments can be made effective. They also furnish the means by which the political organization which produces the government is created and becomes effective. The business man, whether alone or in combination with other business men, seeks to shape politics and government in a way conducive to his own prosperity. When business men were single units, each working out his own success, regardless of others in desperate competition, the men who controlled the political organizations were supreme. But as the business of the country has learned the secret of combination, it is gradually subverting the power of the politician and rendering him subservient to its purposes. More and more the legislatures and executive powers of government are compelled to listen to the demands of organized business interests. That they are not entirely controlled by these interests is due to the fact that business organization has not reached its full perfection. The recent consolidation of the iron

and steel industries is an indication of the concentration of power that is possible. Every form of business is capable of similar consolidation, and if other industries imitate the example of that concerned with iron and steel, it is easy to see that eventually the government of a country, when the productive forces are all mustered and drilled under the control of a few leaders, must become the mere tool of those forces. There are many indications, in the control of legislatures, that such is the tendency at the present time in the United States. Whether the result of this tendency is desirable or otherwise, is another question.

"The dream of socialism has been to have the action of government so directed that it would shape the population into a great industrial army, in which each individual should be provided with the means of occupation and subsistence. The natural growth of business combinations will produce a similar result. If carried out to its logical conclusion every citizen will become the employe or dependent of some one of the great combinations, directed by a head who in his power of financial control will be the autocratic ruler of every individual of his following. If all these great combinations of particular lines of industry are again made the subject of a still greater combination including in its scope all industries and trades, the men or set of men who are at the head of this aggregation will be the real rulers of the nation. Every professional man as well as all who pursue every other mode of livelihood will be affiliated by the strongest ties to one or the other of the consolidated industries. Every legislator and every executive officer will belong to the same head. Forms of government may not be changed, but they will be employed under the direction of the real rulers. Of course, it is easy to see that individual independence, as now understood, is different from what it would be under such a novel state of things, but no doubt it would still be individual independence. Probably under a government directed by a great combination of industrial and productive powers, the degree of individual independence which each citizen sacrifices for the good of the whole would be no greater, and perhaps not so great, as the independence which each citizen now sacrifices in obedience to existing law and custom. The direction of the industrial and producing forces would enlarge independence in some directions while it might restrict it in others. Wisely conducted, every citizen might, according to his merit and ability, attain higher prizes in life than is possible at the present time. Perhaps in this direction may lie some approximate realization of the dreams indulged in in Bellamy's 'Looking Backward,' without the dangers from political corruption that would seem to be inevitable if Bellamy's scheme could have been attempted."

Let no socialist misunderstand this position. It is the announcement of the determination of plutocracy to defraud socialism, the legitimate child of capitalism and brotherhood of its inheritance, by substituting in the confusion of the transition period a bastard son of capitalism and monopolistic greed called State Socialism. The organized trusts of America having first gained complete control of all the forces of government would then transfer the titles of the instruments of production and distribution from the capitalists as individuals and corporations to the capitalists as a government.

Whether this scheme will succeed or not depends upon the action of the workers. If they are sufficiently intelligent, drilled and solidified to perform the mission which social evolution has created for

them, they can come forward as an independent class-conscious political party and themselves seize upon the powers of government and use them for the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Will they do this? Or will they spend their energies in childlike quarrels over pride of organization and desire of leadership? No one but the socialists can now prevent the early coming of socialism in the United States, and anyone calling himself a socialist at this time can most help the coming of socialism by assisting in the organization of the socialists of this country for political action, and he is equally criminal whether he stands outside all organizations in pharasaical self-sufficiency or being in an organization dares to place any obstacle in the road of the most perfect consolidation possible of socialist forces.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

LATEST BOOKS ON SOCIALISM

Vandervelde's Collectivism.

One of the greatest needs of American Socialists has long been a book that should, at once, give a thorough, scientific explanation of socialism in all its phases so as to make a reliable text-book for socialists, and still be so simple in its language and elementary in its treatment of the subject that it could be put into the hands of new inquirers.

This want is now supplied in the book recently published by Professor Emile Vandervelde, of Belgium, entitled "Le Collectivisme et l'Evolution Industrielle." Some idea of the value placed upon this work by European socialists is shown by the fact that within a few weeks from its first issue it was being translated into German, Russian and Italian. It is also worth noting that, although the author is a Belgian, the book is issued by one of the foremost socialist publishing houses at Paris.

A short summary of the contents of the work will give a clear idea of its value: The first part deals with the subject of capitalist concentration and the disappearance of the "peasant proprietors," "artisans" and "small retailers." This is discussed with a wealth of illustration and argument nowhere else to be found. "The Progress of Capitalist Property" is then traced through the successive stages of corporations, monopolies and trusts. The attempts of capitalist writers to explain away this process of evolution are then taken up and thoroughly answered.

The second part of the work deals with "The Socialization of the Means of Production and Exchange," and is by far the most exhaustive study of the transition from capitalism to socialism that has yet appeared. The final chapter discusses the objections to socialism in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. Of the book as a whole, it is not too much to say that

it is destined to become the standard text-book of International Socialism and the greatest propaganda work yet issued.

We are glad to announce for publication, about May 15, a translation of this work by Charles H. Kerr, who has endeavored, while reproducing the author's ideas as completely as possible, to make every sentence easy for any attentive reader to understand. The book will make about 250 pages of a size convenient for the pocket, and will be published in cloth at 50 cents, and in paper at 25 cents.

Liebkecht's Life of Marx.

When the history of the Socialist movement is written, one of its most interesting chapters will be the period when Marx, Engels, Liebkecht and other active Socialists from the continent of Europe were exiles in England, carrying on from there a tireless campaign with pen and press which by and by, with the march of economic forces, brought them back in triumph to their native countries. Shortly before his death Liebkecht, urged by many friends, published a delightful volume of his personal recollections of Marx, dealing mainly with the period just mentioned.

It is not too much to say that no volume of tales ever published would be of as intense interest to the Socialist reader as these that Liebkecht has so charmingly told of this trying time. There is humor that will drive away the most pronounced melancholy, and a pathos that wrings the heart. No matter what the reader may think of the doctrines held by the characters described he cannot but be intensely interested in the book as a series of short stories, and it is safe to say that its literary charm will attract many who would never glance at a work on economics. To the Socialist reader the charm will be manyfold greater, for he will be constantly conscious of new light on his philosophy and new facts concerning the origin of Socialist doctrines and the beginning of the Socialist movement.

The translation by Professor E. Untermann makes a neat little volume of about 200 pages, with a portrait of Marx as a frontispiece. Cloth, pocket size, 50 cents postpaid.

The Republic of Plato.

For centuries before the formulation of the doctrines of scientific socialism its ideals had been pictured by Utopians. The first and greatest of these was Plato, and his "Republic" has been the source from which all subsequent writers have drawn for more or less of their ideas. This work has up to the present time been the exclusive property of the leisure class, having been printed only in the original Greek or in English editions that were too expensive for workingmen to buy. We are therefore glad to announce that about May 15 we shall issue Book I. of the "Republic of Plato" in an entirely new English version by Alexander Kerr, professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin.

The first book does not develop Plato's thought of an ideal commonwealth, but clears the ground by a discussion of ethics, and it is interesting to note that one of the characters in this dialogue nearly 2,300 years old suggests the Socialist theory that "good" conduct is conduct that harmonizes with the interests of the ruling class. The book will contain about sixty-four pages, printed on extra book paper, and the price will be 15 cents postpaid.

Socialist Songs with Music.

This is the first collection of the kind offered to American socialists, and has been warmly welcomed by the socialist press. It contains an original translation of the Internationale, the great socialist song of Europe, all of William Morris' greatest songs, and a variety of familiar tunes with socialist words. The book is already in use at the Socialist Temple, Chicago, and adds greatly to the interest of the meetings. It contains 36 large pages, and is printed on extra paper with stiff cover. The price for a single copy is 20 cents postpaid. While the first edition lasts, orders from socialist locals will be filled at \$1.00 a dozen, postpaid.

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ADDRESS WITHOUT DELAY

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Paganism and Christianity



THE relation of socialism to Christianity has of late been persistently thrust forward by persons embracing the theories of the so-called Christian socialism. Despairing of introducing the doctrines of socialism into the Christian church, they spend their efforts in an attempt to Christianize the socialist movement. Their ablest exponents declare that the modern scientific socialists, whether they are conscious of it or not, follow in the steps of Jesus and aim to realize his ideals. In their endeavors to prove this they attempt to reconcile the sober, earthly doctrines of revolutionary socialism with the teachings of the meek and lowly Nazarene. Both socialism and Christianity fare but indifferently in the process.

The significance of Christianity as an historical factor cannot be determined without determining at the same time its relation to its antonym—paganism. It shall be my endeavor to examine, in the brief space of an article, into the nature of paganism and Christianity, the significance of each as an historical factor in our civilization and their relation to each other. As far as paganism is concerned I shall stand on no ceremonies. But I am aware that Christianity is an extremely delicate subject to treat. It deals with beliefs which forbid and exclude rational discussion. But I must insist that reason, however weak and limited, is still the only authority which socialists are willing to recognize in this sublunary world. Whether reason is a law unto itself or is guided in its path by Providence, we leave to theologians to discuss and decide.

The time was, but is no more, when the attitude of an adept of science toward religion and Christianity was that of secret or open belligerency. The decisive battles between religion and science were fought; science came out victorious, and true to

itself its attitude toward religion can be no other but that of dispassionate study. The student of man and society has long since learned to regard all religions, as well as Christianity, as tremendous factors for good and for evil in the history of our civilization. He approaches religion without fear, but also without prejudice. Armed with the weapons of science, he penetrates into the holy of holiest, not to rail and scoff in wanton derision, but to study, to inquire, to sift facts and trace them to their origin. I hope to be able to treat the subject in a method approved by the best minds. Still I ask the reader that the cause of any relapse which I may suffer from the true method be attributed to my own failure to master it. Science permits no other but the dispassionate, objective method.

It is repeating a mere truism to state that the mental progress of mankind presents a continuity of development. Continuity is the law of all natural processes. Ideas of the present time can be traced back through a winding and erratic course into the remotest recesses of time. They undergo such changes in form and expression as material conditions necessitate. They are an ever present factor in the course of events, though they may not, for the moment, be present to observation. They may be likened, using a familiar simile, to a river that now mirrors in its waters the sun and the stars, now disappears from view and winds its course through underground channels, to reappear again in unexpected places.

The history of the mental development of Europe, embracing the period until the beginning of the very recent industrial epoch, may be written by describing the origin and development of its two chief factors—the civilization of antique Greece and the sublime heritage it left to mankind, and the advent of Christianity and its influence on European thought. The former we shall denote by the term, paganism; a term proper for its historic associations and its relation to Christianity. By Christianity we understand the teachings of Jesus, the Christian religion and the Christian church. It would be unphilosophic to dissociate the teachings of Jesus from the Christian religion and the Christian church from the Christian church. While they ostensibly conflict at some period, still, if historical epochs or the whole Christian era be considered, the closest affinity and even identity will be found between the three.

PAGANISM.

In order to describe briefly and graphically the salient features of Grecian character and religion, we must subtract all adventitious elements and study them in their early unadulterated condition. Homeric Greece is yet semi-barbarous. It has not yet risen to the glorious heights of the period of Pericles. But owing to the immense perspective of twenty-nine centuries

separating the observer from that period, the incidental fades from view and only the most striking features of Grecian character are perceived. The genius of Greece, though not yet daz- zling, is at its purest. The remarkable simplicity of the life, manners and conceptions of Greece of antiquity stands out white and clear through the mist of receding centuries.

Religion—The Greek of antiquity worshiped nature in its manifestations. He classified the phenomena into natural divisions and had a deity presiding over each division. In fact he deified the phenomena of nature. His daily contact with these phenomena, coupled to his simple faith, formed a familiar relation between him and the deities—a relation of a child to its parents. His gods and goddesses were not passionless beings out of place, out of time. They were of human form, only endowed with ideal beauty of form. Like himself, they were swayed with passions often ungratified and suffered with balked desires. The Homeric and Hesiodic theogonies are descriptive of a struggle, divine and titanic, of a race of gods. Their powers, their objects, their stratagems were all still human, their scale and scope only being divine. The residence or headquarters of the gods was on the mountain of Olympus. Zeus presided over the divine conclave and other gods and goddesses were subordinate to him. But they were full of intrigue of love and war. They meddled continually into the affairs of men, not through unfathomable omniscience and omnipresence, but through personal intervention. They entered into various intercourse with the race of men, condescending even to most familiar intimacy with man or woman. Furthermore, they suffered man to meddle with divine affairs, permitting even accession to their own ranks from the race of men. There was nothing mysterious for the Greek about the ways of his deities. Their desires and powers were not beyond human ken. They were the desires and powers of a man-god.

The familiarity between the Greek and his gods has not bred the proverbial contempt in the Grecian mind for his gods. The relations were filial, affectionate. Thunder spoke to the Greek of the presence of Zeus. In the morn he saw Diana, the Chaste Huntress, and the morning aurora heralded to him the approach of Phoebus Apollo, the god of light and wisdom. The sexual or propagative passions were ruled by Venus, the radiant, laughing goddess of propagation, and when these passions found their object it meant that little Eros was around. Prometheus, the protector of the human race, shielded man from the rapacity of the gods in a way that would meet the approval of a modern sharper. Mercury, the god of merchants and thieves, would shock the sentiment of a bourgeois by his disregard of the sacredness of the private property of the gods.

The chief characteristic of the religion of antique Greece was its naturalness. Hence situations and myths that to a modern mind appear absurd and full of ridicule of the gods, appeared to the Greek in the order of divine things. What more preposterous than the Thessalian legend of the genesis of the Myrmidans? What an adventure for the Thunderer! Yet to the Greek it was compatible with divine dignity. And it is this simple faith and naturalness that precluded any element of vulgarity in his religion. The religion of ancient Greece was a merger of the religious sentiment of the Greek with his intense love of nature. His mind dwelled with affection on the phenomena of nature and followed with inquisitive wonder its processes. Hence it was creative of the most exalted art and most wonderful philosophy of the ancient or modern world.

Art, Science—A mind habituated to contemplate the divine as merely human in perfect form, will naturally love to dwell on the physical attributes of humanity in their perfect form. A mind that enters daily into familiar relations with the divine and shapes the divine into flesh and blood, will naturally seek concrete, material expressions for its ideas of divine. Such was the mind of the Greek of antiquity, and to this was due the wondrous beauty of Greek art in sculpture and letters.

The code of morals of the Greek was simple as all other conceptions of antiquity. Men could and did emulate the gods in deeds of valor and prowess. All stratagems were legitimate in war and love. The Homeric muse was not social. It was not a muse of suffering but aspiring humanity. It was not a muse of social ideals. It was a muse of heroic prowess and heroic deeds. It was stern, sonorous and beautiful. It spoke in accents full of awe of the wrath of Achilles balked in his desires. He should have his desires gratified. It uttered thunders in the track of Achilles furious and slaughtering the Trojans.

Grecian statuary may be considered to represent either materialized divinity or men and women perfect in line and form. Here the human and divine merge completely. But human or divine, they are ever sublime in the stern harmony of their lines and the calm beauty of their form. In fact the mind of the Greek may be said to have lacked utterly the faculty of the base, the ignoble. It could create nothing that partook of the ugly, the repulsive. Their Furies and Gorgonas, though terrible, still retain the beautiful of terror.

The public buildings of Greece bore evidence to the serene symmetry of everything conceived by the mind of the Greek. There was nothing in the architecture of Greece calculated to deceive the sense or depress the mind. The lines of the structures were rigorously severe in their simplicity. They were an architectonic expression of the antique sense of harmony and naturalness of all things simple and concrete.

It may appear to be a presumption to attempt discoursing on the philosophy of Greece within the space of this article. But it may be permissible to point out that the Grecian philosophic systems bore evidence to the same fundamental disposition of the Grecian mind. It approached the problems of creation and being as if they were the mere handiwork of man. The work of the gods differed from the work of man only in degree. At the same time the mind of the Greek had not yet formed clear conceptions of mysteries in nature beyond the sphere of inquiry. It was not yet hampered by the consciousness of its own limitations. It boldly approached nature and read its riddles. The Grecian physicists went on shaping one system of creation after another—systems both preposterously childish and wonderfully prophetic; systems which will forever arrest the gaze and excite the wonder of mankind. The philosophy of Socrates and of the philosophers following him were of a more social and moral school. For society has matured and conditions demanded a rule of conduct for the individual and his relations to the state. At this time Greece was brought through its commerce into frequent contact with the different civilizations of Asia and Africa. From this period Grecian religion and thought begin to evince the presence of adventitious elements. The various dark mysteries introduced into the religious ceremonies were certainly of exotic origin. Even philosophic thought assumed the garb of the East. The exoteric school was a feature borrowed from the Orient. It was as if Greek mind has eaten of the tree of consciousness, of self, and became suddenly conscious and ashamed of its nakedness.

The two great systems of conception—antagonistic and irreconcilable—met for the first time face to face. They were to engage in a struggle that was to continue for many centuries. The prize was the reign over the human mind. The system that was of Greece had for itself one factor only—knowledge. But imperceptibly weak was the desire for true knowledge in the mass of mankind and many centuries passed before an atom was added to its store. The system of the East had on its side all the cowering timidity of man just emerging out of barbarism and all his paralyzing terror before the great Unknowable.

CHRISTIANITY.

The hoary, dreamy Orient was the birthplace of mysticism, a system of ideas which tends to wean the mind of man from the material world and hold it in a state of ecstatic trance by the terrors or beatitudes of the unknown or supernatural. These Eastern ideas were bequeathed to Europe by the ancient civilizations of Asia and Egypt. Its appearance in Europe antedates Christianity. But its manifestations were weak and timid.

It were as if the East waited, watching for an opportunity, and as soon as conditions were favorable it invaded, in the form of Christianity, all Europe. It adapted itself promptly to the needs of the times. Evolving from its original purity of absolute self-abnegation into a religious system, it compromised with the European world for the purpose of conquering it. It surrendered its extreme individualism, became a social creed and filled a long-felt want in the religious cravings of the masses. For Europe was being furrowed by a terrible plow that was upsetting things which were thought to be of eternity and unsettling ideas which were the inheritance of times immemorial. Countless hordes of terrible races emerged out of the mountains of Uzria, out of the plains of Sarmatia, and hurled themselves against the Roman Empire. The empire conquered or absorbed the first comers, but fresh hordes took their place. Rome had the advantage of arms and organization, but it had none of the primitive vigor and hope of its antique days of which the barbarians had a full measure. Like an elemental force the Goths and the Huns swept Europe with sword and torch, leaving their wake thick with corpses and cinders. The general mind looked with awe to the calamitous forces which human will was powerless either to arrest or to command. Man saw war ravaging one part of the world and fearful plague and famine devastating the other. The gods and the religions of the olden times were found entirely wanting to meet new demands. New social conditions grew too complex for the unsophisticated religions of the ancient Greece and Rome. Gradually the idea that the course of events and the destiny of man are presided over by causes that are supernatural and beyond the sphere of man's comprehension gained a hold in the mind of the masses. Mysticism—a belief in a supernatural cause—and fatalism—a belief that all events happen by predestination—took possession of the mind of man. The rapid spread of Christianity was assured.

The religion of paganism was natural and its theology partook of the character of an inquiry into the laws of nature. The tenets of Christian religion are moral, founded on authority, and exclude all inquiry. Paganism is materialistic in the primitive sense of the word. Even the gods of paganism are material beings. Christianity is essentially spiritual. It abhors things of the world, for it brought not material but spiritual salvation. It brought a mysterious message of boundless love and eternal consolation to the oppressed and groaning millions. It raised their drooping spirits into an ecstatic state, fit for martyrdom. It opened before eyes that saw no hope in this life, a vista of rapturous visions of the after-life, where "the last shall be the first."

The fundamental precept of Christian theology is faith that

questions not. God knows all things that were, are and will be. He is everywhere. Not one hair falls without His cognizance. His ways are dark, mysterious and beyond human comprehension. All inquiry is idle and forbidden. Jesus is the personification of suffering, crucified humanity. His life symbolizes the idea of humble submission, patient suffering for the glory of the kingdom to come.

The idea of the East, in its metaphysical rigidity, contemplates complete annihilation of self as the state of perfection. The social instinct of self-preservation finds a way of neutralizing the destructive logic of that principle. In the East it created castes, alone privileged to uphold the purity of the doctrine. The lower castes, constituting the mass of the people, were considered worthy of only worshipping the principle, without realizing it. In Europe society was too mobile to be petrified into castes. The church and the monastic orders were the result of the compromise.

The influence of the Eastern spirit became manifest in the whole life of society. It breathed on science and it became petrified into scholasticism. It touched art and art shriveled and shrank. Science and art would have languished and perished under the withering breath of the East, if not for opposing influences. Only architecture, which always mirrors truly the genius of the times, has found a new expression. On the ruins of the temples of antiquity Christianity reared the vast and massive forms of its cathedrals. Sombre and mysterious, they hid in their shadowy recesses altars to an unknowable and unfathomable deity. In their awful presence man confessed his utter helplessness. They cowed the mind and depressed the spirit. Standing guard on the threshold of the Unknown, they bore a terrible warning to the bold trespasser. The Christian cathedrals symbolized the idea of subordination of the natural and rational to the mystic and unfathomable. The architecture of the Moors—massive forms on slender columns—bore evidence to the same spirit, a spirit at war with nature, seeking for mysteries outside of its manifest laws, whose regular operation it would seek to suspend. In architecture the naturalness of paganism and the mysticism of Christianity have found a concrete and lasting illustration.

The precepts of Christianity were designed for a society of masters and slaves, of rich and poor, and they contemplate the perpetuity of such a system. True Christianity would be impossible in a social system where none of the virtues of patience and submission on one side and generosity and mercy on the other could be practiced. It precludes the idea of economic equality. Hence its deprecation of material wealth and welfare. Jesus was the man of patient suffering, and He became the ideal to which Christians were enjoined to strive without the hope of ever attaining it.

Paganism aimed at the material gratification of man. The cycle of real existence was completed in this world and it looked with contempt on the shadowy hereafter. The great migration of nations and the decline of the power of Rome resulted in a decay of order and authority. The millions of mankind were deprived of material welfare and personal security, and Christianity offered them what paganism denied—a moral satisfaction. Out of the social chaos, a state approximating order was formed. The restraining force of the new moral or superstitious idea became a great cohesive factor in society. Christianity became dominant.

Paganism could not prevent the ascendancy of Christianity, but it refused to be banished completely from the human mind. It knew that Christianity was reared in and grew out of the suffering of man and that equal material welfare of all would be fatal to Christianity. It joined hands with the sensual and intellectual in man, while Christianity became allied to the moral and spiritual. Fear and abstinence stood at the side of Christianity; knowledge and desire at the side of paganism. The restraining and disciplining influence of Christianity and the aspiring and enlightening influence of paganism met in conflict which continues to this day. Whole races disappeared in the conflict; the earth and the waters were redened with human blood; but the conflict is pregnant with a promise that mankind will emerge out of the conflict with the savage instincts disciplined, the mind broadened and enlightened—a race fit for a glorious destiny.

The triumphant church puts into the mouth of the dying Julian the Stoic—the apostate, according to the church—the last words: “Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!” The holy fathers saw in Julian the last formidable champion of paganism and with his death they saw paganism prostrate beneath the shadow of the all-conquering cross. But the church never attempted to carry out the doctrines of Christianity in all their spiritual purity. For the sensual and intellectual cravings of man could not be completely suppressed. Besides, the light shed by Grecian civilization was too elusive and too all-pervading for mere measures of suppression. It has taken a firm hold on the human mind, including the best minds among the fathers of the church. We find the ideas of antiquity given theologic authority in dogmatic form; even as the ruins of pagan temples furnished material for cathedrals and pagan rites were given a Christian name and sanction. Rome has grown great because it took into its bosom and admitted to citizenship the conquered nations. This has decentralized the power of Rome and became ultimately fatal to its supremacy. Pursuing a similar course, Christianity has adopted antiquity into its bosom. For the most stern of the holy fathers were still human. Their

influence on the formation of the church was in proportion to the power of their minds and in the same proportion were they fascinated by the wondrous heights to which Grecian genius had soared. It may startle a present day Christian if we confess our gratitude to the church for giving shelter to paganism in its trying hours. Paganism was sheltered and cultivated in cloisters and monasteries. Some of the greatest pillars of the church were good pagans. The multitudes that raged against everything that bore to them a pagan aspect were often kneeling before a pagan. A pagan is said to have occupied the throne of St. Peter and the ecclesiastic university of Paris treated dissenters from the theories of Aristotle as it treated heretics. Christianity could not have become a dominant creed without diluting or rather solidifying its spirituality with the materialism of paganism. Paganism lent concrete forms and a social aspect to the mystic and individualistic principle of Christianity. It was due to paganism that the doctrines of the humble and meek Carpenter of Nazareth became militant and aggressive. It is to the element of paganism in its rites that the church owes in no small degree its vitality. Protestantism is a revolt against paganism in the rites of the church. But the Protestant religions lose their vitality in proportion as they eliminate paganism in their rituals and compromise with paganism in their principles. The ascendancy of rational over moral ideas dates from the first great reformatory movements. Protestantism attempted to compromise with reason and in this attempt Christianity suffered its first defeat. It was a concession to reason. Protestantism substituted rationalization and apology for shattered faith and authority. But reason cannot be permanently placated by compromise. It was unfortunate for the church that in all great conflicts for the betterment of their conditions the people, as a rule, found it indifferent or hostile to their interests. Besides that in temporal matters the church could not do otherwise than reflect the views of the dominant class, its basic principle was opposed to equal material welfare of all. And for the same reason it set its face against the growing aspirations of reason.

Every new aspiring idea must have its martyrs. Reason had its martyrs. However, it emerged victorious out of every conflict with Christianity. New conditions in Europe favored such victory. In the year 1453 the Turks captured Constantinople and the overland route to India was closed to the trade of Europe. This compelled the Europeans to seek another route to India. The unknown ocean lay before them and they dared its dreaded deep for the passage. The Cape of Good Hope was soon reached, America discovered, the Straits of Magellan passed and the globe circumnavigated—all in the endeavor to reach India. The discovery of new worlds acted like a

blast of the bugle on the nations of Europe. The minds of men were turned from the promised celestial felicity held out to them by the church to the realization of their hopes in this world. People by the thousands went out in quest of earthly paradises, eldorados, fountains of youth and the main object—gold. The imaginary terrors of the unknown regions were dispelled. Reason, once aroused, will not rest satisfied with an answer to the first inquiry. From the elevation to which it crawled and crept with slow pain and travail, it was attracted by higher and still higher altitudes. Another factor which contributed to the reawakening of reason was the migration of many Greeks, learned in the Grecian antiquities, from Constantinople into Italy. They brought with them many ancient manuscripts which are now treasured among the heirlooms of our race. To these factors was due the revival of arts and sciences known in history of Europe as the period of Renaissance.

The scope of this article is limited to a retrospective inquiry into the causes of Christianity and paganism. Their manifestation as social forces of our own time may constitute the subject of a separate article. But the inquiry would be fatally defective should I fail to point out their historical relation to the most significant phenomenon of the present historical epoch—the growing ascendancy of democracy. For causes into which it is not my present object to inquire, the masses of the people show now a marked determination of taking an interest in the political affairs and will not rest contented with being watched over by all sorts of “shepherds.” This propensity of the people to attend to their own business is not of recent origin. Casting a glance through the receding centuries, we notice several tendencies, different in their origin, which converging are found to have co-operated to bring about the same result—the democratization of Europe.

It was stated before that the religion and early philosophy of Greece were characteristic of a social state to which the problems of a more mature and complex society were as yet unknown. Grecian philosophy did not rise above the general recognition of slavery as a proper condition for some men. The times were not ripe for a moral revolt against a condition generally regarded as quite in the order of things. However, signs of such revolt were not wanting in the later period. The stoics put forth the theory of equality of all men in the natural state. The doctrine of equal natural rights followed in the steps of the theory. That this theory was in accord with the vague aspirations of mankind has been amply proven by the tenacious vitality displayed by it through long ages and many vicissitudes. It has gained the most prominent place among the teachings of the age. We find it later a part of Roman jurisprudence and elevated to a doctrine of international law in the

Jus Gentium of the Romans. Mankind owes no small debt of gratitude to this living theory of the stoics. In princely or beggarly guise, in the dry discourse of the scholar or sonorous rhymes of the poet, it continued to speak to reason or charm the imagination of man. It was sung, as a fable of the golden age, by minstrels and bards in the halls of tyrants. Like a vein of gold it glowed through the romances of the middle ages, and Cervantes dwelt lovingly on the fable. Till it burst into a storm in the passionate, burning words of Rousseau, and finally attained its crowning glory in forming the central thought of the Declaration of Independence of the United States.

In the evolution of the idea of equality of all men, other factors, equal if not superior to the theory of a natural state, must be recognized. The Teutons owed their indomitable spirit of freedom and equality neither to Christian religion nor Grecian philosophy. Still the far-reaching influence of Teutonic character and institutions on the progress of Europe and of England in particular, cannot be gainsaid.

The rational spirit of the age of reformation has effected many remarkable compromises between reason and habit or superstition. As Christianity compromised with paganism by assuming its garb, so has now reason placated faith. It has given to the gross, material ideas of the day a theologic guise and authority. The stoics elevated all men to an equally high state; the Christian doctrine reduced all men to an equally low level. Man, and it matters not how exalted his station in this world might have been, stood naked and bereft of all his earthly glories in the eyes of his Creator. The Christian church applied this doctrine only to the state of man in the hereafter. But rebellious spirits seized upon it and made it serve their purpose. For man will endeavor to spell out in the venerated writings of his ancient teachers an articulate expression for his present-day needs. With the invention of the art of printing and the translation of the Bible into native languages, this doctrine began to stir the popular mind. For it found that the hope which it dared not to utter stood plainly writ in the words of the gospel, that one man is as good as any other before the judgment seat of the Lord. Hence we find that the movements of reformation were closely connected with the political movements of the day. In England this is especially noticeable. The Lollards and the Puritans hardly knew where their religion ended and their politics began. A similar phenomenon is now observed in Russia. The Russian government regards the various dissenting sects as dangerous to the established government. For in whatever else the sectarians may differ, they generally agree in refusing, openly or secretly, allegiance to the government of the Czar.

Man's spirit was for so many centuries hovering in theological clouds, singing "Hossana!" steeped in raptures not of this world; it was so long wandering in smoky regions in company of damned souls, that when the reaction to a natural state set in it was both marked and strong. In vain did monk and priest chant their incantations. In vain did the holy inquisition light its auto-de-fe. Europe, for centuries in a lethargic state of suspended animation, was aroused to the full possession of all its earthly faculties and desires. Men became possessed by the lusty cravings for the joys of life, physical and intellectual. It required a strong effort on his part not only to sweep from his sight the theological cobwebs through which the world appeared to him as a lurid phantasmagoria, but also to shatter the shackles of feudalism. But all this was effected. Europe was ushered into the capitalistic state and is being now projected through it with accelerated motion. Society casts its old shell. All the cohesive forces, the social bands of yore, are now growing as dry as the ligaments of the mummies and are being blown to dust by the rush of new winds. Christianity has served its purpose as a social factor. It is steadily growing less so. In vain do well-meaning persons raise the image of crucified Christ. The mass of mankind stops for a moment out of mere habit to sigh over its sins and express good naturedly a sympathy for the suffering of Christ. The mass will pause even long enough to administer a sound thrashing to the descendants of the alleged tormentors of Christ and thus atone and do penance for its own sins; but the intervals between the pauses are ever growing longer, the pauses are ever growing shorter. For the times surge angrily around the laggards. The wave of progress rises higher and sweeps onward. Onward!

Julian.

[The July number of The International Socialist Review will contain a reply to this article by J. Stitt Wilson, of the Social Crusade.—Ed.]

The Monopoly of Intellect

IN an article entitled "A Study of British Genius" published in the Popular Science Monthly for March, Mr. Havelock Ellis sums up his view of the subject with the following statement:

"When we survey the field of investigation I have here very briefly summarized, the most striking fact we encounter is the extraordinary extent to which British men and women of genius have been produced by the highest and smallest social classes, and the minute part which has been played by the 'teeming masses' in building up British civilization. This is not altogether an unexpected result, though it has not before been shown to hold good for the entire field of the intellectual ability of a country. . . . As we descend the social pyramid, although we are dealing with an ever vaster mass of human material, the appearance of any individual of eminent ability becomes an ever rarer phenomenon, while the eminent persons belonging to the lowest and most numerous class of all are, numerically, at all events, an almost negligible quantity."

These facts are certainly striking enough, but there is nothing at all remarkable about them, and the author himself admits that the result was not altogether unexpected. The truth is, it would be folly to expect anything else when we consider the conditions to which the "teeming masses" who are said to have played such "a minute part in building up British civilization" are subjected, and have been subjected for generations. Intellectual achievement is a matter of opportunity as well as of ability and requires a reasonable amount of leisure and well-being for success. Imagine a street railway conductor working eighteen hours a day and actually not seeing enough of his own children to know them by sight, producing a work of genius! Imagine the factory girl working twelve hours a day at less than 4 cents an hour, and doing her own cooking and washing and housework into the bargain, giving birth to a great creation of art! Imagine Shakespeare set to driving a nail machine at twelve years of age; where would Hamlet's soliloquy be? Imagine Mr. Havelock Ellis himself delving in a coal mine from the time he was old enough to handle a pick; how much of eminent ability would he have contributed to the sum total of British genius?

It is this cutting off of the great mass of the people from all participation in and contribution to the higher aims of life—this monopoly of intellectual activity by a small leisured class,

that it is one of the grand functions of socialism to remedy. More than the equalization of wages, more than the stoppage of competitive waste, more than any mere physical and material good, is to be desired the equalization of opportunity for all to enter into and live up to the highest moral and intellectual ideal of which they are capable. To take the lowest view of the matter, the mere economic loss to society from this wilful shutting out of the rank and file of its members from their share in the building up of civilization is incalculable; greater even than that suffered by the unjust appropriation of public utilities by private greed. When we think of the enormous strides that have been made under a system which practically restricts the intellectual work of advancing our civilization to the small per cent of the population embraced in the upper and middle classes, we may well ask, what might not have been accomplished if all the seething multitudes at the base of the social pyramid had been in a position to contribute their latent capacities to the general store of knowledge! If, instead of having their powers dwarfed and stunted and perverted by unnatural conditions, they had been allowed the inherent birthright of every human being to develop whatever powers nature has given him, the wildest dreams of science might to-day be realized, and the twentieth century would be as far ahead of itself as it is ahead of the tenth.

Education alone is not going to help matters. Mr. Ellis informs us that his investigations have not shown "any sign that the education of the proletariat will lead to a new development of eminent men; the lowest class in Great Britain, so far as the data before us show, has not exhibited any recent tendency to a higher yield of genius.".....

Assuredly not, and it would be foolish to expect anything else so long as the proletariat remains a proletariat. It is not educating the proletariat that is going to mend matters, but getting rid of it. To educate men and then shut them out of the intellectual life and set them to working for eighteen hours a day in a sweat-shop, is not only a foolish economic waste, but a refinement of cruelty worthy the blackest ages of the world's history. It is not education alone that socialism claims for the proletariat, but industrial freedom. Educating a man can profit him nothing so long as he is a slave; it can only make him conscious of his misery. A certain amount of well-being and leisure from the ceaseless grind of toil is absolutely necessary for the moral and intellectual life of any intelligent creature. It is not because the proletariat is made of different or meaner stuff than the rest of us, forsooth, that they are to be regarded as a "negligible quantity" in the production of genius. The poet knew better than that—

"Chill penury repressed their noble rage
And froze the genial current of the soul."

It does not take a poet or a philosopher, however, to tell us this truth. Every common-school teacher knows the chilling effect of our brutal system of child labor upon the moral and intellectual development of the poor. Here is the testimony of the principal of a grammar school in one of the labor quarters of a large manufacturing town:

"I have seen but little difference in the mentality of the rich and poor. Some of the brightest children I have ever taught have been from the poorer classes; some of the stupidest from the richer. . . . I should say, however, that I have very few factory children in my school. The avarice of the mill owners and the ignorance of the children's parents have thrown the better part of their lives along with the raw cotton to be ground out in the mills. . . . I heard one of our large mill owners laugh the other day and say the Southern mills would get the best of the Northern mills by reason of the longer day—our ten-hour day—they running their mills, by law, only eight."

If any flickering spark of genius shows itself among these slaves of toil it is quickly snuffed out in the dust of the factory or the gloom of the sweat-shop. There is a melancholy suggestiveness in those rare instances of budding genius from the ranks of the poor that sometimes make their way into the lower grades of the common schools for a few weeks, and then disappear to be heard of no more—all their higher capabilities crushed and ground out of them under the iron wheels of a civilization to which we are told that the proletariat have contributed nothing! Is it nothing to have contributed their blood, their life, their souls—nay, the life and the souls of their children? Verily, there must be something radically wrong with a civilization that exacts from the vast mass of its human material such a tribute as this!

That the conditions aimed at by socialism are precisely the ones to remedy this state of things is made clear on Mr. Ellis' own showing. "The minor aristocracy," he tells us, "the gentlemen of England, living on the soil in the open air, in a life of independence *at once laborious and leisurely*" (the italics are mine) "have been able to give their children good opportunities for development, while at the same time they have not been able to dispense them from the necessity of work."

Now, this is just the condition that socialism is seeking to make universal—a condition which, while dispensing none from the necessity of labor, would leave to all sufficient leisure for the full development of their faculties, be these great or small. It recognizes that work and leisure are both good, the one a universal duty, the other a universal privilege—not a royal prerogative inherent by right divine in any particular

class, but a privilege to be earned by labor and therefore not to be lightly trifled away, but devoted to high and noble purposes. Idleness is a usurper that rides upon the back of labor and can only exist when that patient beast of burden is overworked for its support. Idleness and overwork are both bad, and our modern system by which the world is divided into two classes—the idlers and the drudges—is eminently calculated to reduce both to the minimum of social efficiency, leaving the small residuum whom a happy chance has placed in a position of “independence at once laborious and leisurely” to furnish the bulk of the intellectual power of the world.

The enormous waste of the intellectual potentialities of the race through this narrow monopoly of intellectual opportunity by the “classes” is unparalleled, even by the economic waste that runs riot in our senseless competitive industrial system. No more striking illustration could be found of the blind way in which humanity has groped its way to light than the fact that we should have clung so long to wasteful competitive methods in our industrial affairs, where every law of economics calls for the closest combination and co-operation, while in the field of intellectual effort, where the widest and freest competition ought to prevail, we have the closest of all monopolies, confined practically, as Mr. Ellis informs us, to “the highest and smallest social classes.”

I forbear further comment. A social system based on such anomalies must stand self-condemned in the eyes of all thinking people.

Miss E. F. Andrews.

Some Misconceptions of Marx



HERE is a great similarity between the growth of a movement and the life of a man. Each has its birth, growth, maturity, decline and death; and the phenomena of one process are the phenomena of the other. Man has his hot and eager youth; a religion, or philosophy, passes through a period of wild fanaticism; and both, as they approach the calm, and comparative wisdom of maturity, alter, or altogether reject, many of the most cherished ideals of earlier days. The old man is the Philistine of the youth, the sage is anathema marantha to the dogmatist. Then again, a young man is apt to be a hero worshiper, choosing, according to his temperament, a Napoleon or a Rousseau for his ideal man; while a movement is originated by and concentrates around the personality of some strong man. As time goes by, and distance exercises its hallowing effects, the utterances of this man gain authority out of all proportion to their merits. He becomes a prophet, or is elevated to the Valhalla of the gods. He gathers to himself the accretions of knowledge of succeeding generations and, eventually, many things are said and done in his name which he would have disavowed—nay! which would have greatly scandalized him.

In general, the socialist philosophy has conformed to these laws of growth. While it may not have originated with Marx, his is the most commanding figure in the socialist pantheon. His teachings have exercised a tremendous influence upon the movement, its propaganda is conducted on lines laid down by him. He is the great authority, and like all authorities, he has suffered at the hands of posterity. Here, in the United States, disunion and strife resulted from the misreading and violation of his tactics; and, as always happens when people take the truth from other mouths, numerous distortions and misconceptions of his philosophy are afloat. Some of the things said in his name are really enough to make the philosopher stir in his grave.

Perhaps the doctrine of surplus value, and the deductions from it, have undergone the most mutilation. This, one of the cardinal tenets of Marxism, teaches:

(1) That labor produces all wealth and creates all exchange values.

(2) That the amount of labor *socially* necessary to produce a commodity decides its exchange value.

(3) That the producers of a nation are its consumers; and

that a community which lives by the production and exchange of commodities must, if industry is to continue uninterrupted, balance production and consumption.

(4) That in capitalist society, no such balance exists. Producers do not receive in wages the equivalent of their product, and that, accordingly, a surplus product is left in the hands of the capitalist.

(5) That accumulations of such products and their financial equivalents glut markets, cause industrial depressions and hard times.

Now the most orthodox economist would scarcely object to the doctrine or surplus value as outlined above, though it contains dynamite enough to shatter capitalist society, but some of the arguments based upon it deservedly invite his ridicule and scorn. Students of Marx will notice with what care he avoids setting time limits to the social processes of which he treats. Would that all our contemporaries had exercised like discretion! For those errors in the popular conceptions of surplus value which are not founded on quantity are founded on time. The line of reasoning pursued by these false prophets of socialism runs somewhat as follows:

The organization of industry, in modern society, has gathered thousands of working men into mills and factories, where, aided by ingenious machinery, they produce enormous quantities of commodities. In exchange for their labor they receive but a small portion of the values created, and thus is brought into existence a surplus product for which no home market can be found. The competition of all nations for foreign markets, and an eventual transformation of customers into competitors, causes a like glutting of the world's market, when the commercial crises takes on an international character and business depressions become universal. Society suffers from overproduction and men starve in the midst of the plenty they have created. During these depressions socialist propaganda flourishes. Its organizers look upon the commercial crisis as a kind of social cathartic, somewhat drastic in its action, perhaps, but wonderfully efficient in removing the stagnation of ideas from which the wage-earner habitually suffers.

The surplus product having, in the course of time, dribbled away through many channels, the mills, mines and factories start up in full blast, and all lines of business display renewed activity. Manufacturers produce faster than ever, and the social machine rushes ahead with increasing speed very much after the fashion of an engine which has slipped its governors. Lost time must be made up, future dull periods provided against. And so the next crisis comes a little earlier than the last. From these facts the prophet is led to predict the arrival of a perpetual crisis, chronic hard times, and the breakdown of the

system. Then he expects the pinch of poverty to produce in the wage-earner an unusual exhibition of mental activity. Socialist majorities will be returned to all legislative bodies, and finally, the co-operative commonwealth will be ushered in.

Now there is nothing radically wrong in this line of reasoning, except, perhaps, it is a little too sweeping and catastrophic, but when the reasoner descends from the general to the particular, and begins to set forth a time limit, he makes a great mistake. The people do not forget his past utterances. Election after election they go to the polls without seeing the sweeping socialist victories which were promised within a certain time. They awaken, as if from a dream, to find the old landmarks still in existence. The system has not yet collapsed. In spite of all the contradictions so much in evidence, the people are still eating and drinking, marrying and burying. The wicked capitalist, fat and comfortable as of yore, manages to keep the social pot a-boiling after some fashion, and they are somewhat chary about trying experiments in housekeeping with those whose ability to perform this necessary function has not been put to the test. As the years roll by actual contact with the realities of life forces them to materially alter their views of things. They make a qualification here and a modification there until the blood-red wine of their revolutionary spirit is very much diluted, and their faith in socialist teaching badly shaken.

Now these exaggerations and errors in time are based partly on unreliable estimates of the amount of surplus value accruing to the capitalist, and partly due to failure to consider many qualifying factors. The estimates of the relative shares received by capital and labor in the final division of their joint product vary greatly. The more conservative socialist writers adopt the figures of the United States Census Report, which assigns to labor 45 per cent of the product; but the socialist writer who is not conservative gives to labor anywhere between 10 and 22 per cent. The remaining 80 or 90 per cent being classed as surplus value and credited to the account of the capitalist.

These truly amazing results are obtained in the following manner: The statistician divided \$2,270 (the gross per capita production of labor for one year in the United States) by 227 (the average number of working days). As a result of the calculation he obtains \$10 as the average daily per capita production of labor. From this he subtracts \$1.15, the average daily wage of the American worker. "Now," he says, "the American laborer produces ten dollars a day, he receives, roughly speaking, in wages, one dollar—consequently he is in receipt of just 10 per cent of his product. The modest statistician rests content with this, under the full conviction that he has made out a good case for the cause, but those of his fellows

who are not modest carry the line of reasoning a little farther and proceed to show that the share received by labor is still smaller.

They argue that since these calculations are based on wholesale prices and the laborer buys at retail, the difference between the two rates must be deducted from the share of labor and added to that of capital. A claim which is manifestly absurd. The cost of distribution amounts on the average to at least 25 per cent of the total value of a commodity, and how 25 per cent is to be deducted from the laborer's 10 per cent the statisticians fail to say. The difference between wholesale and retail price is a necessary charge made to cover the cost of distribution and is borne by society as a whole. The completed commodity of the manufacturer is the raw material of the distributor; the exchanges effected between wholesaler and retailer, and retailer and customer, are analagous to the operations of the manufacturer, and the profits accruing from such exchanges are shared by the labor and capital employed in distributive enterprise, at the same ratio of forty-five to fifty-five. Whatever reflections may be cast on a system which requires so many middlemen, so long as that system continues, their charges constitute a legitimate item in the cost of distribution. The surplus values remaining in the hands of the great jobbers of course may be deducted from the share of, not only the labor in their employ, but of all labor, but it is very much to be doubted whether it would lessen labor's average receipts by the one-hundredth portion of one mill.

The mistake in calculating the percentage of the product received by labor may easily be detected. The \$2,270 per capita of the production of wealth is the gross manufactured product and represents not only the values created by the capitalist and his workmen, but also values not created by them. It includes the cost of raw material. With this necessary charge deducted, \$1,000 is left as the value added to the raw material by each particular manufacturing operation. Of this added value, \$445 goes to labor, \$555 to capital. They thus receive respectively 45 and 55 per cent of the values they have added to the raw material.

It must not, however, be supposed that the 45 per cent accruing to capital is net profit. A number of charges must be made against it before the real surplus value is found. The following figures, taken from the Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, 1890, p. 319, and which were compiled from the books of 731 manufacturing establishments of that state, convey a clear idea of the distribution of values between capital and labor. The figures are for one hundred dollars worth of commodities sold at actual prices ruling on the markets:

Cost of raw material	\$58.91
Superintendence	1.73
Wages	22.34
Rent .....	.73
Insurance.....	.33
Taxes .....	.56
Freight	1.37
New equipment .....	.24
Other expenses.....	.13
Repairs .....	.81
Net profits.....	<u>12.95</u>
Total.....	\$100.00

An analysis of this report shows that of each one hundred dollars which the finished product brought on the market, \$58.91 represented the cost of raw material. Labor received in wages \$22.34. Five dollars and eighty cents were required to cover necessary expenses, and \$12.95 represented the net profit. In other words, labor received nearly 55 per cent of the added value, capital a little over 31 per cent, and the remaining 14 per cent was consumed by the expenses attendant on running the business.

The following figures, taken from the Report of the Bureau of Labor of Connecticut, 1891, p. 23, give labor a still larger percentage of its product:

Wages	\$89,500,000
Rent, interest and taxes.....	\$ 3,177,000
Superintendence.....	5,600,000
Net profits.....	<u>18,710,000</u>
Total.....	\$99,000,000

Thus in Connecticut, labor received the large amount of 63½ per cent of its product. Capital received 22 per cent, and the necessary expense consumed the remaining 14½ per cent. The statistics of the manufacturing industries of Pennsylvania give similar results to those of Massachusetts.

It would thus seem as though the net profits realized in the manufacturing industries of the United States do not exceed 31 per cent, and this is about the figure favored by the best authorities. But it must be borne in mind that in this investigation we are not trying particularly to find out what is the net profit, but rather, to discover what surplus product or its equivalent surplus value remains in the hands of the capitalist in any one year, after the consuming power of the community has been exercised to the uttermost. We are looking for the motor power which is to drive society to socialism.

So far, surplus product and surplus value have been used in this article almost interchangeably and to prevent misunderstanding it would be well to define clearly what is to be understood by either term. The surplus product is to be here understood as referring to that portion of the joint product of

capital and labor which is left on the market after the full purchasing power of the community has been exercised; the commodities which do not find purchasers because of the inability of the producer to buy back his product. Surplus value, on the other hand, is to be understood as the realized value—it may be in monetary form—of that portion of the joint product of capital and labor which is left in the hands of the capitalist after wages and the expense of the industrial operations are paid. And though the surplus product is really the material form of surplus value, great differences exist between the two. The one is evanescent, the other is permanent. The surplus product quickly disappears, but surplus value remains to be re-invested in productive enterprise and bring into existence other surplus values. Long after the surplus product has vanished into its constituent gases, the values which it created go on accumulating. And these values, piling up on the financial markets of the world, were until the year 1898 threatening a complete congestion of capital.

But these surplus values in the hands of the capitalist undergo further diminution and there are many channels through which they percolate back to society. The bankruptcy laws materially assist in the process. A merchant buys goods on credit, is unable to meet his bills, files a petition of insolvency, or makes a settlement with his creditors. In either case the result is the same. He has obtained something for nothing, and surplus values are reduced to the extent of his defalcations. Again, a portion of the surplus is consumed by a class the members of which are neither producers nor distributors—lawyers, doctors, actors, artists, clergymen, authors, personal servants, and a host of others who minister to the wants of those who have money to spend. The capitalist himself is a great consumer and lives far beyond the modest fourteen hundred a year allotted to him as a superintendent of industry. Once more, under the head of taxes, comes all the expense of carrying on a government, but all the revenue of government is not derived by direct taxation. A large sum is annually raised by imposts on exports and imports. Now when it comes to a question of the consuming power of the nation, it must be remembered that all the public servants paid out of revenues so raised become users of the surplus products of the manufacturer. Then a portion of the surplus is wasted, and must be charged to profit and loss. Perishable goods which do not find ready sale spoil and are removed from the market. The changing of the modes has to be considered. Goods which are out of fashion are usually sold below the cost of production, and in this case at least the laborer's wage buys more than his product. Nor should the enormous sums spent in war be forgotten. By the issue of bonds England raised millions to cover the expense

of her South African war. By so doing, at one and the same time she found employment for large blocks of idle capital, relieved the congestion of the financial markets of the world, and consumed large quantities of surplus products. When that unhappy war shall have reached its termination the chains of the British wage slave as well as those of the Boer farmer will have been drawn a little tighter. Thus, in one hundred ways, is the surplus disposed of and the business of society enabled to go on. In a higgildy-piggildy manner, to be sure, calculated to make the gods weep with excessive laughter, but nevertheless—goes on.

The conclusions reached may be verified by other evidence. When it is remembered that an annual surplus product of 10 per cent would in ten years pile on the markets of the world the entire product of one year, the impossibility of the statistics criticised in this article will easily be seen. The commercial crisis comes at periods of about twelve years apart. Now in 1893, possibly, from a commercial standpoint, one of the blackest years the United States ever saw, at no period of the year were more than 1,250,000 workingmen out of employment at one time. In other words, at no time was more than one-twentieth of the working force idle. Though surplus commodities and surplus values had been piling up for ten years, nineteen men out of twenty were busily engaged in creating more. Facts like these compel the conclusion that the surplus product which causes the glutting of markets and hard times is very much smaller than is generally supposed. Perhaps not more than 3 per cent of the total product of any one year.

At the first glance it would seem that such an apparently small factor could hardly affect the economic equilibrium of society, yet small causes sometimes produce great effects, and this particular cause is quite large enough to bring about the changes socialists desire. Surplus values are piling up on the financial markets of the world, and were, until the year 1898, threatening a complete congestion of capital. At the present time \$5,000,000,000 of saved capital is on deposit in the savings banks of the United States and Europe, and the owners of this ever-increasing mass of potential productivity are scouring the earth for opportunities of investment. In 1899, 6,648,483,960 francs were invested in new securities, and yet, like a professional mendicant, capital goes a-begging. The British war loan was subscribed twice over within twelve hours of the opening of the lists, New York alone offering more than the total sum required. When the Greek war loan was floated in Paris the sum required was subscribed twenty-three times over in twenty-four hours, and ten times the amount of the loan was actually deposited, on account, in the Bank of France. American bonds were lately refunded at the extremely low rate of

interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the rate of interest on blocks of capital has for many years been constantly falling. Indeed if it had not been that in 1897 Western capital found employment in the development of the Orient, complete congestion must have resulted. In that year, the Populist millenium, when interest shall no longer be, was very close at hand.

It is not necessary to dwell on the many factors which are busily engaged in reducing surplus values. They are numerous—wars, the development of foreign countries, wildcat financing, etc. It is sufficient to know that surplus values accumulate faster than they waste away. Laying aside the extravagant estimates against which this article protests, the socialist may justly claim that surplus value is now a powerful factor in bringing about the social changes he desires and that in the future it will be even more so.

The second serious misconception of the Marxian theory of value springs from the confusion of ideas as to the meanings of the terms *exchange value* and *price*. It is almost pathetic to watch the efforts of an earnest and well-meaning socialist when he attempts to prove that the price of every article exchanged on a modern market is determined by the quantity of labor which produced it. It cannot be done! The Marxian law of exchange is a social law applying to an aggregate of social transactions and intended to form the basis of exchange in a society where *all* transactions shall be *entirely* social in character. Under existing conditions this law can apply only to averages, and every attempt to make it cover *all* individual cases is bound to result in failure.

For instance: In 1871, a certain department in France harvested an unusually short crop of the grapes from which the Bergundy wine is made. Consequently the labor expended in tilling the vineyard and making the wine was high in proportion to the total product. In 1872, the same department harvested an unusually heavy crop and the labor expended was small in proportion to the product. Yet the wine of '72 produced by little labor was worth about twice as much as the wine of '71 produced by much labor! A paradox if we apply literally the Marxian law of exchange to individual cases, but no paradox if we apply it as he intended it to be applied! He says himself that labor gives *exchange value* (i. e., makes them exchangeable) to all commodities, but, that in capitalist society the "price" is fixed by the "higgling of the market." The instance cited above, one of many, shows the folly of applying a general law to a particular case. Of course the wine of '72 was superior in quality to the wine of '71, but nevertheless the difference in quality renders it unclassifiable by the labor theory. But if the wine production of that department be taken, say, for a decade, and the law applied to a *course of commodities*,

to an average, it will be found to work out with mathematical correctness.

The erratic thought and erroneous statistics criticised above are merely specimens selected from a mass of exaggerations, misrepresentations and crazy figuring which has passed current in socialist circles for sound thought. The sooner it is weeded out and the truth separated from the false, the better! If socialism is true it need not fear the truth. Why, then, hesitate to expose falsehood and error? Be sure of one thing. If the great mass of the people to whom we look for votes are not possessed of high intellectual powers; if they are not capable of following our journeyings into the realms of abstruse thought; if they are dull and stupid, as we in our haste are sometimes tempted to believe; if they do not understand economics, and dislike the study of sociology, yet nevertheless they are possessed of a large measure of common sense, and try your deductions and inductions by the only standard they know—comparison with the things of life. If your theories harmonize with these they accept them; if not—

Let us bring our theories into harmony with observed facts!

Herman Whitaker.



Summing Up



WHENEVER a discussion assumes the character of a personal controversy, it is the privilege of the opening party to have the closing argument. I shall not abuse this privilege, as I think that the main issue has been entirely ignored in the argument, and the discussion has been sidetracked to such general questions as "evolution and revolution," "mind and socialism," etc., which bear no more on the trust question than on any other of the many economic questions of the day. As the substance of the replication of necessity depends upon the contents of the answer, I leave it to the unbiased reader to place the blame where it belongs, for shifting the issues. --

My main proposition, advanced in my first article, "Trusts and Socialism," was, that trusts will be spontaneously transformed into state socialism by the efforts of the capitalist class itself, stimulated by the antagonism between "producers" and "consumers" within the capitalist class. The terms "producer" and "consumer" are applied, throughout both articles, in the sense accepted by political economy, which describes a capitalist manufacturer as a "producer," and a capitalist buyer of coal and ore for use in his factory, as a "consumer" of those articles. (a)

As far as I am aware, my article on "Trusts and Socialism" is the first attempt to outline the transition from private capitalism to "state capitalism" or "state socialism," as a purely economic process of evolution. My adversary bears me out in this claim when he says:

"That neither Marx, nor any eminent class-conscious socialist after him ever shared Marxist's fatalistic view of the growing of society into socialism as the outcome of purely economic development." (p. 630.)

This is the main point, for in a democracy the transition from "state socialism" to "democratic socialism" (using the terms in their popular meaning, without further analysis), means but a change of public policy, whereas the change from private capitalism to public capitalism has the appearance of forcible expropriation. From the standpoint of "common sense" the idea that the "vested interests" will placidly acquiesce in this expropriation, is too absurd to be seriously enter-

(a) Karl Marx, in Part II. of his "Capital," classifies all consumption as productive consumption and personal consumption; the several subdivisions of the capitalist class are spoken of as "consuming" raw materials and other means of production.

tained for a moment. I have, on the contrary, endeavored to show, by following up the growth of the trusts, how "state capitalism" must develop through the gradual expansion of the scope of the state in the adjustment of the conflicting interests of private corporations.

In reading both articles of my adversary I do not find a single argument to disprove any of the propositions stated. All he says is that state socialism is a bad thing (so is capitalism) and that he and his comrades will see to it that there shall be none of it, if they can help (so do the Russian utopian socialists, the *Narodniki*, assert that they will see to it that Russia shall skip capitalism and jump directly into socialism).

Until some argument is brought forward to show the error of my conception of the economic tendencies of the trust, I may rest on my original contention.

Another material issue raised in the discussion is the "class-struggle"—that favorite exorcism whose meaning is often shrouded in deep mystery for most of those who conjure with it. I have shown the evolution of the class-struggle, from a mere conflict of private interests to an issue between capital, organized as a class, and labor, organized as a class. The dispute over hours and wages tends to broaden into one over the share of labor in the national product.

In my conception the "class-struggle" does not lead to the organization of industry on the basis of "public ownership"—to effect that is the historical function of the *capitalist*. The mission of the "class struggle" is to transform "state capitalism," alias "state socialism," into "democratic socialism."

This is a plain statement. My adversary has not an argument to refute it; he contents himself with quoting authorities to show that nobody thinks as I do. What of it? Is the research of scientific truth to be bound by "precedent"?

Unluckily, the "authorities" are not all on one side—see *contra*: the Kautsky resolution. The adverse "opinion" is therefore "distinguished" on the ground that it may be all right in Europe, but it can have no application in America. The argument sounds familiar and credit must, in all fairness, be given to the first source. It originated in the historical debate over the novel theory of finance that "workingmen are not taxpayers." The negative relied upon the platforms of nearly all the European socialist parties, to which the affirmative replied that since the party publication wherein the question was raised was issued within the jurisdiction of the state of New York, it was bound in its views on economic theory by the New York state platform, and not by the platform of the Timbuctoo socialist party.

While the distinction made by my adversary is thus supported by "authority," and by an American authority at that,

yet it is here submitted that it is not applicable to the Kautsky resolution, since the latter was adopted at an *international* congress, at which the United States was represented by two delegations, one of which, led by the vice-presidential nominee of the Social Democratic party, voted in favor of the resolution.

It is noteworthy that while thus discarding the latest authority of an international congress, on the ground that it does not extend beyond the territorial boundaries of "Timbuctoo," my adversary quotes with approval an earlier "Timbuctoo" authority of a more limited jurisdiction, viz: the Gotha platform of the German Social Democratic party, adopted as far back as 1874 and embodying the famous doctrine that all other classes than labor are "but one reactionary mass." This doctrine was "overruled" after a thorough discussion in the party press ten years ago at the Erfurt convention, by which the present platform was substituted for the antiquated Gotha platform.

It is unfortunate that the German pioneers of socialism in America have not kept abreast of the development of socialist thought in their native land.

There would be no end to this controversy were we to saddle it with all the collateral issues which might with equal propriety be raised in connection with any other problem one might choose in the vast field of socialism. I shall reserve the subject of "historical fatalism" for independent treatment and will here confine myself to one vital point, viz: the practice of treating difference of opinion as an "infamous crime." My adversary denies the allegation.

"Where," queries he, "have we attempted to fetter the freedom of scientific investigation?" Answer: In the article, "Evolution or Revolution"? on page 407, to-wit:

"I would earnestly request Bernstein, Marxist, et al., to consider the following statements: "To invite strife and schisms in a party by continually shaking its foundations with worthless discussions actuated by superficial understanding is *criminal*."

It stands to reason that that which is *criminal* must be suppressed; that this is no mere figure of speech, the history of the socialist parties in this country bears ample testimony. In strict accordance with precedent the entire article reads like an indictment "In re People vs. Marxist et al." The defendant is charged with "class-prejudice" (p. 406, line 6); he is described as "a man who, in comfortable circumstances, can sympathize with the gloomy apprehensions raised in the breasts of stock and bondholders by the growth of socialism"; he is found to be "emphasizing the necessity of justice for the capitalists while gliding serenely by the proletarian's right to justice," and trying "to lead us astray from the straight path of class-conscious socialism" (p. 406) with a view "to gain notoriety"

thereby (p. 409, line 7); it is insinuated that "Bernstein, Marxist & Co." would not "care openly to discuss social economy," if it threatened to involve them into trouble with the powers that be. (a) Two pages are devoted to denunciation of a "writer who can have the heart to talk learnedly of a gradual process of evolution, while millions of his fellow-citizens are forced to starve, etc., etc."

My accuser then proceeds to impose such penalties as are within his power. "I respectfully decline to associate with Marxist under the same label," says he in pronouncing sentence. "Such a Marxist is not our comrade."

Social ostracism is one of the most dreadful punishments known in the history of penal law. Where one dissenting from the views held by the majority of his associates is in peril of ostracism, or, to take a milder view, of personal villification, freedom of thought and speech is very materially abridged.

It is my good luck that I am technically not a "comrade." So I neither contend for the privilege of associating with the gentleman "under the same label," nor am I amenable to such penalties as might be duly inflicted upon a "comrade." I am therefore in a fortunate position to take an impersonal view of the matter. I shall not go into the question of the justice of the procedure. Let us assume, as claimed by the advocates of "discipline," that a "militant party" cannot exist if its members are to be allowed to express views not in agreement with "the principles of the party," or rather with what the majority construes to be "the principles of the party." But, pray, be at least as candid as the Russian Holy Synod, which makes no pretense at favoring "freedom of scientific investigation" when excommunicating Count Tolstoi.

Marxist.

(a) As the identity of Marxist is not disclosed it cannot be established whether he or she (as the case may be) is a coward, or, on the contrary, a person possessed of sufficient civic courage to stand up for his (or her) views, even at the peril of persecution. But as to Bernstein, who has spent the best years of his life as an exile in the service of the German Social-Democratic party, the charge is, to say the least, contrary to evidence.

Socialism in Belgium

HISTORY—1857-1867.



ALTHOUGH the establishment of the "Parti Ouvrier" dates from April 9, 1885, we must trace the origin of the *socialist* movement farther back. We emphasize the word "socialist" in order to make it clear that we do not deal here with those labor organizations that constitute themselves on purely economic and industrial ground strangers to the political battlefield, ignorant of the longing for social transformation.

In 1857, the "Societe des Tisserands"* was founded in Ghent. Ten years later it became the first local of the Ghentish section of the International. From the beginning it was persecuted by the employers and the authorities. Numerous sentences were pronounced on the laborers who dared to organize and strike.

In 1860, the weavers, the spinners and the metal workers formed the "Federation des Ouvriers Gantois."† It is the first union extending to more than one trade which the workers founded in Belgium for the defense of their class interests. But it still remained unconscious of the philosophical and theoretical scope of its movement.

1867-1873—With the International, the movement assumed a specifically socialist character and extended to the important centers of the land. Belgium took an active part in the congress of the International, but happily maintained a neutral and conciliatory attitude amid the theoretical conflicts that divided the members of the International and ended in a schism at the Hague Congress in 1872.

In the meantime, the theoretical trend of Belgium socialism assumed the clear outlines of collectivism and of the class struggle, while borrowing from Proudhonian and French conceptions the idea of the universal character of socialism. To Cesar De Paepe, the disciple of Colins, we must largely attribute the present tendencies of socialism in Belgium.

1873-1885—After the dissolution of the International, devoted agitators in Ghent and Brussels succeeded in organizing a number of labor unions and founded the "Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Flamand" and the "Parti Ouvrier Brabançon." In 1879, a congress at Brussels founded the "Parti Socialiste Belge."

* Society of Weavers.

† Federation of Ghentish laborers.

The agitation in favor of universal suffrage dates from this year, while the co-operative movement, which later became of such great importance, had its beginning in 1880.

Nevertheless, numerous labor organizations were afraid of the word "socialist" and other societies, especially the "mutualists," wished to hold aloof from political agitation.

In 1885 the Federation of Labor in Brussels invited all labor societies without exception to a national congress for the purpose of forming a new political party which should be distinct from the old liberal and catholic parties that hitherto had alone been in the field. Henceforth the new party called itself "Parti Ouvrier Belge," and it has remained the only socialist organization in the country.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY.

The great strength and cohesion of the "Parti Ouvrier Belge" is mainly due to its uniform organization and its universality. In the first place there is only the one party. Then the country is divided into sections (election districts), each having its federation. Such a federation comprises all the groups of the same district, regardless of their nature—political groups, trade unions, mutual benefit and co-operative societies, educational, art and entertainment clubs, etc. This arrangement is of vital importance, for through it the trade union, mutual benefit and co-operative movements, which in other countries do not assist socialism, have become in Belgium its strongest support.

Besides these district organizations, there are, of course, others that unite the homogeneous groups of the whole country; for example: the national federations of trades (miners, metal-workers, engineers, carpenters and cabinetmakers, stoneworkers, etc.) the federation of mutual benefit societies, the federation of socialist municipal councillors, the federation of socialist co-operatives for production and consumption, the federation of socialist lawyers, the federation of socialist physicians and druggists, the federation of young guardsmen (for anti-military propaganda), the federation of former socialist soldiers, the federation of women's clubs, etc.

All these special organizations devote themselves, of course, to their special field, but all of them are under the control of the General Council of the party, in which nearly all are represented by delegates.

UNIVERSALITY OF THE MOVEMENT.

We mean by this that the "Parti Ouvrier Belge" is interested in all the phases of the social question; that nothing human is foreign to it. The organizations composing it, therefore, are of a very different character, as we have seen in the preceding paragraph. Is not this becoming in a doctrine, in a party, that

wishes to revolutionize the economic and moral relations of individuals to one another? In this manner, we interest in our movement all lovers of justice, no matter what may be their special field of activity, whether manual, intellectual, moral or artistic. And from this universality, from this collaboration, results a mutual education well calculated to broaden the mental horizon of all participants.

THE MUTUAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES.

As the mutual benefit societies were founded long before the "Parti Ouvrier" came into being, the majority of them are not affiliated with this party, although many of their members are socialists. In certain parts of Belgium, however, notably in the Charleroi valley and vicinity, the mutual benefit societies constitute the backbone of the socialist labor organizations. In Ghent, a large number of the old mutual benefit societies were absorbed by the socialist federations and, as we shall see later on, the strong co-operative "Maison du Peuple" in Brussels established in 1897 a free medical and pharmaceutical service for all its members (18,000). There is at present a marked tendency to combine the trade and mutual benefit organizations by creating trade unions on a mutual benefit basis. This gives more stability to the trade unions. Each of these lines has, of course, its own special funds. Many mutual benefit societies deposit their funds in the powerful co-operatives of the party.

THE UNIONS.

While the mutual benefit movement contains numerous organizations not belonging to the "Parti Ouvrier," the trade union movement is almost exclusively socialist. There are a few liberal and catholic unions that were created by the reactionaries for the purpose of counteracting the socialist activity, but their influence is insignificant. Furthermore, a few neutral and unattached unions are in existence. Their members, although mostly socialists, do not care for affiliation, in order to avoid the resignation of the minority.

Although our trade union movement has made marked progress during the last years—about 400 unions are affiliated with the party—still much is left to be done in this direction, especially as concerns stability and efficiency of the organization.

The unions are still too much affected by the more or less prosperous state of their trades. When wages rise, the union is too often forgotten.

Efficiency is not yet what it should be, owing partly to the lack of stability just mentioned, partly to the fact that the resources of the unions are generally insufficient, because the dues are too small.

In order to remedy these defects and give to the movement the importance it deserves, the "Parti Ouvrier" appointed a special commission, "La Commission Syndicale"* that devotes its time particularly to these questions in all their aspects, such as discussions, statistics, publications, etc.

THE CO-OPERATIVES

The co-operative movement in the Belgian Labor Party began in 1880. To-day it has become of the greatest importance and we may say that the organization of Belgian socialism finds its main support in the co-operatives. At present 200 co-operatives are affiliated with the party, 175 of which are consumers' and 25 producers' clubs.

Nearly all these consumers' co-operatives have the same very modest beginning—a score or so of comrades who have succeeded in saving a few hundred francs found a bakery. This soon becomes prosperous. Frequently the bakery is established in a store that serves at the same time as a meeting room. In such case the room contains a bar for the sale of beverages to the general public, and the socialists of the locality meet, join for recreation and read their journals, etc., in this room. The meeting rooms thus serve as common centers for all organizations existing in the locality (unions, mutual benefits, labor leagues, political clubs, etc.) There also the majority of public meetings are held. The co-operative bears all the expense of the meeting room. As to the profits, the members share in a part of them in the ratio of their consumptive power, but a goodly part is also devoted to the socialist propaganda; for securing speakers at the expense of the co-operative, for buying and distributing pamphlets, for lending assistance to strikers and for electoral struggles.

These co-operatives have, furthermore, the invaluable advantage of freeing from the yoke of bosses hundreds of workers who often are persecuted for their independence of character. These men become so many agitators who have nothing to fear. It is easy to understand what a tremendous amount of propaganda is carried on in these co-operatives, for in distinction from other organizations their influence is continuous and unremitting. They unite the most divergent elements, and after attracting the partly converted by the prospect of sharing in the surplus, they convert them fully by discussions, journals and pamphlets.

In its further development, the co-operative often adds to its bakery a grocery, a dry goods store, a confectionery, a butcher shop.

Some of these societies in the great centers (Brussels, Ghent,

* The Committee on Trade Unions.

Jolimont, Antwerp, Liege, etc.) have gained considerable influence. The "Maison du Peuple" in Brussels, for instance, which opened in 1884 with sixty members and 300 to 400 fr., has at present about 20,000 members and property worth 2,032,000 francs.

It may be interesting to give here the list of surplus income realized and distributed during the half year from July 1 to December 31, 1900:*

Surplus Realized.

The sum total of surplus incomes is made up as follows:

	Francs.
Surplus from general merchandise	13,487.38
Surplus from bakeries.....	300,387.61
Surplus from coal.....	11,981.35
Surplus from confectionery and novelties.....	14,676.37
Surplus from Maison du Peuple (safe)	16,140.02
Surplus from butter.....	515.10
Surplus from Maison du Peuple in Mohlenbeck	16.91
Surplus from sale of milk	1,282.46
	<hr/>
	258,867.90
Loss of butcher shops	1,424.78
Total surplus.....	256,944.43

Division of Surplus.

This surplus will be distributed in the following manner:

	Francs.
Sinking fund for mortgage	22,935.00
For loans and interest	40,000.00
Shares of different co-operatives	2,000.00
Free medical and pharmaceutical service to heads of families.....	20,816.53
Propaganda, claims, subsidies and assistance to groups and suffering members.....	12,653.69
2½% to the employees.....	6,423.61
To distribute on 5,002,818 kilos of bread at 8 centimes per loaf	150,065.90
	<hr/>
Sum total	256,944.43

The dividends will be paid in checks presentable immediately in the confectioneries and novelty stores, and on or after May 2 in the other departments.

We see that in the distribution of dividends, the "Maison du Peuple," like the majority of great co-operatives, gives free medical and pharmaceutical service to its members. In order to bring the shares of the co-operatives within reach of every workingman, they seldom are made larger than 10 fr., and this sum may be paid by advances on the dividends. *But no co-operator is admitted without adhering to the socialist program.*

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

These are of a various nature. The following are the principal types:

Labor Leagues—These are devoted exclusively to political purposes and found in the principal communities.

Young Guard—Their specialty is propaganda for anti-militarism among the young people before they enter the army. They publish journals and pamphlets for anti-militarism.

Educational—a. "L'Institut Industriel," founded in Brussels three years ago, admits children 14 to 18 years old and gives them a complete humanitarian and technical education. b. Students' Clubs, with libraries, inviting professors for lectures.

* A franc is about 90 cents.

Arts and Entertainments—Societies for the organization of artistic festivities, dramatic clubs, vocal and instrumental music clubs.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE PARTY

"Le Peuple," official daily in the French language, 5 centimes (one cent), edition 70,000.

"L'Écho du Peuple," daily in the French language, 2 centimes, edition 70,000.

"Le Journal de Charleroi," unofficial, but socialist daily, 5 centimes.

"Vooruit," official Flemish daily, 2 centimes, edition 16,000.

"De Werker," Flemish daily, especially for Antwerp, 5 centimes.

There are, in addition, numerous local weeklies and trade union papers.

The party has also a monthly review, "L'Avenir Social," containing four departments—a general part, a co-operative bulletin, a trade union bulletin, a municipal bulletin.

PARTY MANAGEMENT

This is in the hands of a General Council composed of a permanent bureau and as many representatives as there are district federations and professional federations. The permanent bureau is composed of nine members living at the seat of the Council (Brussels). These nine members are elected every year, not by the Council, but by the annual congress of all organizations in the country. The Council has a permanent salaried secretary. The deputies and senators of the party have the right to take part in the meetings of the Council, but cannot vote.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND POWER OF THE PARTY

The political activity of the party made itself felt notably after 1886, the year of the bloody strikes, revolts and crises marking the beginning of a new period for the political and social creed in Belgium.

However, the "Parti Ouvrier" could not obtain any success in the elections until 1893, because the franchise was restricted to those who paid a state tax of at least 42 fr.

But in 1893, after new violent demonstrations, we succeeded in obtaining the present election law, which gives one vote to citizens of 21 years, but grants a second and a third vote to the professional men and the property-holders.

For the communal elections, the age of 30 years is required and one man may have as many as four votes. In spite of this, 28 socialist deputies were elected out of 152 in the very first election for parliament in 1894; about 320,000 votes were cast for them.

In 1900 the party obtained about 463,000 votes and elected 32 deputies and four senators.

In the last communal elections (1899) we elected councillors in about 240 communities, bringing the total number of socialist councillors up to about 950 and giving us a socialist or socialist-radical majority in fifty-seven communities.

At present the activity of the party is mainly devoted to the consolidation of all its organizations, of which there are about 1,000. We said that the propaganda among trade unionists demanded and absorbed a great deal of our energy. The recent creation of the "Federation des Co-operatives" is already yielding excellent results and brings within easy range the moment when the union of the 200 co-operatives belonging to it will give to the central organ the power of those immense "wholesale societies" of Manchester and Glasgow. This power will be used by us for the cause of socialism.

The development of our daily press also claims our close attention, and the plans for its transformation will require a loan of 150,000 fr., which, we hope, will be guaranteed by our great co-operatives.

As to the political side of our movement, we in the first place aim at securing universal suffrage pure and simple. The struggle is beginning, but our party has decided to act with the utmost caution. For we know that we shall meet a desperate resistance, and that the reactionaries are determined to stop at nothing in the attempt to prevent us from obtaining that political equality which will mark the end of their rule.

By force of our organization we shall triumph!

Emile Vinck.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)



The Revolutionary Movement in Russia

THE history of the revolutionary movement in Russia begins with the December insurrection in 1825. True, long before this disturbance the intellectual elite of our society had become familiar with Western ideas. But this was the first serious attempt of Russian revolutionaries to limit autocracy in favor of liberty.

It is well known that the secret societies, formed in Russia after the Napoleonic wars and composed mainly of superior officers and functionaries, had tried to profit by the general confusion caused by the death of Alexander I. On the 26th of December, 1825, an armed uprising took place on Senate Square, where several determined leaders had succeeded in prevailing on some troops to espouse their cause. This insurrection had no immediate success. The political and social state of affairs in Russia was as yet too unfavorable.

For a time the suppression of the revolt gave free scope to the most pronounced reaction. Nicholas I. succeeded his brother Alexander. Frightened, on coming into power, at the revolutionary explosion, he not only became the executioner of his own country, but also the protector of all European reactions, the chief policeman of Europe. Thanks to his policy, Russia for a long time became the land of barbarism. The Tsar made the name of Russia an abomination to all the lovers of freedom in Europe.

Nevertheless, in spite of all forcible measures, the intellectual and social development of Russia followed its course, giving birth to ever new ideas and to more and more pronounced revolutionary tendencies. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, we see the elements of scientific thought taking form and a liberal opposition arising. Even the first communist circles establish themselves, as e.g., Petrachevsky and other advocates of Fourier's system.

The fall of Sebastopol in 1855 put an end to the policy and, at the same time, to the life of Nicholas, who died in a fit of impotent rage, perhaps voluntarily. The best elements of society rejoiced over the defeat of Russia, for they knew that it meant the beginning of the social and political renewal of the country. The heavy boot of the crowned soldier ceased to crush the land which for the first time drew a breath of relief on learning of the death of the cursed tyrant.

The country seemed to head with full sails for the promised

land of liberty. Serfdom could no longer resist the force of events. The people excitedly demanded their freedom. The new requirements of Russia—the necessity of developing the industries, the credit, agriculture, means of communication and, finally, the national defense—could no longer be reconciled with the survivals of barbarism. And serfdom was abolished in 1861.

Then commenced the period of so-called "great reforms" that even to this day enjoys a considerable reputation among Russian liberals. Provincial councils (*zemstvos*), a certain local autonomy, a new code, juries and publicity of legal proceedings were granted. But the vital evil of Russian life, the autocratic regime, remained in full force and soon annulled by degrees all the reforms it had established.

The shortcomings of rural reforms became evident soon afterwards. The lots that had been assigned to the former serfs at a price much above their value—while the best land was reserved for the masters—proved to be insufficient for the maintenance of the farmers' families and the covering of all expenses. We may say that even at the moment of enfranchisement the government and the nobility had a perfect understanding on the subject of making the farmer a proletarian who should be different from the city proletarian only in that his bondage was harder.

All these facts in addition to the renewed strengthening of the political reaction after the downfall of heroic Poland gave an incredible intensity to the revolutionary fermentation among the young intellectuals who now belonged in a great part to the middle and lower classes. The first revolutionary organizations in the true sense of the word, made their appearance in the beginning of the "famous sixties," when it became clear that the autocratic government could not and would not satisfy the just demands of the people. At this period, the revolutionary movement was already accompanied by troubles in the universities. Demonstrations took place in 1861 in all the higher schools of St. Petersburg. Secret societies, "Young Russia" and "Land and Liberty" were formed for the purpose of producing a general uprising of the farmers and establishing the republic in Russia. These societies were in continual touch with the Polish revolutionaries, and more than one member of "Land and Liberty" fell while fighting in the ranks of the Polish insurgents.

The activity of the International that everywhere aroused the revolutionary instincts and socialist tendencies could certainly not remain without influence on the young people of Russia. It is true that after the great schism in the International, dividing the world of socialism into Marxists and Bakounists, the majority of Russian revolutionaries lined up on the side of Bakounin, the apostle of universal anarchism.

But this anarchism was in Russia a mere phrase corresponding to the comparative immaturity of revolutionary thought, which did not yet propose to itself the political problems formulated later on by Russian socialists. It is clear that the immediate goal of Russian socialists could not be anything but the abolition of the autocratic regime and the conquest of liberty. For only under such conditions would the real development and organization of the socialist party be possible.

* * * * *

In order to understand the true character of the movement at that time, it suffices to cast a glance at the state of Russian society during that period. Barely freed from bondage and just entering the road to industrial progress, Russia was almost wholly an agricultural country. From the uniform sea of rural districts emerged, like little islands, a few towns and industrial centers with a working population scarcely distinguishable from the rural masses. In the greatest part of Russia agricultural communities were still in existence, in which, at least so the agitators believed, communistic principles were still kept alive.

In seeking for the objective conditions of social revolution among the realities of Russian life, the agitators quite naturally turned their eyes toward those germs to which they attributed the powers of spontaneously developing in a collectivist direction. According to them, it was only a question of ridding the people of the police rule and bureaucratic pressure that obstructed the true tendencies of the national character, in order to transform the rural commune into the fundamental cell for the generation of the higher stages of collectivism.

This movement was a veritable crusade recalling the enthusiasm of the early days of Christianity. Young men and women from all classes of society broke their family ties, left their positions and, dressed like farmers, went to the shops and especially into the country, in order to bring the glad tidings of the new gospel to the humble people bending under the yoke of toil. They were soon joined by men who had already obtained a station in society as officials, officers or proprietors, all animated by the same belief, the same passion, the same enthusiasm. But this movement, so beautiful and grand, was wrecked on the ignorance of the people and the persecutions of the government. And the main leaders paid for their devotion to the cause of the people with their lives or long years of convict labor.

While this movement was not crowned by immediate success, still it was the first serious attempt to bring the intellectual socialists and the working masses closer to each other. During this process we already see simple laborers and workers from the shops appearing by the side of the intellectuals, eagerly

grasping the hand that is offered to them by the young revolutionaries.

The revolutionaries would not admit in the beginning that the ignorance of the people and the tyranny of the autocratic government were the principal obstacles to their progress. Therefore they decided to modify only their tactics without changing their program and their doctrine. Instead of a militant propaganda, they resolved to try the system of permanent colonies among the peasants, in order to act on the masses through their daily needs. But it must be noticed that in this program a new element was introduced, being in a manner political under the form of a terrorism purporting to foil and punish the spies and the most detested and obnoxious agents of the government. And thus the famous secret society, "Land and Liberty" was formed.

The system of permanent colonies failed in due time, and this is not difficult to understand in view of the political conditions and the constant hunting down of suspected men by the government. Small wonder that political tendencies took more and more root among the militant revolutionary socialists, and that the voices demanding an immediate fight against the autocracy made themselves heard ever more imperatively. At the same time the laboring proletariat of the cities began to assume a steadily growing importance for the attention of the revolutionary party.

Even before the theory took form, according to which the political struggle and the endeavors to attain liberty occupy a dominant place in the socialist program, several circumstances were busy paving the way to new conceptions.

Without mentioning the numerous executions of spies and the armed resistance at the moment of arrest, a series of attempts on the life of the Tsar and high functionaries were carried out. The chief of police, Mezentsov, was stabbed in broad daylight on the street by Kravtchinsky. The governor general of Kharkof, Prince Krapotkin, father of the famous Peter Krapotkin, was killed by a shot from a revolver. Mirsky made an attempt on the life of the prefect Dremeln. And finally Solovief fired at the Tsar. In this purely terroristic struggle, which became more and more bitter and extended, the question of killing the Tsar soon became the main issue.

Amid the growling of the terrorist storm, while the government lost its head and the liberal opposition became more courageous, the famous "Will of the People" with its terrible "Executive Committee" was formed. This elusive committee answered all the forcible measures of the government, the mass expulsions and pitiless executions with more and more terrifying blows—a series of attempts on the life of Tsar Alexander II., the imperial train wrecked by an explosion near

Moscow, the Winter Palace shaken by dynamite and the crowning event ending in the killing of the tyrant on March 13, 1881.

In this tragic duel between New Russia and Old Russia, the "Will of the People," to which Marx at this period gave the title of "Vanguard of the European Revolution," succeeded in spite of its limited numbers in becoming the talk of the whole world and wresting a few concessions from the tyrant. However, although from time to time a certain number of people from the laboring class joined, under the influence of socialist propaganda, the party of militant intellectuals, still the latter did not find sufficient support among the unenlightened mass of the people and again suffered defeat.

This defeat hurled Russia back into reactionary barbarism. A long and dark night began, rarely interrupted by outbreaks of indignation. All the results accomplished by society were nullified by the government. Still this furious struggle had placed the Russian socialists at the head of the general opposition. They had proved by deeds that the socialists alone could be the true champions of political liberty and national regeneration.

* * * * *

While the triumphant reaction, after reducing the land by its economic and fiscal system to the famine of the "terrible year" 1891-92, celebrated its odious orgies on the bodies of the martyred peasants, convinced of having crushed the hydra of revolution, the revolutionist again made his appearance. This time he was no longer alone. Battalions of laborers with red flags followed him. For the years of Alexander III.'s reactionary policy were at the same time a period of rapid industrial development. After the manner of all despots, Alexander III. took care to protect the economic interests of the privileged classes in order to dampen the political opposition and withdraw all ground beneath its feet. At this epoch, the Russian bourgeoisie acquired its great strength. But in proportion as it grew, the role of the Russian proletariat also increased in importance. Thus the irony of fate decreed that absolutism, while striving to remain in power, contributed itself to strengthening its implacable enemy, its own grave-digger.

For some time the city proletariat had already taken part in the revolutionary struggle. But up to 1895, only single individuals or isolated groups shared in it. Henceforth the proletariat steps on the scene and the epoch of great strikes begins.

Some of the most remarkable strikes were those in St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1895, '96 and '97. The strike of 40,000 laborers in St. Petersburg had lasted two months. It was again taken up in the winter of 1897 and forced the government hastily to decree the law of June 2, 1897, establishing the day of eleven hours and a half in the factories.

The theory of the Russian social democrats had been formed during the first half of the eighties by the amalgamation of the programs of the populists and the "Will of the People." Now for the first time the conditions necessary for a strong socialist movement were given. The same causes that had produced the strikes among the masses created among the revolutionary intellectuals an ideological movement in the sense of Marxian doctrines. The Russian Social Democracy was born by the combination of these two currents.

To unite the separate local movements, to give to the revolutionary activity a common direction and a definite program—this was the mission of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia. In the spring of 1898 the congress of the different local sections that were united in one single party took place and a political manifesto was published. Although the police had soon succeeded in arresting the central committee elected at this congress, the movement was in no way checked. Everywhere, in all the great cities of the empire—in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kharkof, Kief, Odessa, Ekaterinoslaf, Rostov, St. the Don, Ivanovo, Vosniesensk and other places—local committees of the party came into being. These committees carried on an energetic propaganda of an economic and political character among the masses, and to their activity is due the admirable solidarity which we have witnessed of late between the laboring masses and the revolting students.

* * * * *

No forcible measure of the government will any longer be able to suppress the Russian labor movement, which is the natural product of the economic and social development of the country. It will continue to grow until the moment arrives for its complete victory over the despotism of the Tsars. The entrance of the laboring class into the political struggle seems to have tenfold increased the strength of the revolutionary intellectuals, who until now were unable to overturn the present government. Everything proves that the Russian revolutionary movement develops by enlarging its ranks and assimilating all the active and healthy elements of the land. At last we see realized the alliance between the workers with hand and the workers with brain which Peter Lavrof, one of the most illustrious leaders of Russian socialists, foresaw, praised and invoked with all his powers, that union between science and labor which according to Lassalle shall crush in its strong arms every obstacle it meets in its way.

Now the abolition of autocracy is only a matter of time.

The Russian Committee,

Appointed by the representatives of the Russian socialist organizations in Paris.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)

(From "Pages Libres," April 20, 1901.)

To The Labor Parties of All Countries.



THE International Socialist Bureau issued the following circular:

It is superfluous to repeat the details of the important events that are taking place at this hour in Russia. Our comrades are familiar with them through press reports and through the communications of our Russian friends to socialist papers.

According to the statements made by Russian delegates at the International Socialist Congress, the events of these last months mark a turning point in the history of the Tsar's empire. Troubles that were originally confined to the universities have gradually developed into serious and profound social disturbances, shaking all Russia, striking at the foundation of Russian society and engaging the intellectuals of the city as well as the proletariat of the industrial centers in a long and painful, yet inspiring, struggle against the forces of Tsarism.

Down there in Russia, thousands of workers in factories and shops, thousands of citizens of all classes, are encouraged by the grandeur of the task before them and full of confidence in the solidarity of their comrades in Europe, America, Australia and Asia, for they know that in fighting against Russian capitalism and despotism they are battling for the liberation of the workers—the common cause of the labor parties of all countries.

In France, meetings have already taken place for the purpose of influencing public opinion in favor of the revolutionary situation in Russia. In Belgium, such meetings are being organized. We hope that the socialist parties of England, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, the United States and of all other countries will follow this example, in order that the international proletariat may be unanimous in its protests against the brutal acts of Tsarism.

We beg that in all great cities and in all important industrial and academic centers meetings be organized and a resolution of protest be submitted to the participants, or, where necessary, protests be circulated for signatures. We propose to you the following motion for ratification at all your meetings:

"The citizens assembled in response to the call of..... cheer on the Russian proletariat. They make common cause with the Russian intellectuals and laborers in their fight against combined capitalism and Tsarism. They send the ex-

pression of their sympathy to the Russian revolutionaries and encourage them to continue the fight until victory is attained."

We furthermore request that you will inform us without delay what you have done in this direction and to send us the resolutions of protest in order that we may be enabled to centralize the movement of denouncing the actions of a hateful and barbarous government.

Victor Serwy, Secretary.

(Translated by E. Untermann.)



REVERENCE

I wonder if respect and reverence have not done more harm than good.

How rarely have men revered the truly reverend and respected the truly respectable!

How much of reverence has been, and still is, mere fetish-worship!

Reverence for Moloch and Juggernaut, who will count its victims?

Respect for tyrants and despots, for lying priests and blind teachers, how it has darkened the pages of history!

There is only one true respect, the respect for the conscious life that fulfills its true function.

Revere humanity wherever you find it, in the judge or in the milkman, but do not revere any institution or office or writing.

As soon as anything outside of divine humanity is revered and respected, it becomes dangerous,—

And every step forward in the annals of man has been over the prostrate corpse of some ancient unmasked reverence.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

Ernest Crosby,

Author of Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER VII.



ROLLING hills, little lakes and patches of hop vineyards lay around the white homestead of the Endicotts in a country bearing an Indian name. The house lay between two well-known summer resorts—one sixteen miles off and the other many more. Sometimes, adventurous coaches filled with gay city folk followed the hilly road past the home of the widow Endicott, whose old-fashioned, profusely filled flower garden beyond the white fence often attracted the careless wonder of the passengers. Their acquaintance with country people being confined to the heroes and heroines of certain New England stories, their imaginations peopled the smiling landscape with the types which such tales have made familiar. To their minds such cold, dry folk could have nothing in common with the bright flowers which must have sprung up of their own sweet will, in spite of the withering glances cast upon them by the unlovely beings whose homes they adorned.

But it was to escape the barrenness of the New England soil that so many of her sons had settled on the highlands of the two great middle states of the Union. When they transformed the forest-clad slopes into velvety pastures and yellow fields of grain—audaciously standing on end as if the hills had pitched them forward in a peal of laughter—they had no intention of reproducing the hard conditions of their forefathers.

The pulse of the national life bounded through them warmly and abundantly; the summiness of their new home planted flowers inside and out; it carpeted the floors and curtained the windows; it built the frequent school house and its cheerful neighbor with the spire pointing a white finger towards a sky that was mirrored in the valleys and on the hills in countless little lakes. Their social life was blossoming into a rustic culture as simple and hardy as the flowers by the roadside. Their newspapers and periodicals were keeping them in touch with the world's progress; their numerous well-fed horses—home raised, the pride of every household—carried families from village to county seat, from sociable to picnic and camp meeting, and made lectures, concerts and political meetings no longer forbidden fruit to the women.

In their growing fastidiousness, the farmers threw their barns across the road and often to a considerable distance, in striking contrast to the fashion of their Massachusetts cousin, whose buildings are still hugged to his heart as if he fears an unfriendly fate is waiting a chance to rob him.

The sweet, wholesome goodness of Julian's mother was entirely in keeping with these surroundings. She was as much a product of them as the red-cheeked apples in her orchard, or the aromatic hop vines that climbed tall poles in rectangular profusion across the road. There was nothing about her to indicate the remotest relationship to the grim, angular countrywoman whose bleak countenance we contemplate so wearily in fiction. Equally far removed was she from the vulgar, florid personage who "calkerlates" everything in our literature, from the quality of her pumpkin pies to the limitations of God's mercy. Is it true, O ye authors, that God can make a sunflower and a clever sort of hollyhock to adorn a country landscape, but that the violet, the narcissus and the rose are to be gathered only in the hot-houses of man, between glaring city walls and sun-baked brick pavements echoing with the tramp of commercial feet?

Not being manufactured to sell to the magazines, but having grown up at random, as it were, with no one to select a dialect for her from the pages of a successful novel, Julian's mother appeared at middle age as a cheery, soft-eyed gentlewoman with an impulsive manner toward friends and a shy air of reserve toward strangers, in whose presence she blushed and fluttered like a timid school girl. It is true that her vocabulary was limited. She was accustomed to say that she knew the meaning of many long words when she came across them in reading that she presumed she wouldn't feel acquainted with if she were to meet them in a spelling book; but this only proved that she read intelligently in spite of a limited scholarship. Nearly every other day brought a part of her library by mail—a bi-weekly from the great city newspapers, or a Farmer's Home Journal, or a Floral Cultivator, a Poultry Fancier, or a local record of events in the county. All of these she diligently perused in the evening by the light of the hanging-lamp. A system of exchange with neighbors brought other periodicals within reach, so that her stock of reading material was really extensive, though it was not exactly academic in style, and did not include a knowledge of life based chiefly on disproportion. It may be, however, as profitable to study an improved diet for chickens or a new scourge for rose bugs, as to contemplate the lives of impossible young persons whose sole business in life being to make love, do it so badly that five hundred pages are too few to tell the sad mess they make of it.

Julian's father had possessed the tastes of a naturalist and

he had acquired during his lifetime considerable skill as a taxidermist. Julian remembered him as a thoughtful, spare man, whose kind, observant eyes saw more in the fields than his prospective crops. The house was still full of his treasures; motionless squirrels cracked nuts from corner shelves in bedroom and parlor; beavers, lizards, raccoons, robins, woodpeckers and owls crowded every closet and book shelf, their glass eyes staring a steady surprise at the intruder.

When Elizabeth arrived, she spent much of her time examining these curiosities, and she found a strange delight in stroking the furry backs and shining plumage of wild things that no longer started from her in terror. There were drawers full of Indian relics and cases of beetles and butterflies, carefully numbered and named, and the widow was greatly pleased at Elizabeth's notice of them. While she was busily spelling out the names, the widow was studying the little maid with something of the loving care that her husband had been used to bestow on a new specimen from his fields. She was seeking not to classify but to understand Elizabeth. In her eyes it was no fault to be silent, for she was accustomed to the presence of dumb creatures. Elizabeth was an undomesticated young thing and perhaps might be wooed into nearness by much the same methods one uses toward a wood pigeon. All the young Russian's life had been spent among strangers—with them, yet not of them—a member of the household, but not of the home. But as she now felt the difference in her surroundings, she became more inscrutable than ever.

The widow planned little excursions for her, and when Julian arrived a few days later she often sent them away to seek entertainment together. But Elizabeth's shy dark eyes still continued to make an appeal which the widow was unable to understand.

Back of the house and at the end of the orchard there was a little lake, nameless except for its association with an old hermit, who many years ago had lived in a cabin by the water's edge. It was a solitary piece of water; Julian's boat was almost the only one to be found on its shores except when the fishermen came in the early fall to catch bass.

Julian had been rowing Elizabeth one afternoon from one end of this lake to the other. He was glad to rest his oars while she reached after water lilies that were growing near.

Elizabeth arranged her flowers and Julian fixed his eyes across the water on a distant meadow in the center of which an elm tree reared its feathery outlines against the sky. It was a familiar landmark; he had often wondered at its suggestion of loneliness and poetic feeling. Like himself, it seemed to have strayed from its fellows; it stood as if lost in spiritual contemplation, between earth and sky. But just now Julian failed

to notice the beauty of this tree; in fact the whole landscape was like a curtain that shut off a picture on which his thoughts constantly dwelt.

Beyond the curtaining landscape lay the real scene of his thoughts—a conventional garden with a narrow white path leading between heavily laden rose bushes to the low bay window of a country house. It was Marian's country home, a few miles out of the city, where Julian had spent many happy hours before dragging himself away to visit his mother. There, on a rustic bench, he could distinctly see the form of Marian—now with the moonlight falling on her face. Her voice—her exquisite speaking voice—was in his ear. But why should the thought of that spot, the remembrance of the voice and even the scent of the roses cause him an anguish to which every added detail brought an extra pang?

Julian's mother an hour before had alluded playfully to his bringing home a young wife to share their simple interests. The words had shocked him inexpressibly. A wife—a stranger—to intrude into his life—and Marian left standing alone in her garden with a smile on her lips—what a revolting thought! A step forward saw Marian revealed as if by a flash of lightning—in his arms as the bride of his mother's fancy! An impossible vision—an unholy dream—he knew it to be.

In anguish, Julian broke up this tableau of his unruly imagination, and saw himself—still in sight of the garden—making one of a lingering procession of sorrowful figures whose wistful eyes were fixed like his on a beloved, unattainable object. Had he then joined the ranks of the unfortunates who share the hopeless passion of the Petrarchs, the Tassos, the Dantes of history? As he gazed longingly at his rose garden and its occupant, he caught his breath sharply and turned his eyes away from the hills and meadow, beyond which his boyish soul saw stretching out before him an appalling fate.

His strained look fell suddenly upon Elizabeth's face—he was startled by its expression. She was looking at him with the same intense absorption that was in his own eyes when they were gazing across the lake. Her young face was full of pain, as if indeed she saw that same procession which had filled his soul with dismay. Quickly their eyes met; they both looked away. Julian's heart leaped with kindness towards the desolate young creature. He exerted himself to distract her thoughts.

"How decidedly grown up you look this summer," he said with an effort at brightness and careless of what he said. "The next thing will be that I shall be asked to give you away in marriage—what a dreadful possibility, Elizabeth!"

"Do the waifs ever marry?" she asked with what seemed to him a rather unnatural gravity. "The managers say they are

not to have lovers—it's one of their rules that I copied in type-writing."

Julian frowned a little. "While they're very young and inexperienced such rules are necessary, but of course we know that they cannot remain children all their lives." It was a point of etiquette, but an exceedingly tiresome one, to assume that all the views of the managers were his own.

"But they remain waifs all their lives—nobody ever forgets that! Nobody ever will forget as long as I live that I was one of the waifs!"

Julian was startled at the energy of her tone. Her face was as pale as the wet lillies in her hand.

"I thought you had outgrown that morbid fancy, Elizabeth," he answered reproachfully. "You are self-supporting and capable of making your way anywhere. I—that is, the Association—have advised your employment in the office because we wish to stand between you and the cold world a little longer. We are very proud of you—you mustn't forget that, Elizabeth—you do us infinite credit."

"I ought to be put in a case," she interrupted with an odd, shy smile, that had only the barest suggestion of mirth in it. "I know that's why they want me there—to point me out to strangers as one of the results of their work."

"What nonsense!" Julian cried half angrily; but he could not contradict her because he knew it to be true.

"Why should you look upon it as a degradation to have been under our care? It has been our greatest happiness to do the little we have done! You have brightened our existence; why can't you be generous enough to accept what we have given as though it came from your parents?"

In his spirit of self-abnegation, Julian had schooled himself to credit all his performances to the Association—which was not as great a hardship as shouldering all their blunders—but this transfer of feeling and sentiment to an impersonal organization was stretching a transparent fiction to ridiculous limits, and Elizabeth evidently felt it to be so. She raised her head a little and looked at him with an air of childish defiance.

"I could never have had eighteen parents!"

"Eighteen? Oh, yes—I see; but why stop there? If you count the managers separately, you must also count the twelve trustees, and add to them the twelve hundred regular subscribers and the six hundred or so irregular contributors—eighteen hundred and thirty—and I may add my humble, unworthy self, may I not?—making eighteen hundred and thirty-one parents. Well, I agree with you, that is rather a cumbersome lot to regard with filial devotion!"

"Well, you see, then,"—Elizabeth looked at him with her

queer little wistful smile, ignoring his attempt to be merry. "You see they can't be the same—as parents."

"No, not precisely the same, you child. But if we do our best, Elizabeth, to make up for our unhappy mongrel, plural condition, may we not receive just a scrap of consolation from the fact that you are a little better off than you would have been without us?" He bent toward her, but the "us" evidently hurt her.

She turned her face toward the meadow and looked steadily at the elm tree. Julian looked at it also, and as he gazed he slowly forgot his part in the conversation as the overwhelming pain of his thoughts returned to him. As he looked at the tree, it appeared to him strangely as an emblem of suffering—almost as significant as the cross itself! In some strange manner, the elm seemed to communicate from one to the other the sorrow and loneliness that were in the hearts of these two young persons. Julian turned upon Elizabeth his sad eyes. Elizabeth suddenly faced him with quivering lips.

"I cannot love the whole eighteen hundred and thirty-one—not even if you tell me I must," she broke out passionately. The poor child was trembling with suppressed feeling.

"I never expected you to, Elizabeth; I was only making a very sorry jest at your expense. Forgive me, I know—I understand all that you have lost and suffered." He was very much stirred and deeply ashamed of his callousness in having wounded her.

"I am not ungrateful, but I am grateful only to you, for it is you who have done everything for me. I could love you as I would my parents, but the others—never!"

"I know well enough what the human heart craves," Julian answered, looking at her with a kind of dejected seriousness. "I know well enough what you have missed. God grant that you may find something some day to take its place. He surely has that compensation in store for you." His eyes took in her neat, graceful figure as he spoke, her delicate profile with its background of dark heavy hair—but he had already said more on the subject of lovers than was discreet in addressing a waif—so he fell back on more commonplace consolation.

"You have my warmest gratitude for the assistance you give me in the office; nobody can fill your place there, Elizabeth. You are my real right hand. Is it any wonder that I do not want you to escape from the clutch of the eighteen hundred and thirty-one parents? No, not for a long while yet!"

Elizabeth smiled with joy, a faint color warming her cold face into positive beauty.

"You do not understand what it is to be a waif, but I am willing to remain one if I can be a help to you. I am not going to mind so much being called a waif in the future. I will re-

member that you want me to be one, for of course I shall always have to be one while I stay in the office."

"It seems best for you to stay there," he answered with some faint appreciation that her spirit of self-sacrifice was too great for the occasion—too great for her own good—too great for the development of that so-called "self-reliance" which philanthropy affects to cultivate in the minds of the poor—yet had he not been trying to force from her an acknowledgment of her dependence on the good intentions of the Association?

"How difficult it is to preserve just the right attitude toward the object of our benevolence," he thought; "and how much more difficult it must be for the object to attain the point of view acceptable to the philanthropist!"

He felt uncomfortable and hypocritical under Elizabeth's sweet glance of gratitude; he took for granted that it expressed only gratitude. Her air of childlike purity and candor forbade any other interpretation, and no other occurred to him. To distract her thoughts and his own, he rowed her to another part of the lake, where she was soon busy selecting a variety of pink water lillies which called from her ardent exclamations of delight. Never had he seen Elizabeth so free from self-restraint, so gaily happy, so much like other pretty young girls as she now appeared to him—so little like a waif!

As he observed her with a kind of melancholy interest in which his own pain was not wholly forgotten, he resolved that this shy, lovely, young girl should have all the chivalrous protection that he could throw around her, and surely she must remain in that office under his own watchful gaze, for how else could he protect her thoroughly? In fact, she had no other background than that afforded by the Association. It was an artificial setting for her young life, but she was cut off from all natural relationships and this was all that was left to her. Moreover, out of it grew all his rights as her guardian. It was pleasant to think of himself as her guardian and he was glad that she had at last accepted the situation as the best one for her, under the circumstances.

That afternoon, Julian harnessed up the horses and took his mother and Elizabeth to a Sunday school picnic in a neighboring woods. They sat upon roughly-made plank benches and listened to the usual singing of hymns, extemporaneous prayers and addresses. The proceedings were tiresome enough to Julian. The speakers said the same things over and over, and said them badly. Their phraseology was as loose and ill-fitting as their clothes, he thought. It was remarkable how badly country people contrived to dress. He looked around on the assembly and contrasted them with the civilians he had just left. If all their clothing were thrown into a heap and each man were to pick out a suit that fitted him, no doubt in the gen-

eral exchange many would appear to better advantage. That stout man over yonder, for instance, would look comparatively well if dressed in his right-hand neighbor's suit, for his own was unquestionably too small for him.

Julian happened to glance toward the platform and looked into the familiar, kindly old face of his father's life-long friend and neighbor, Israel Hilton, who had been speaking for some minutes and was now looking directly into Julian's eyes. The old man was giving utterance to the identical thoughts that were occupying Julian's mind at that moment.

"I do not want to take up your time, friends, with apologies for my poor speaking. You all know how bad it is; but you're used to it like you are to the sight of my Sunday clothes, and you can make allowances for you know what I am trying to get at, else you wouldn't have asked me to speak. But when we have among us a young man who's used to city ways, even though he's no stranger to any of us, then my tongue is bound to stumble more than common, and I don't seem to get hold of any words that fit the idea any more than this old suit, that lies in the camphor chest all week, fits me when I get into it for an occasion like this." He looked about him with a pathetic half smile. His flushed, weather-beaten, finely-cut old face became suddenly illumined. He looked again at Julian, his blue eyes bright with feeling.

"But I'm done with my foolish apologies; they're the token of the love we bear ourselves—we poor old farmers! Ah! we're a selfish, cold-blooded set! There's no love for humanity in our hearts. An' right now I'm lookin' into the face of one who went out from us a few years ago a mere boy, an' made his way to that great City o' Sin, an' took right holt an' wrestled with wrong and spread love and joy into human hearts. You all know who I mean. It's him you want to hear from, not me. We're all proud of him. We know his goodness is the *genuine* article; for we know he comes by it honestly through his father an' mother. Step right up here, Julian Endicott! You that knows how to turn the love of God into the love of man, you step up here an' tell us old fellows how to get away from the selfishness of Cain. 'Am I my brother's keeper?' we says to ourselves. That ain't what Julian says! Come up here an' let the beautiful holy light from the good works of the Good Samaritans stream into our selfish hearts!" With tears in his eyes the feeble old farmer waved to Julian to ascend the platform and reluctantly Julian obeyed.

He was not embarrassed at the thought of addressing this rural multitude, for they were old acquaintances from the days of his early childhood. He stood in awe of none of them. Yet he hung his head as he faced an audience palpably glowing with the expectation of hearing noble deeds recounted, an exalted

altruism preached to them as a new gospel. He leaped to the amiable determination that he would not lie to these simple-minded rustics.

He began to speak quickly, his words coming easily with gestures natural and simple. Half conscious was he that he might have made a success of any profession that afforded scope for his oratorical powers—his mother had always prayed that he might be a clergyman—why, then, had he chosen the trade of professional philanthropy? The hateful term was a drag to his thoughts—nay, it was filling his throat and threatening to choke him. He hardly knew what he was saying, so filled was he with self-disgust. He came to a stop and his eyes fell on the upturned, devoted faces of his mother and Elizabeth. He looked into the face of the young girl and read therein a poem of tender reverence and gratitude. No speech of hers had ever been half as articulate as that upward look. It touched and thrilled his foolish pride, his manly egotism, and then its white flame of faith burned his soul into truthfulness. So he went on:

“Mr. Hilton has spoken of my vocation in exalted terms. Well, I am going to tell you the truth about it. In the city, there are the two extremes of the rich and the poor, as far apart as the poles. The rich want to help the poor, but they can’t even touch them with the tips of their fingers. Now what am I? A connecting link—a creature hired by the rich to administer the *personal touch* of which you hear so much cant in charitable circles. Friends, my part is a humble one! I distribute another man’s bounty with all the Christian grace I can command. Isn’t that a noble vocation? But if I am ever of any service to humanity I shall owe it to this community in which I grew up—seeing charity administered by the charitable themselves and not by hirelings; seeing men judged by their personal sacrifices and not by the amount of money they contribute to a cause. All my best inspirations come from these scenes, so do not depreciate your simple lives to me! I do not know what would become of me if I had not the remembrance of them in my heart! I want to be worthy of your friendship always. This—this will be the light on my path when I return! The only light to keep me from straying after false gods!”

Julian sprang abruptly from the platform to the ground. He told his mother in a hurried aside that he was going to look after the horses—it was time to feed them—and he withdrew into the woods some distance from the crowd, conscious that he left a mystified and disappointed audience behind him.

After the horses were fed and watered, Julian stood stroking their noses and patting their necks. Suddenly he struck his hand forcibly against the rough bark of the tree to which the horses were tied. The action and the hurt relieved the ten-

sion of his thoughts, for he smiled grimly at his bruised hand and went on stroking the horses' noses.

"Why did I not tell them the truth? All my zeal for humanity is centered in her—in Marian—another man's wife! Good God! what a situation! I wanted to shout it out to the crowd yonder. I feel as if it were written on my forehead in letters of fire. How strange that no one knows it! No—not even *she* herself; she shall *never* know it!"

A band of young people rushed forward and dragged Julian back with them to partake of lemonade and cake, and to share their country games. They treated him as if he were a superior being, which increased his desperate shamefacedness. He was glad when the time came to hitch the horses to his mother's wagon and start for home.

The next morning Julian told his mother that he believed manual labor to be the best cure for an overtaxed brain, and he plunged into haymaking with something of the zest of his boyhood days. He put on a blue gingham shirt, drew on overalls that he had not worn for years, and pulled on a pair of farmer's boots in which he could ford a stream without wetting his feet. Elizabeth eyed with wonder this transformation of the young secretary into a field hand.

"We farmers look better in our working clothes," he said, in indifferent response to her shy comments. "It takes a leisure class to look well in its Sunday suit. In fact, one needs to make a business of Sunday clothes and wear them every day in the week to look as well in them as they do in the city." His neat, well-fitting civilian's suit seemed to bear a certain relation to his morbid self-consciousness, his newly attained conviction of sin. He chose to regard it with scorn as it hung from a nail in his bed chamber.

His mother rejoiced at the brownness of his cheeks and the return of his appetite. When she laid before him the problems which had been accumulating for his consideration for several months he solved them with the same off-hand readiness that had always characterized his judgment of such matters. It was forever to be relied on; many a Gordian knot of buttermaking, sheepraising, seeding, planting and harvesting was cut during their homely evening talks. Yet how he knew all these things so unerringly was one of the mysteries over which she had long pondered.

The day came for Elizabeth's return to the city, and Julian and his mother drove with her to the station. Elizabeth's shyness had worn off to the extent of returning a girlish smile for the gentle smile of the widow. When the latter took possession of her hand as she sometimes did when they sat side by side, Elizabeth suffered it to remain and returned the pressure timidly.

She had been very silent in the carriage and when Julian lifted her out she turned a cold, pale cheek to his mother, who kissed her good-bye. Julian called to her to follow him as the train was in sight. She obeyed, but stopped suddenly to look back; she hesitated, and in an instant was at the widow's side with her arms around her neck. Her young heart was as lonely as the steppes of Russia, but she was used to loneliness. What spring of feeling within her had given way to cause such passionate tears? She was still sobbing when Julian led her away and placed her on board the train. He was touched, of course, by her emotion. He returned to his mother as the train moved slowly off. They both watched it sadly as it vanished with Elizabeth into the distant hills.



SOCIALISM ABROAD

Professor E. Untermann

GERMANY.

Encouraging reports about the prospects and outcome of the municipal elections reach us from all parts of the empire. In the Baltic port of Stettin, Comrade Barz carried his ward with 651 votes against 307. Even the Friesian Islands in the North Sea, where fishing corporations crushed the only means of existence available to the population, are no longer inhabited by loyal subjects. In the noted bathing resort, Norderney, 221 out of 315 votes were cast for the socialist candidate for municipal councillor. The prospects of the 17 candidates in 27 election districts of Saxony are good. An interesting illustration of their tactics is given by the following resolution passed by the National Congress of Saxon Social Democrats: "In after-elections, socialist electors shall vote for a bourgeois candidate only then, when he pledged himself to use all parliamentary means in his power for the abolition of the system of three electoral classes and for the institution of equal and direct suffrage." The Saxons back up their propaganda by six socialist papers with 80,400 subscribers.

The "organs of safety" arrested in the province of Posen 140 "dangerous" characters who distributed pamphlets inviting the workers—to celebrate Mayday. Two editors of the Berlin "Vorwärts" and the editors of the "Volkstimme" in Frankfort on the Main and the "Volkzeitung" in Mayence are being prosecuted for the heinous crime of exposing the hollowness of Christian civilization in their comments on the "Hunnenbriefe" in China.

This work is very effective—for the enlightenment of the people. A meeting called by the agrarians in Berlin for the purpose of explaining to the "common people" that they could live cheaper by paying a higher price for bread charged the discomfited champion of the junkers with the mission of delivering a resolution to the Reichstag protesting against the project of increased taxes on grain.

The "Bund der Arbeitgeberverbände Berlin's" (Federation of Berlin's Employers' Union) is equally unfortunate in attempting to persuade the workers of the identity of capitalistic and proletarian interests. For though the employers confidently hope that the quietly reflecting workers will come to the conclusion that we are in no way inimical to them, still the Magdeburg-Volkstimme points out that the Bund wishes to defend itself against granting to workmen the right of creating in factories, shops and other places of work such conditions as will oppose the rules and regulations given by employers."

The movement forces even such ultra-capitalistic papers as the "Vossische Zeitung" and "Berliner Borsen Zeitung" to devote leading articles to it, explaining to their awe-struck readers that "socialism is no longer as radical as it used to be during the life-time of the old Kampfshahn (fighting cock) Liebknecht," and that there is "just enough

radicalism left to draw a very sharp line of separation from the bourgeois parties."

More significant still, the "Borsen Zeitung" enjoys the following good laugh at the expense of the clericals: "We have already pointed out that the socialist victories in the elections for trade councils in Cologne, hitherto a citadel of clericalism, is extremely unpleasant to the Centrum, because it proves that the dam built by the clergy for the purpose of obstructing socialism is becoming rather rickety. This impression is heightened by the open admission of the clerical "Colner Volkzeitung" that the Catholic church cannot successfully carry on the fight against socialism, at least not alone. The paper openly confesses that the awe-inspiring number of votes cast by the socialists not only in the city of Cologne but also in the country—where the influence of the clergy is still stronger than in the city—has caused a very unpleasant surprise" and invites "serious contemplation."

The quintessence of this serious contemplation is found in the reflection that "neither the cultivation of church life nor sermons on social topics are an efficient mode of combatting socialism."

FRANCE.

The strike in Montceau-les-Mines, admittedly grave until a few days ago, is now peacefully settled. On the first of May it was decided to carry the strike to extremes, to flag the houses in celebration of the hundredth day of the strike and Mayday, and to decline the offer of the government to furnish employment for the discharged men. At the congress of miners, in Lens, resolutions were adopted to agitate for an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, prud'hommes for miners, a pension of 2.50 fr. (50c.) per day after 25 years of work, and recognition of miners' delegates. The resolution gave the government six months time to satisfy these demands. In case of non-compliance, a call for a referendum vote on the question of declaring the general strike was to be issued.

In the meantime, the federation of miners in Montceaux mines had called for such a vote, with the result that 23,850 were in favor of a general strike, while 17,603 were against and over 100,000 refrained from voting. In consequence the bureau of the federation in a manifesto recommended not to declare the general strike, but to be satisfied with the recognition of the federation by the mine-owners and to resume work.

The general committee of French socialists denounced, after a long discussion, Millerand's law for compulsory arbitration as "dangerous to the development and interests of the laboring class."

RUSSIA.

Socialism in Russia, though still in its fledgling years, gives the following evidences of robust development: A Federation of Labor in Helsingfors represents 40 trade unions with 1,900 members including 300 women, publishes a central organ, "Tomtes," and has built a "Maison du Peuple"; unions of Swedish laborers in Finland and of seamstresses, washer women, bonnet makers and thread spinner are increasing; disorders occurred in the metal works at Okhta, near Petersburg, where the laborers refused to work on holiday and set

fire to the factory; 80,000 men are on strike in different parts of Russia; riots are taking place in Vyborg and Odessa; the university in Warsaw is closed until September, and students are demanding a constitution from the Tsar in a monster petition; a widespread conspiracy was discovered in Poland; 50,000 Mayday pamphlets and 5,000 copies of the "Spark" and of the "Arbeiterstimme," were distributed by the Russian Social Democratic Party, the largest amount ever spread by secret means. The "Federation of Russian Socialists Abroad," issued 10,000 copies of a historical summary of Mayday and its importance for the proletariat.

By a secret printing office, 3,000 copies of the Laborer's Review, containing articles by Bebel, Kautsky, Vandervelde and Axelrod, written especially for this number, were distributed. A manifesto published by the Polish Social Democracy party, closed with these words: Polish Workers! Your sufferings, your fate are the same as those of the Prussian comrades. Your fight and its goal must be the same as theirs. Let the Polish students indulge in no supernatural dreams of a Polish national resurrection. We, the Polish laborers, our faces toward the living future, extend our hands to the Russian laborers with fraternal welcome. Let them advance on their chosen path boldly and with joyous courage, and let them be assured that the Polish proletariat will not desert them in their fight. Hurrah for the political brotherhood of Polish and Russian laborers! Down with Tzarism! Hurrah for the constitution!

JAPAN.

Japanese socialists, in their moulting process from utopia to science, still swear allegiance to the emperor and sympathize with "judges and public prosecutors striking for higher wages." But at the same time they are holding mass meetings, demanding effective labor legislation and agitating for universal suffrage. In a public meeting held by the socialist club in Tokio, Comrades S. Katayama, editor of the "Labor World," and Iso Abe, author of "Social Problems and their Solution," were nominated delegates to the international bureau in Brussels. The powerful "Railway Engineers' Union" resolved that its members should study labor problems and make "socialism their ultimate goal."

The "Labor World" publishes its front page in English. The other eight pages are filled with Japanese text and illustrations of the Japanese laborer's life and the sufferings of the proletariat. S. Katayama gives in the last issue a heartrending description of the condition of the girls in the silk spinneries in the prefecture of Suwa Nagano. These girls are recruited from the provinces by agents who practically succeed in inducing farmers to "sell their daughters for a pittance to be worked like machines and ruined morally and physically." Fifteen thousand girls, surrounded by ditches and fences, which they are not permitted to cross during the time of their contract of two years, work from 16 to 18 hours per day for 10 to 25 cents. Out of these wages they must pay board, lodging and doctor bills, but "during the contract no money is given to the girls under any circumstances. This is to prevent the girls from running away from the factory; and any necessary articles are supplied by the factory at extreme prices."

Public Lectures were held in different places on the following subjects: Comrade Kawakami, "The History of the Socialist Movement"; Comrade Iso Abe, "The Socialist Doctrine"; Comrade Toyosaki,

"Immediate Necessary Reforms"; Comrade Mural, "Reply to Criticisms of the Socialist Party"; Comrade Katayama, "Strength and Future of the Socialist Party."

SPAIN.

The community of interest, not between capital and labor, but between capital and capitalistic government, was vividly illustrated by the recent strike in Madrid and Barcelona. The traction employes in Madrid and the members of trade unions in Barcelona struck for more humane conditions of life, and the government promptly replied to the demands of the proprietors for protection and maintenance of "law and order." The cry for bread and health was answered with bullets, bayonets and sabers. Helpless women were killed and many seriously wounded. The capitalist papers, while denouncing in lurid terms the derailing of cars and the stoning of convents, have nothing but praise for the murderers of the suffering proletarians.

Naturally, socialism is growing under such conditions. The membership of trade unions increased from 3,355 in 1889, to 29,383 in March, 1901. These unions, according to the "Nueva Era," are in close touch with the socialists. Their "Union General" holds its congresses at the same time and place as the socialist party.

Spanish socialists issued a manifesto shortly before the recent elections, calling on all socialists to nominate candidates and recommending an uncompromising attitude against the offer of a coalition with the radical wing of the republicans. The elections were hotly contested. The victory of Comrade Pablo Iglesias was prevented only by the trick of stuffing the ballot box with more votes than the number of voters in his district. One socialist candidate was, nevertheless, elected. Riots took place during the election and one socialist candidate was shot.

BELGIUM.

The Luttich Congress of Belgian Social Democrats surprised the government with the following Mayday present: A demand for a republic and the abolition of the senate, backed up by the threat of street riots and a general strike, summed up in the laconic, but eloquent, ultimatum: Universal Suffrage or Revolution!

"Le Peuple" comments on the situation in France in the following manner: "What we must emphasize from now on is the gravity of the social situation. It is not simply a question of the particular conflict in Montecau-les-Mines, nor of a beautiful movement of solidarity. . . . The danger is more imminent. If we correctly interpret the action of the French miners, it marks an impatience, a fever, a longing to cut short the suffering. . . . As yet they are on the legitimate defense. But who can give assurance that they will not call to the attack tomorrow? The conservative politicians who think only of their appetites may neglect these symptoms. But if the introduction of extensive democratic uneasiness is not hastened by all nations, the hour of reform will pass by, and the period of revolution will suddenly be inaugurated."

BULGARIA.

Local branches in all the towns and in many villages, numerous labor organizations, 8 seats in the legislature wrested from the combined bourgeois forces at the elections in February, 1901; this is the record of 10 years of Social Democratic activity in Bulgaria,

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

Some more important inventions and discoveries are announced. Dr. Geo. Randall, Lowell, Mass., produces artificial coal from minerals abundantly distributed throughout the earth. Tests have been made of the fuel in city fire engines and in smelting iron ore in large quantities. From 17 to 21 per cent more heat is produced than by soft coal.—E. J. Hoffman, of Omaha, claims to have a process whereby ordinary earth, to which is added crude petroleum and two other ingredients, will burn better than pine knots. The new fuel can be produced for \$2.50 a ton.—A Salt Lake man, named Hays, discovered a process by which a quart of oil will produce a light greater and purer than any known, equal to 700 candle power, for 37 hours, and when turned into heat and power a small tank is sufficient to run a steamer across the ocean. Hays is poor and five capitalists bought the invention for \$10,000, and then turned around and sold it to the Standard Oil Co. for \$5,000,000. The Standard people will not place the new discovery on the market to any extent, as it would knock their enormous profits out of petroleum.—In California night-rider cowboys are being displaced on large ranches by enormous searchlights.—In the same state the solar motor, long sought by scientists, has been successfully developed. Near Los Angeles a ten-horse power engine is being driven ten hours a day by means of heat secured by attracting the rays of the sun through an umbrella-shaped device upon a long, slender boiler. "The heat accumulated in the boiler is immense, and the energy developed suffices to work a pump that raises water enough to irrigate 300 acres of orange land."—The billions of tons of cotton seeds piled up in the South are soon to be converted into paper by a \$5,000,000 combine. It is claimed that pulp can be manufactured from cotton seeds by a new process for \$25 a ton, or one-third the cost of wood pulp, and that the paper will remain white and never turn yellow, as paper made from wood pulp does.—A Swedish inventor has discovered a process by which steel can be produced by electricity, and already a thousand tons have been turned out by successful experiments.—The rubber trust is discharging stenographers in its large offices by introducing phonographs.—The telegraphone is a success. An experiment recently made between New York and Chicago has proven satisfactory. You may soon be able to talk into a telephone in the latter city, have your words recorded on a wax cylinder in the metropolis and reeled off at the leisure of the receiver, that is, if you have the price.—In the Elgin watch works an automatic machine assists to ship goods, and 18 girls have been discharged.—A Philadelphia firm advertises a painting machine, operated by two men, that is warranted to do the work of 16 men.—An automatic printing press feeder has been invented that will take anything from French folio to 19-point card board, and has a speed of 5,000 per hour. Human press feeders will have to get out.—A

new cigarmaking machine is announced. It can be built for \$125, weighs less than 400 pounds, occupies space of 2x4 feet, has 14 distinct operations, and a two-horse power motor can propel ten of the machines.

Social Democrats of San Francisco are gathering sufficient names to a petition to submit to a referendum vote (as they have a right under the new charter) the question whether the municipality shall furnish work for the unemployed, and also build a labor headquarters.—Social Democrats of Texas are wrathful. Election returns of all other parties except the S. D. P. were accounted for by the Secretary of State, and now the latter is charged with having deliberately returned the Socialist vote in the "scattering" columns, where the total is given as nearly 84,000, a surprising showing.—Ella Wheeler Wilcox is a new convert to socialism, and is writing articles and poems in behalf of the cause.—The Socialist is the name of a new paper at Kansas City, Mo.; the Social Economist at Bonham, Tex.; the Brotherhood of Man at Navassa, Tex.; Avanta, Italian weekly, 229 E. 95th street, New York.—Secretary Butscher announces that the organization of new branches goes steadily forward, and that Job Harrman, of New York, and Max S. Hayes, of Cleveland, have been elected, by referendum vote, American secretaries of the International Socialist Bureau, formed by the last World's Labor Congress, which has headquarters at Brussels, Belgium.—Socialist party of Chicago, with a dues-paying membership of 1,200, voted to join the S. D. P.—Matthew Maguire, S. L. P. vice-presidential candidate in 1896, and Wm. Glanz, active New Jersey worker, withdrew from the De Leon party, and a former German section at Providence joined the S. D. P. Mr. Hickey, De Leon's right bower, and about a score of others, were expelled from the old S. L. P., and there is now a bitter fight on between the few followers of the professor on the Pacific coast.—Meanwhile both branches of the S. D. P. and various independent state and local branches are looking forward to the national convention that is to be held this year for the purpose of uniting into a homogeneous body all Socialist factions. A score or more of speakers are in the field in many states and report good meetings and great interest among the people in the cause of socialism as a rule.

Pennsylvania Supreme Court has decided that labor unions have no right to force apprentices into an organization or prevent an employer from hiring non-union men. The injunction of a lower court was made permanent.—Chicago Appellate Court has decided that strikers have no right to "picket" shops where strikes are on for the purpose of dissuading non-union men from working. In the same state (Illinois) a court has handed down a decision legalizing the blacklist, declaring that employers had the right to combine to protect themselves from those who are inimical to their interests. This is probably the first decision of this kind in the United States, but is only another step in capitalism's movement to persecute the wage-working class and make unions helpless.—Brewers of New York have been enjoined from interfering with a non-union concern or its scabs.—South Dakota Supreme Court has declared the referendum law unconstitutional.—Attorney-General of Connecticut declared that an eight-hour law is unconstitutional in that state, and when the eight-hour bill came up for passage in the Legislature it was defeated by 160 to 39 votes.—Chicago unionists report that Illinois Legislature turned down all labor bills.—These are some of the fruits of electing capitalistic judges and law-makers and supporting the old parties,

During the past month union officials representing 200,000 workers, held a conference in Pittsburg and took preliminary steps to unite all the metal-working trades with the avowed purpose of making war on the billion-dollar trust. Another meeting will be held in Chicago in July to complete arrangements.—The iron and steel workers' strike at McKeesport, Pa., against the big combine, resulted in a temporary truce being patched up, and trouble is looked for when the Amalgamated Association presents its wage scale for recognition after its convention in July.—The strike of the engineers on the lakes has been compromised, the billionaire octopus having made concessions.—The situation in the anthracite region is not much improved. The charge continues to be made, and is not denied, that Morgan's agents are forcing local strikes and persecuting active unionists so that the barons will not be compelled to recognize the union. Labor men who are watching developments are becoming of the opinion that a strike and lockout of tremendous proportions is coming, in which the United States Steel Corporation will attempt to destroy all unions that now harrass that combine.

A Philadelphia daily says the mines are now so thoroughly monopolized that the managers boldly declare that whenever a local strike takes place the mines will be closed and others will be opened at different points.—Watch case manufacturers have combined and notified employes to withdraw from their union or quit their jobs.—Chicago contractors have declared that if the building trades organize a new central body and start sympathy strikes the former lockout will be renewed.—Employers of Delaware are reported as having combined for the purpose of destroying the unions in that state.—The new cigar trust kept hammering at wages in Binghamton, N. Y., until those who formerly received \$10 to \$12 per week, now are offered but \$4 a week, and a strike is the result. In its Passaic, N. J., factory the trust compelled girls to make cigars for 25 cents a hundred, and now there's another strike on. Possibly the working people are learning that there is also a class struggle on.

In March and April about \$450,000,000 of capital was trustified. It would require several pages to record all the new combines that have been formed and the absorptions that have taken place in the last month. Concentration in railroads, coal, iron and steel, tobacco, etc., continues at a rapid rate. Men who are on the inside figure it out that Morgan and Rockefeller and their associates now control over \$7,500,000,000 of capital, and of this vast sum Mr. J. Brisbane Walker, of the Cosmopolitan, estimates that the three houses of Rothschild, Rockefeller and Morgan alone control about three billion of capital in this country. The little middle class fellows, who still imagine that they will become swaggering plutocrats some day, will please take notice. They had better invest their few dollars in Socialist literature.

Cleveland trade unionists have smoked out an institution called the Manufacturers' Information Bureau which, they allege, had scores of spies in labor organizations in different parts of the country who furnished Cleveland and Chicago officers with inside information, and which was in turn sent to employers. Acting on the discovery of the Cleveland unionists, the spies have been pretty thoroughly weeded out of the organizations. That the lists of names of spies and employers obtained by the unionists is authentic is undoubted, as they were taken out of the bureau's office.—Since the expose in Cleveland, similar spying institutions and individuals are being unmasked in New York, Pittsburg, Massachusetts and other parts of the country.

C. L. U. of Flint, Mich., is another local central body that has wheeled into line with progressive labor organizations, having adopted as part of its constitution a declaration that "we regard it as the sacred duty of every honorable laboring man to sever his affiliation with all political parties of the capitalists, and to devote his energy and attention to the organization of his trade and labor union, and the concentration of all labor unions into one solid body for the purpose of assisting each other in all struggles—political and industrial—to resist every attempt of the ruling classes directed against our liberties, and to extend our fraternal hand to the workers of our land and to all nations of the globe that struggle for the same independence."

The battle of the machinists for the nine-hour day and increased wages has begun, and at this writing it looks as though the men will win their fight, though in some localities it may become one of endurance, as thousands have already secured the concessions demanded. The machinists have the solid moral and financial backing of all the trades unionists of the country, and if they win without the loss of too much time and money other trades may follow in the movement for a shorter workday. It may be added that at no time in the history of organized labor in America has there been such thorough harmony and unconquerable determination to make progress for the immediate betterment of those who toil.

The silk weavers' strike at Scranton, Pa., which was directed by Mother Jones, and which has been pending for many months, was won by the workers, while the strike at Paterson, N. J., was lost, owing largely to the fact that the courts issued an injunction against the women and children, and the police assaulted them for attempting to persuade scabs to refuse to work. "Mother," besides organizing for the unions, is now putting in some spare time in forming unions of domestic servants.

Employers of San Francisco combined and publicly declare that they intend to fight all demands of trade unions. The sum of \$50,000 was contributed to a fund to be used against organized labor.—The National Civic Federation held another session in New York and adopted a long address to the people to the effect that it is now prepared to restore brotherly love between capital and labor wherever and whenever inharmonious strains are heard. The Federation ought to begin business in 'Frisco at once.

Building trades unions of New York have been discussing the advisability of taking independent political action. One of the carpenters' unions resolved that it is time wasted to start another labor party, and that those workers who were seriously desirous of cutting adrift from the old parties and doing something for their class should join the Social Democratic party.

It is estimated that a million sales' agents of various kinds, and other middlemen, have been displaced in the last four years owing to trustification of industry. The claim is made that the million-dollar iron and steel combine will alone save \$80,000,000 a year by abolishing middlemen and pocketing profits that formerly went to them.

After 3,000 militiamen were called out, several hundred Pinkertons imported, several hundred more deputies sworn in, several hundred scabs brought to town, four lives blotted out, and thousands of dollars' worth of property destroyed, the big street railway strike in Albany, N. Y., was compromised.

	<h1>BOOK REVIEWS</h1>	
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Comparative Physiology of the Brain and Comparative Psychology.
Jacques Loeb, M. D. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 309 pp. \$2.00.

Up until a few years ago the anthropomorphic and theological method of thought reigned supreme in the world of psychology. Long after the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and the "special creation" hypothesis in biology had been laid aside, the mind was still treated as a world apart from natural law. The brain was partitioned off into centers of imagination, passion, emotion, etc., with the "will" reigning over all. This will had a sort of staff of nerve centers or ganglia that were supposed to attend to such minor matters as the monarch mind did not care to concern itself with. Now just as the aristocratic "great man idea" in history has given place to a democratic conception of social forces, so a similar transformation in the field of psychology has resulted from the application of the principles of scientific investigation to the study of the mind. The work of Wundt, Ladd, Titchener and others has shown that the comparative historical, inductive method was here as elsewhere infinitely superior in results to the intuitive mysticism that had previously been followed.

The work of Dr. Loeb is perhaps the most exhaustive study in accordance with these methods that has yet been made, and its testimony overturns a host of old time hobbles. He first takes up the question of the work of the ganglions which were supposed to be minor centers of a sort of "consciousness," and to have charge of the instinctive actions. But many of these so-called involuntary and instinctive actions are found to take place in plants, which have no ganglions and will take place in many of the lower forms of animal life after the ganglions have been removed. By means of a mass of experiments it is shown that these instinctive and involuntary actions are due either to chemical or "tropic" reactions, or both. Almost all forms of life are compelled to orient themselves in a certain relation to the force of gravity, or light or electricity or mechanical irritation. A plant always sends it leaves towards the light and its roots into the earth, and this is but another phase of the same force that sends the moth into the flame, drives certain larvae to the top branches of the trees on which to feed, causes earth worms to always bury themselves, and the female fly to lay her eggs only on the particular form of carrion which will hatch and nourish them. These movements are generally produced by chemical reactions taking place in the medium with which the animal or organ is surrounded. This is especially true of the "involuntary functions" of the higher animals. For instance it is found that a certain chemical solution of which common salt is an element will cause muscular tissue to contract rhythmically. Testing this on portions of the heart tissue and on detached hearts of certain animals it was shown that it would inevitably cause such contractions, or heart

beats, and on injecting it into the human blood vessels it was found that it had the effect of causing a resumption of such contractions or beats when for any reason they had temporarily ceased. It was this experiment which led the "yellow journals" to state that Dr. Loeb had discovered salt to be the "elixir of life."

It is found possible in this way to account for a vast mass of activities throughout the animal world. The migration of birds, the concealment of many animals, and a vast mass of movements which have been ascribed either to "intelligence" or ganglionic supervision are shown to be simple chemical, physical or galvanic reactions such as are common to all protoplasmic matter. Anything that prevents the satisfaction of such instincts cannot but cause pain and discomfort to the organism affected. "The analysis of instincts from a purely physiological point of view will ultimately furnish the data for a scientific ethics. Human happiness is based upon the possibility of a natural and harmonious satisfaction of the instincts. One of the most important instincts is usually not even recognized as such, namely, the instinct of workmanship. Lawyers, criminologists and philosophers frequently imagine that only want makes man work. This is an erroneous view. We are instinctively forced to be active in the same way as ants or bees. The instinct of workmanship would be the greatest source of happiness if it were not for the fact that our present social and economic organization allows only a few to satisfy this instinct." The closing chapters of the work are devoted to a consideration of the phenomena of "associative memory" by which term the author designates those functions of the cerebral hemispheres and perhaps some other portions of the brain, which are ordinarily referred to as the will, consciousness, the ego, etc. It is pointed out that this is a function which is not common to the whole animal kingdom, but only to a comparatively small portion of it, and its existence in any definite species can only be determined by experiment. It is pointed out that any rational psychology must consist simply of an analysis of the laws governing associative memory, and that it cannot consist as it always has in the past in a priori speculations on the functions of an imaginary entity designated as "the will," "ego," or any other fanciful name. In place of the old hierarchial system with the brain directing a series of ganglionic lieutenants, which are in turn overseeing certain muscles, veins, and other organs, we have a large number of segmental reflexes, in which the ganglion forms but a specialized bit of protoplasm for the transmission of impulses. Psychology, in short, is democratized and transferred from the realm of metaphysics into that of science.

The Politics of the Nazarene, or What Jesus Said to do. O. D. Jones.

Published by the author at Edina, Mo. Paper, 208 pp. 50 cents.

This book is a rather extreme type of a class of books which could be produced nowhere save in America. In any other country a man who was to write on socialism would have thought it worth while to know something of his subject, but here every man believes himself capable of supplying the present and future literature of socialism without the slightest knowledge of what has been done before. And so we have in America a whole series of books combining the most contradictory characteristics. They generally begin with the French Rights of Man and Rousseau's Social Contract, but as their authors are often totally ignorant of even the existence of these documents, they generally give as their authority for their sentiments the Declaration of Independence. On this position, always the basic one of competition and the rallying point of the capitalist system they attempt to erect

the socialist superstructure. Their knowledge of socialism is of that general indefinite, contradictory form that has trickled down through capitalist sources into the common mind, and has been greatly distorted by the medium through which it passed. So it has been with the author of the book before us. For him, Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, LaSalle, Kautsky, Hyndman, Ferri and the host of others who have given their lives to take socialism from the realm of dreams and place it on a solid basis of fact and scientific law, have never lived. He has a little Fourierism which has drifted down to him through Bellamy, more of the French Encyclopedists that has come via Jefferson and the small capitalist class of the early days in America, combined with some glimmerings of the new social interpretation of Christianity, and this is all mixed up with numerous individual vagaries and denunciations of some mythical individual whom he designates as a "British Jew Tory," and covered over with a mass of Bryan-Democratic anti-imperialism and "free silverism." As a sample of the psychological workings and make-up of the minds of thousands of American citizens, to whom the socialist propaganda must be presented, the book is interesting. Further than this it is hard to say much concerning it.

The Nineteenth Century, An Utopian Retrospect. Havelock Ellis. Small, Maynard & Co. Cloth, uncut edges, 166 pp. \$1.25.

A brilliant criticism and satire with nothing constructive. Some idea of the style of the work can be gained from the following passages: "One can imagine with what immense satisfaction the English and allied races who had pillaged, slaughtered, even exterminated, the most feeble and fragile peoples in all quarters of the globe carried with them a gospel which bade men, on pain of eternal damnation, never to resent being robbed and always to turn the cheek to the smiter." Of newspapers the author says: "In the nineteenth century it had frankly become the tool of the capitalist to do what they would with. Having been first established to sell news to its readers it proceeded to use the news as a mere bait and sold its readers." Of education, it is observed: "It still consisted of an acquaintance with the strange and indigestible knowledges with which they stuffed their children, and nowise in any acquaintance with the nature of the children whom they thus miscellaneously and indiscriminately stuffed." The author makes fun of the worship of mechanical progress, and in general contrives to produce a book that will make the reader ashamed of the society in which he lives.

Dawn-Thought, by Wm. Lloyd. Maugus Press. Wellesley Hills, Mass. Cloth, gilt top, uncut edges, illuminated initials; 197 pp. \$1.25. Also in plain cloth at \$1.00, and paper at 50 cents.

This is a series of connected observations clustering about the "dawn-thought" that "absorption of the individual into the divine did not mean annihilation, but the contrary in the extreme sense—that it was the arriving at real, full-grown, complete and conscious individuality impossible before." With this pantheistic conception as a central thought there is much philosophizing in a great variety of fields. The whole is mystical, and while interesting, can scarcely be said to contribute much either to philosophic thought or to the solution of the social problems. Nevertheless it is one of a multitude of signs of social unrest that is today stirring every field of thought and action.

The Reformers' Year Book. Joseph Edwards, Editor and Publisher. Wallasey, Cheshire, England. One Shilling.

This is the name under which the well-known "Labour Annual" will appear from now on. The present number is up to the high standard of former years. It contains a most exhaustive summary of the various phases of the labor and reform movement of England and America (the latter prepared by Leonard D. Abbott), a list of all the more prominent social workers of England with addresses and a shorter one of Americans.

Rumblings, Being a Compilation of Calamity Howls from the Old Party Press As It Feels the Icy Fingers of the Trust Closing About Its Throat. J. A. Wayland. Girard, Kas. Paper; 25 pp., 5 cents.

A valuable little collection of clippings from the capitalist press on the trust question.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The "Life" Booklets. By Ralph Waldo Trine. The Greatest Thing Ever Known. Every Living Creature, Character-Building, Thought Power. Cloth, 16 mo., 35 cents each; the set, \$1.00. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1901.

Labor. Emile Zola. Harper. 604 pp. \$1.50. Will be reviewed extensively in July number.

Home Cyclopedia of Popular Medical and Social Science. Edward B. Foote, M. D. 1225 pp. \$2.00.

The Anatomy of Misery. John Coleman Kenworthy. Small, Maynard & Co. 111 pp. \$1.00.

Poems of the New Time. Miles Menander Dawson. Alliance Publishing Co. 169 pp.

The Procession of the Planets. Franklin H. Heald. Published by the author. Paper 93 pp. \$1.00.

Now and Then. Frederick Kraft. Socialistic Co-Operative Publishing Association. Paper 30 pp. 10 cents.

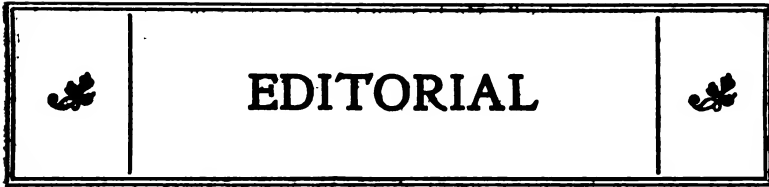
AMONG THE PERIODICALS

The North American Review has a series of articles on "Industrial and Railroad Consolidations" that are attracting wide-spread attention. The opening one by Russel Sage is a condemnation of monopolies and a defense of competition. He declares that "The chief owners of the Standard Oil business have grown so enormously wealthy that in their individual as well as their corporate capacity, they dominate wherever they choose to go." In view of this fact it sounds rather laughable to hear him warning the trust magnates that "the people once aroused are more powerful than the railroad combinations," especially as he sees nothing to do but to "remain content with the old fashioned system of nonest competition, under which we have grown great as a nation and prosperous as a people." J. J. Hill follows Mr. Sage on "Their advan-

tages to the community." He is very bitter against "middlemen" who are "mere leeches sucking sustenance from the business body without giving anything in return," but does not tell what service is rendered by stockholders. Mr. Hill, in common with the remainder of the writers reckons value on "earning capacity", and denies the existence of "watered stock" where it is still possible to extract sufficient value from the workers to pay dividends. All the defenders of trusts declare their love for the laborer and several of them point out the ease with which the laborer can become a profit sharer by buying trust stocks. Just what the results of such purchase are was explained in this department for January in the review of an article by Prof. Meade of Pennsylvania University, and the reader is also referred to that article for a refutation of the ridiculously juggled statistics furnished by Charles R. Flint in his article. All the writers are profuse in their love for the workmen and are sure that the trust will be very good to them, all of which can be taken with a grain of salt.

John Kimberly Mumford in *The World's Work*, makes a contribution to the study of the eastern question in a discussion of "Russia's Advance on India." All Persia has been more or less "Russified." Roads have been built, Russian costume introduced, "but behind all, dominant over all, not to be overlooked or forgotten, is Force. Every third man you meet is in a uniform of some sort." By alternately bullying, cajoling, assisting, stealing, by diplomacy and force Russia has made a semi-circle of her possessions around India and now stands ready to rush in upon it from all sides. An article on "Breeding New Wheats" tells of the remarkable work being done at the Minnesota Agricultural College, which promises to immensely increase the wheat crop of the world in the near future.





SOCIALIST TACTICS

For a half century socialists have pointed out the inevitable evolution of the competitive system toward monopoly. Libraries have been ransacked and industrial facts collected from every corner of the world to prove the criminal wastefulness and brutality of the competitive struggle. The main effort was directed toward the demonstration of the desirability and possibility of concentrated industry. Today this stage is behind us. Evolution, ever jealous of waste, is abolishing competition as the dominant force in industry, and replacing it with monopoly, and already the process is well on toward completion. But the instability of the monopoly stage is granted from the beginning, and the feeling is everywhere gaining ground that it will be succeeded by some form of cooperation.

The task of the socialist agitator and educator has changed with these conditions. He has no longer to meet the objections of the defender of competition. He can leave that task to the trust organizer. He does not even need to spend much energy in demonstrating the impossibility of continuous monopoly. His task is now mainly constructive. Time has justified his logic and facts have demonstrated his arguments. But while social evolution has thus justified the premises of socialist philosophy, experience has also placed beyond question many points in socialist tactics. Just as twenty years ago it was still possible to soberly maintain that the small producer was a permanent and dominant factor in industry, just so it was also possible at that time for many persons calling themselves socialists to dispute the advisability of adhering to the principle of the class struggle in the formation of a socialist political party. Until very recently there was a large middle class composed of small producers, combining the diverse functions of producer and exploiter in the same individuals. It was always hoped that this class might be brought to espouse the cause of socialism if only some concessions were made to their prejudices or their interests. Today the miserable remnants of this class have lost all political and economic significance. The overwhelming defeat of Bryan testified to their political bankruptcy, just as every newly formed trust is a testimonial to their industrial impotence. To build further hopes upon the prospect of their support as a class is foolish. The contest of the future must be between those who,

through intellectual comprehension of social development or pressure of economic necessity, have allied themselves with the producers of wealth, and, on the other hand, those whom intellectual blindness or economic interests have allied to the cause of exploitation. This is the class struggle,—a fact, not a theory, which by its very existence determines political tactics, and to argue as to its advisability, or ballot as to its adoption is as silly as a similar argument or ballot upon the theory of gravitation or the Copernician astronomy. From this fact it follows as an indisputable deduction that when economic evolution has prepared the way for cooperative production and distribution, while the means of social control are still in the hands of the exploiters, that the energies of socialists must be concentrated upon the organization of the producing class into a single unified political party for the purpose of capturing the powers now in the hands of their opponents. The greatest service which can be done to capitalism at this time is to either confuse the issue or divide the forces of the politically organized workers. Yet just at the time when it seemed that previous divisions were about to disappear, there are signs that an effort will be made to confuse both issue and tactics by the creation of a new party with a platform made up of concessions to this worthless and decaying middle class. It is openly announced that at the Social and Economic Conference to be held at Detroit the first of July an effort will be made to form a new socialist party. However good may be the intentions behind this movement any such attempt at this time would be little less than criminal. Such a party could never become anything more than a plaything of capitalist politicians, a bait for unconscious workingmen, an obstacle in the road to any genuine advance. Economic evolution has progressed to the point where there is no room for a political party neither clearly socialist nor clearly capitalist. The class to which such a party would appeal, the interests that it would represent are now historical, not existent. Ninety-five per cent of the active workers for clear cut socialism are already identified with one of the existing socialist parties. However sincere unaffiliated socialists may be they have never shown any great cohesive power. Under these conditions there is but one thing for anyone whose economic interests or intellectual comprehension has led to accept the principles of socialism, and that is to unite with one of the existing socialist parties and then work for the absorption of that party in the higher synthesis of a unified socialist movement composed of all those who accept the principles of international socialism.

We have just received the following letter from "Mother Jones," which we must again offer in place of the promised article. We feel sure that our readers will appreciate the reason for the delay:

"Dear Comrades: I owe you an apology for not writing to you before. You know I had a strike of 4,000 children on my hands for three months and could not spare a moment. If that strike was lost

it meant untold oppression for these little helpless things. They came out victorious and gave their masters a good hammering. I could not write a thing for June, but will for July.

I have had a very hard winter's work, but have done just as much for socialism as if I were writing articles. One very cheering feature is that the cause is growing everywhere. I have been landing plenty of literature in the hands of the boys."

A mail car containing several of last issue, addressed to California subscribers, was burned and the contents destroyed. We have no means of knowing exactly which numbers were lost and so must wait for complaints before replacing them. If any of the California readers have not yet received their May number, and will notify us to that effect, we will gladly send another copy.

Owing to sickness and overwork on his lectures in New York, Prof. Herron was unable to supply matter for the department on "Socialism and Religion," but the department will be a regular feature of future numbers as of the past ones.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

With this June number, the International Socialist Review completes its first year. What we have done in that year is shown by the table of contents printed with this number. It is more than we ventured to promise when we began. What we shall do during the year to come will depend on the extent to which our comrades and friends the world over continue and increase their support: We feel safe in promising at least that the second year of the Review will be an advance on the first year.

If your subscription began with the first number it has now expired, and we hope to receive your dollar for the second year by an early mail. We propose to make the magazine well worth a dollar a year and we shall offer no premiums on renewals. We shall, however, offer every possible inducement to our present subscribers to obtain new subscriptions, for the growth of our work depends almost wholly upon the number of new subscriptions we can secure.

To any subscriber sending \$1.00 with the name of a new subscriber for one year we will send his choice of the following:

1. A year's subscription to the Library of Progress, quarterly. This includes Socialist Songs with Music, already published; Vandervelde's Collectivism, nearly ready, and two other numbers to be announced later and to appear August 15 and November 15.

2. The first 36 numbers of the Pocket Library of Socialism, including the 27 numbers already published and the

next nine numbers as published from month to month.

3. Any book or books PUBLISHED BY US to the amount of \$1.00 at advertised prices, we paying postage.

Please note particularly that the premiums do not belong to the new subscriber but to the one who secures the subscription. You can, of course, send in any number of new subscriptions and claim a premium for each.

The April number of the Review, on pages 669-672, gave full details of the co-operative plan on which our socialist literature is published. Since that number went to press we have received subscriptions for twenty additional shares, giving us representatives at the following new points: Denver, Colo.; St. Augustine, Fla.; Macon, Ga.; Grand Ledge, Mich.; Seattle, Wash.; Bristol, Wis.; Revelstoke, British Columbia.

Stockholders in this company have the privilege of buying our five-cent books at two cents a copy, \$1.00 a hundred, or \$8.00 a thousand, expressage included; our ten-cent books at five cents each or \$3.50 a hundred, expressage included; our other paper books at 50 per cent discount, expressage included, and our cloth books at 40 per cent discount, when we pay expressage, or 50 per cent when sent at the expense of the purchaser. We have just concluded arrangements by which we can supply our stockholders with most of the socialist books of other publishers at 20 per cent discount when we prepay charges, or 30 per cent if the books are sent at the expense of the purchaser.

The current receipts of our publishing business are enough to pay its current expenses. The money received from the sale of stock is used to enlarge our work by publishing the new books urgently needed in the socialist movement. Our new translation (the first ever published in English) of Liebknecht's *Life of Marx* will be ready by the time this issue of the Review reaches its readers. *Vanderelde's Collectivism* is now in the printers' hands and will be ready about June 20. Prof. *Untermann's* translation of *Engels' great work on the Origin of the Family* is well under way and the prompt subscription of twenty more shares of stock will enable us to publish it some time in July.

Understand that we do not ask our comrades to assist our general work at the expense of their local work. On the contrary, the investment of \$10.00 with us will be a direct help to the local work of every city from which a share is taken, for it will enable the comrades to obtain their socialist literature at prices far below what could have been offered without our system of co-operation.

The rapid increase in the demand for socialist literature will soon make our stock a good investment as a mere matter of business for any bookseller or book agent, but we hope that enough party members will subscribe to keep the future control of the enterprise in socialist hands.

We prefer as a rule to sell only one share to each subscriber, but about \$2,000 is urgently needed for enlarging our work, and we should be glad of large subscriptions with the understanding that the stock be re-sold to individual subscribers later.

DISCOUNT TO STOCKHOLDERS ON SOCIALIST BOOKS OF OTHER PUBLISHERS.

Heretofore we have been obliged to make it a rule to allow no discount to any one on books of other publishers.

The growth of our trade now enables us to offer on the following list of books a discount to our stockholders of 20 per cent where we pay postage, or 30 per cent where the stockholder calls at our office, or orders a sufficient number of books to go by express at his expense. Any one not a stockholder may become one by remitting \$10.00 for a share. Other particulars will be furnished upon application.

On books published by ourselves we allow stockholders a larger discount, as explained elsewhere. Those who are not stockholders may obtain any of the following books postpaid by remitting the advertised prices:

AVELING, EDWARD—*The Students' Marx*; cloth, \$1.00.

BAX, E. B.—*The Religion of Socialism*; cloth, \$1.00. *The Ethics of Socialism*; cloth, \$1.00. *Outlooks From the New Standpoint*; cloth, \$1.00. *The Story of the French Revolution*; cloth, \$1.00; *History of the Paris Commune*; paper, 25 cents.

BEBEL, AUGUST—*Woman in the Past, Present and Future*; paper, 25 cents, cloth, 50 cents.

BELLAMY, EDW.—*Looking Backward*, paper, 50 cents, cloth, \$1.00. *Equality*, paper, 50 cents, cloth, \$1.25.

BENEAM, G. B.—*History of the Paris Commune*; paper, 25 cents, cloth, 75 cents. *Peru Before the Conquest*; paper, 15 cents.

BERNSTEIN, EDWARD—*Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer*; cloth, \$1.00.

CARPENTER, EDWARD—*Civilization, Its Cause and Cure*; cloth, \$1.00. *England's Ideals*, cloth, \$1.00. *Towards Democracy*; cloth, \$2.25. *A Visit to a Gnaní*; cloth, \$1.00. *Love's Coming of Age*; cloth, \$1.25. *Eros and Psyche*; cloth, \$1.00.

DAWSON, WM. H.—*German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*; cloth, \$1.00.

DEVILLE, GABRIEL—*The People's Marx*; paper, 75 cents, cloth, \$1.50.

ENGELS, FREDERICK—*The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*; cloth, \$1.25.

FERRI, ENRICO—Socialism and Modern Science; cloth, \$1.00.

HERRON, GEORGE D.—Between Caesar and Jesus; cloth, \$1.00.

LISSAGARAY—History of the Paris Commune; cloth, \$1.00.

LORIA, ACHILLE—The Economic Foundation of Society; cloth, \$1.25.

MARX, KARL—The Eighteenth Brumaire; paper, 25 cents. The Civil War in France; paper, 25 cents. Value, Price and Profit; cloth, 50 cents. Revolution and Counter-Revolution; cloth, \$1.00.

MORRIS, WM., and BAX, E. B.—Socialism. Its Growth and Outcome; cloth, \$1.00.

ROBERTSON, JOHN M.—The Fallacy of Saving; cloth, \$1.00.

ROGERS, THORALD—Work and Wages; cloth, \$1.00.

SOMBART, PROF. WERNER—Social-

ism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century; cloth, \$1.25.

VAIL, CHARLES H.—Modern Socialism, paper, 25 cents. Principles of Scientific Socialism; paper, 25 cents. National Ownership of Railways; paper, 15 cents.

BOUND VOLUMES.

The bound volume of the International Socialist Review for the first year will be ready in a few days, and a little over one hundred copies are still available to fill orders sent in at once. The price will be \$2.00, postage included. But, as we are particularly anxious to extend our subscription list at this time, we will send a copy postpaid as a premium to any present subscriber who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year for \$2.00.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers,
56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

CENTRAL SOCIALIST LECTURE BUREAU

We are happy to announce the organization of the Central Socialist Lecture Bureau to supply socialist speakers for audiences and audiences for speakers.

The C. S. L. Bureau purposes the organization into circuits of all the locals and cities and industrial centers now unorganized in the states of Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio and Michigan. The hope is through this bureau to stimulate the work where locals now are and plant new ones where none now exist, thereby subserving most important functions in our propaganda work. The advantages of a bureau of this kind have been long recognized, but the difficulty has been to devise a plan that would in operation not burden our comrades financially beyond endurance and at the same time give our speakers and organizers a support. Comrade Geo. E. Bigelow, by personal experience, has developed a plan which he makes work and avails to accomplish both of these purposes; and which has proven so successful in a protracted tour in Canada and the east as to receive the commendation of such well known workers as Secretary Leonard D. Abbott, of New York, J. Mahlon Barnes, of Philadelphia, and other eastern comrades; and of such well known socialists in the central west as J. B. Smiley, author of "To What Are Trusts Leading?"; Walter Thomas Mills, of the Chicago night and correspondence school of social economics; A. M. Simons, editor of the *International Socialist Review*; Charles H. Kerr, publisher; J. Wauhope, editor of the *Workers' Call*; F. G. Strickland, Thomas J. Morgan and others.

The plan in brief is this. Group the locals and unorganized cities and industrial centers into circuits as suggested above. Let each place or local pay to the speaker or organizer railroad fare of \$2.00; furnish a place to speak; give speaker the collection and all he can make on exclusive sale of literature, of which each speaker will carry a full supply of the best published. At places where there is a local the comrades can do this, and if there is none three or four individuals can do as much and thus enjoy the treat and satisfaction of hearing, and having others hear, our best speakers. It is desired that we have uniformity in frequency of meetings, and that each place hold one about once a month, alternating speakers.

Such well known socialist advocates as Walter T. Mills, Charles H. Kerr, A. M. Simons, J. B. Smiley, Thomas J. Morgan, F. G. Strickland, George E. Bigelow, May Wood Simons, May Walden Kerr, J. Wauhope, August Klenkie and others are already booked, while Max Hayes and others are solicited and no doubt will be added to the list in a few days.

It is desired that all who read this and desire to be enrolled as one of the points on the circuit send in your name and address without further solicitation; and that all those who may receive letters respond at once in order that we may get the circuits mapped out, the plans perfected and the work well going before the opening of the fall campaign. Address Central Socialist Lecture Bureau, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.



