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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

A Monthly Journal of  
International Socialist Thought

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. . . . .

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. I

JUNE, 1901

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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 dazzling, 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.*

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[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

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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

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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.....          | 12.95    |
| 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 .....                   | \$39,562,000 |
| Rent, interest and taxes..... | \$ 3,177,000 |
| Superintendence.....          | 5,800,000    |
| Net profits.....              | 13,716,000   |
| Total.....                    | \$23,693,000 |

Thus in Connecticut, labor received the large amount of  $63\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of its product. Capital received 22 per cent, and the necessary expense consumed the remaining  $14\frac{1}{2}$  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

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**W**HENEVER 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-

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(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.*

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(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 Brabanton." 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,

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\* 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.....            | 13,487.88  |
| Surplus from bakeries.....                       | 200,887.61 |
| Surplus from coal.....                           | 11,981.85  |
| Surplus from confectionery and novelties.....    | 14,676.87  |
| Surplus from Maison du Peuple (café).....        | 16,140.08  |
| Surplus from butter.....                         | 515.10     |
| Surplus from Maison du Peuple in Mühlenbeck..... | 16.91      |
| Surplus from sale of milk.....                   | 1,282.46   |
|  | <hr/>      |
|  | 258,867.90 |
| Loss of butcher shops.....                       | 1,423.78   |
| Total surplus.....                               | 256,944.43 |

#### Division of Surplus.

This surplus will be distributed in the following manner:

|   | Francs.    |
|---|------------|
| Sinking fund for mortgage.....  | 23,935.00  |
| For loans and interest.....   | 40,000.00  |
| Shares of different co-operatives.....  | 2,000.00   |
| Free medical and pharmaceutical service to heads of families.....                 | 20,816.83  |
| Propaganda, claims, subsidies and assistance to groups and suffering members..... | 13,653.69  |
| 2½% to the employees.....   | 6,423.61   |
| To distribute on 5,002,812 kilos of bread at 8 centimes per loaf.....             | 150,066.90 |

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

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**T**HE 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.

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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 Drenteln. 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.

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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 socialistic 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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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### 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 passers. 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 "Volkszeitung" 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 Arbeitgelber Verbände 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 Kampfahn (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."

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#### 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 28,850 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."

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#### 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, "Tomies," 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!

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#### 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 proletarian. 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."

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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.

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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."

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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 Socialistic 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 Butcher 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.

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|  | <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 hobbies. 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 henchmen, 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.

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#### 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.

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#### 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 workingmen 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.





# EDITORIAL



## 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.

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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."

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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.

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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.

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- 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.
- BENHAM, 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 Gnani*; cloth, \$1.00. *Love's Coming of Age*; cloth, \$1.25. *Eros and Psyche*; cloth, \$1.00.
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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 post-paid as a premium to any present subscriber who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year for \$2.00.

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## 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.

# SOCIALISTS

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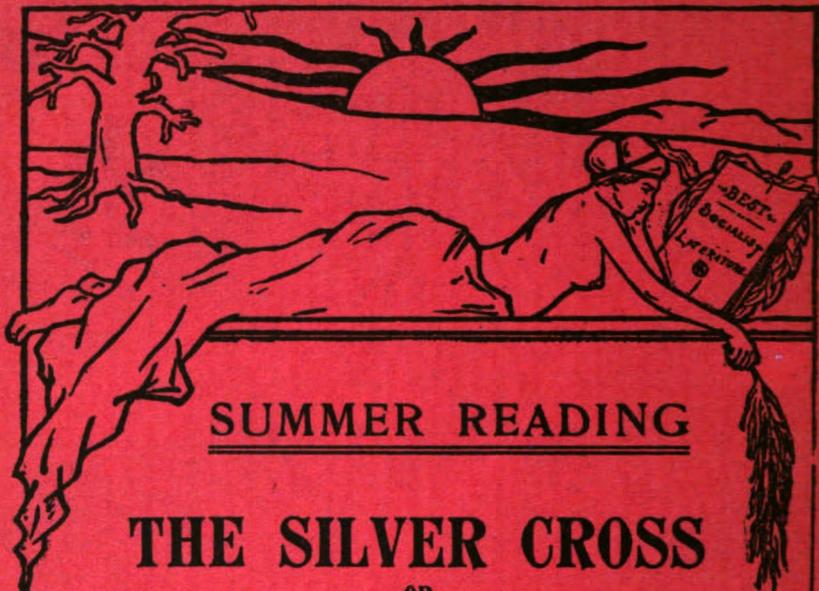
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