

ADVANCED COLLEGE LIBRARY
JAN 14 1905
CAMBRIDGE MASS.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. V

JANUARY, 1905

NO. 7

Woman Suffrage Observed by a Socialist.

SOcialists as a matter of course believe in woman's enfranchisement. Their philosophy recognizes political power as a thing to be desired by all members of the working class. Accordingly a socialist will always be found supporting any further extension of political democracy when this can be done without retarding or sidetracking the direct movement for industrial democracy.

If social evolution is always proceeded according to the principles of academic logic, political democracy would have to be perfected before the industrial freedom could be expected. Hence women's suffrage, direct legislation and all phases of political power would have to be achieved before socialism could be hoped for. Evolution does not however, proceed according to syllogisms and, just as many remnants of Feudalism remained when Republican principles took possession of the historical stage, so the last steps in political democracy will not be taken until after the Socialist revolution. At the present time, Socialists see that industrial development has reached a point where it is folly to wait to catch up loose ends in earlier phases of evolution but that it is now time to plunge directly toward the next goal—the emancipation of the workers. This is not only the procedure which will achieve the industrial purpose most economically in time and energy, but is the most sure and rapid way to make existing nominal political powers genuine and to enlarge them to a complete democracy.

If this be doubted as a working plan by women who are seeking the ballot first and economic ends thereafter, or by direct legislation enthusiasts, an experience in states where either of these goods things have been attained will convince them that nothing is worth great effort at the present time but the working-class revolution.

Colorado has been a severe trial to life-long woman suffra-

gists, little as they are willing to admit the fact. Rose colored claims were made as to the purity of the politics if woman held her legislative place in the elective machinery. Yet after ten years of woman's enfranchisement, Colorado enjoys the distinction of being the scene of more varieties of artistic electoral corruption than any other of the many states eligible for competition in this interesting contest.

At the very time Colorado speakers were expatiating last winter in Washington on the results attained by ten years of woman's political power, John Shafroth, Congressman from Denver, resigned because convinced that the vote which elected him was hopelessly intricate from fraud committed and hence that the ballot of a number of wards was worthless. Since without these wards, he had not a majority, he got down and out.

Colorado women made the best of a bad bargain. We asked whether the ten years did not amply justify themselves when they had brought to the surface a Congressman of such phenomenal honesty. Yet, nevertheless, the situation was pathetic!

Women "repeaters" and corrupt women judges are few compared with men of this order no doubt, but woman's vote is as powerless against corrupt politics as the clinched fist of a newborn babe or the frantic expostulation of clergymen with "civic conscience."

Capitalistic appetites are quite as rapacious in Colorado as in New York and capitalistic barrels are as efficacious in keeping political wires in working order the year round. This barrel appeals to the hungry stomach of a woman precinct worker quite as effectual as to the male ward heeler.

This is not a proof of woman's moral laxity. If the President of the United States, the delight of the college presidents and religious leaders, can accept for his campaign with a clear conscience millions from the Trusts he pretends to be fighting, just why should not pious women in Colorado accept day's wages for hard work from this or similar funds to help save the country in the way their particular party machine says is the only way?

As reasonably expect water to run up hill as to fancy that under a system of capitalists, wage slaves and unemployed that capitalism will not control the governments, national and local, by fair means or by foul.

When the citizenship is unusually progressive and presumes to control the sway of the capitalist in some measure, then it is more necessary to use foul means.

That is the secret of all Colorado's sensational Peabodyism and corruption. The reformers, men and women, really tried to accomplish something a few years ago and actually got some laws and constitutional amendments which aimed to curtail capitalistic sway. The result has been a perfect carnival of lawless-

ness made necessary in order to overthrow or circumvent the plans of the reformers.

Peabodyism is only one among scores of illustrations of a class rule made insanely despotic and undisguised because the foolish people had attempted to check capitalism without the strength to complete it. With child-like *naïveté*, the populist reformers attempted seriously to interfere with the capitalistic regime by petty reforms in governmental institutions, guilelessly and serenely unconscious of what they were up against.

The buzz saw got in its work, yet still the reformers talk of step at a time measures. The money tribes are slow to learn.

But this opens up a phase of the Colorado situation which must wait for future discussion. It touches this question only from the fact that women were active in securing the "advanced legislation" of 1901. All the men pushing the "Bucklin" (high tax), the "Rush" (Home-rule and direct legislation for Denver), and the Eight-Hour Amendments acknowledged gratefully the help that women, as individuals and in organizations, were to them. Women have helped to make Colorado what it has been—the most advanced state politically in the Union from the reform standpoint. Their efforts have been as fruitless as that of other reformers—as fruitless as such efforts are bound to be always.

The capitalist class will not yield their political dominance until forced to do so by a class equally determined and overwhelmingly stronger in numbers and uncompromising in purpose.

With or without the ballot, women may help to awaken the instinct of self-preservation in the conscious laborers of society and arouse a consciousness of their class relations in those now hypnotized with capitalistic sympathies, but reform efforts are worse than wasted.

Nevertheless, in spite of their inevitable failure to achieve great specific results, Colorado women are glad with a deep gladness that they have the ballot.

While political function will never be other than largely nominal for men or women until economic democracy is gained, the ballot has in it an educational potency, direct and indirect which is an excellent factor in society and the source of immense satisfaction to the individual.

Even Socialists need the education which the enfranchisement of women gives. In Colorado, women are quite as active as officers, committee members and lay workers in Socialist locals as men. This should be the case in every local in any state, but so far as reports reach us this is not the case. In so far as women consent to separate organizations or men hesitate to accept women in full and active comradeship, they are allowing themselves to be influenced by the arbitrary conditions of capitalistic society

and this is unworthy of enlightened Socialists. Women, in states where they have no voice politically, should do their utmost to overcome this factor in their environment and insist upon taking their part in the regular party movement, encouraging no separated activity.

One element of success for the woman voter of Colorado should be noted. The state now leads in all laws that have reference to delinquent children. A group of laws centering about a well constituted Juvenile Court have achieved world-wide fame.

The woman constituency has achieved this without question and although unpopular with the politicians of all parties, the judge who has pushed these measures and now presides over the Juvenile Court, has twice had the distinction of being nominated by all parties (except the Socialist of course). This has been due to the fact that the politicians dared not defy the wishes of the peculiar constituency, the woman voter had made possible—a constituency not of women alone, but of men as well, aroused by the active interest of the women.

To one who realizes that even measures good as this will be vitiated by economic conditions and that criminals will be manufactured faster under capitalism than any humane efforts can counteract, even this clear achievement for childhood is pathetic in its futility.

It must be confessed that women find it no easier than men to free themselves from the subtle chains which bind to the capitalist regime. While a larger number proportionately accept the idealistic Socialist program, they do not more readily enter the ranks of class-conscious political Socialism.

During the campaign of 1900, of the ten most prominent Democratic women speakers in Colorado, all but one were avowed Socialists of the "nationalist," "Bellamyite" type. As the political party of Socialism came to the front, making a clear-cleavage necessary, but one of these joined forces with the party, while several of the most pronounced heretofore are now bitterly antagonizing, not only the Socialist party, but the working-class movement in all of its effective phases.

The actual workings of woman's suffrage, therefore, but serves as another proof that there is nothing at this time worthy of serious effort but the political organization of the workers. While women have accomplished something as voters, their best apparent achievements have only forced capitalism to be more unscrupulous and tyrannical. Actual results in economic or political benefits have been nullified as was inevitable.

However, the individual and social education has been great and woman's emancipation is worthy of every effort except such as interferes with putting the fullest possible energy into the industrial emancipation of both men and women.

MILA TUPPER MAYNARD.

Negro Locals.

SO far as I am informed, every local in the State of Louisiana is composed exclusively of white members, excepting one at the little town of Lutchter which, as I understand, is composed exclusively of negroes. The facts thus far obtaining, considered in connection with well known conditions and sentiments in this section, make it clear to my mind that every local hereafter organized in this State will be composed, in the first instance, exclusively of white members. Concerning the composition of the membership elsewhere, I am not informed, but have every reason to believe that what is true of Louisiana will be found applicable to every other State south of Mason and Dixon's line. The question therefore naturally presents itself: shall the negroes be taken into the same locals with the whites, or shall they be required or permitted to organize into separate locals?

That the negroes should be organized as fast and as far as possible, is the universal conviction and the universal desire. Every one appreciates how suicidal it would be for the Party to ignore entirely the presence of eight million men, women and children in our midst. From a military standpoint alone, if from no other, every one feels the importance, in our own self-interest, of obtaining the good will and co-operation of eight million people. Nor is there any lack among the Southern comrades of that fine sense of justice and those broad principles of humanity which animate the true socialist in every spot on the globe.

Still the matter is not without its difficulties. The stand taken by the National Committee in at first refusing a charter to the Party of Louisiana, on account of a plank in its original platform calling for a separation of the races, has left the impression, in this locality at least, that the organization of the negroes into separate locals would be discountenanced by the National Party; notwithstanding the fact that there is no constitutional prohibition against separate locals, and that every State Party is given the power under the National Constitution to regulate its membership in any manner not inconsistent with that organic instrument. But at the same time, there is a formidable sentiment among the comrades, particularly those of the gentler sex, against the idea of having negro members in the locals to which they belong.

I have had occasion to discuss the question with many of the New Orleans comrades, some of the most active among whom are of the fairer sex, and I have found them full of declamation against racial discriminations; but I have yet to meet any one who is outspoken in favor of soliciting the membership of negroes into his or her local, and the fact remains that in the State

organization, which is now two years old, the negroes are conspicuous almost entirely by their absence.

That the sentiment against the commingling of the two races in the same locals is not a mere southern prejudice, is seen from the fact that every little town in the State which has been built up of recent years largely by immigrants from the North, has a separate quarter for the negro race. That it is not confined exclusively to the white comrades, is seen from the fact that the black comrades are not any more active in seeking membership into white locals, than the white comrades are inactive in soliciting the membership of black comrades. An instance illustrating one phase of this sentiment is furnished by the fact that when Comrade Goebel, National Organizer, went to Lutcher some time ago, for the purpose of delivering a lecture before the local at that point, composed as aforesaid exclusively of negroes, he was asked by the members not to deliver his lecture, lest it should injure the cause by identifying it too closely in the minds of the natives with the idea of social equality and fraternization between the races. But aside from the outside effect of promiscuous locals, which is not without its danger to the comrades, there is, as previously stated, a dominating sentiment within the ranks of the faithful themselves, both white and black, which is sufficient to exclude them from participation in the same locals; and, in the meantime, the negroes remain unorganized, untrained and to a large extent uneducated.

I am not one of those who take the view that the organization of separate locals must necessarily violate the national constitution or that it is essentially opposed to the socialist philosophy. But in view of the general character of constitutional provisions, and the still more general character of philosophical principles, I believe it would be wise to have some specific declaration, from a national source, on this question. Hence I suggest for consideration the idea of what might be called "optional" locals: by which I mean that, in those localities where there is a large negro element, the black comrades should be allowed, at their discretion, to organize themselves into separate locals or sub-locals. This would not obviate the commingling of the races in a representative capacity, but it would remove the necessity of having them in the same locals or sub-locals.

I might say that of late there seems to be a growing disposition on the part of some among the comrades, to cut the gordian knot which the question apparently presents to their mind, by what must be considered as an underhand or surreptitious organization of separate locals; the members assuming that this is the only course by which they can escape from falling into the Scylla of promiscuous locals on one side, and the Charybdis of the national discountenance expected for an open party declaration on the other side. But there is something so cowardly in such a pro-

ceeding; it is so repugnant to every principle of common honesty and so hypocritical in character; that as a remedy for the situation it must, in my estimation, be considered worse than the disease. Besides serving as an apple of discord among the comrades themselves, it must place a powerful weapon in the hands of our opponents, and tend to alienate instead of conciliating or drawing the black comrades into the movement. Besides, I do not see how the National Party could consistently with its self-respect, allow itself to connive at such a proceeding should it involve a violation of the national constitution.

But, on the other hand, I consider separate locals as the only method by which the black comrades can be assimilated into the movement, to any considerable extent in the South.

I believe a national attempt to coerce the admission of negroes into white locals would result in a disastrous failure. In the first place, I do not believe the black comrades themselves could be prevailed upon to obtrude their presence into unwelcome locals. And in the second place if they made the attempt, I believe they would be black-balled; but if they were not black-balled, I believe their admission into white locals would tend to weaken and stunt if not even to disrupt the movement entirely among the white element in many localities.

I have no doubt that official sanction for the creation of separate locals would be hailed by the comrades of both races with a feeling of welcome and relief; and that it would greatly facilitate and accelerate the organization of the negroes by directing it along the line of least resistance.

Such a step need not carry violence to any of those necessary regulations of a territorial or other character without which it would not be possible to carry on the proceedings of the Party. And instead of denying any rights to the negroes, it would in fact be securing to them the exercise of a right from which they are now largely debarred by the sentiment hereinabove considered.

If we are going to have negro locals, it may be asked, why, then, not also have Jewish locals, Italian locals, German locals, or locals for all the different races of this country? And in answer to this objection, I can only repeat why not? Why should we not have Italian locals, for instance?

In some quarters of our big cities, the population is composed almost entirely of Italians who do not understand and cannot speak English language. Is there not something unjust in expecting such people to become members of the regular locals without being able to participate in the deliberations or to vote intelligently on the questions that come up for consideration? Is it not evidently to the interest of the movement that such people should be encouraged to join the party by the creation of locals in which the official proceedings would be carried on in a language which they can speak and understand? Would not this be

the shortest, quickest and most efficacious method of securing those equal political and economic rights for which the Socialist Republic stands? And can there be anything repugnant to the true tactics of the party or the principles of the Socialist Philosophy in anything which will hasten the advent of Socialism itself?

In New Orleans, we have an Italian local holding a charter, not from the National Party of the United States or the State Party of Louisiana, but from the Socialist Party of Italy. Many of its members are citizens, but as they do not understand the English language, they prefer to have their own "academic" local, rather than constitute but so many figureheads in the English speaking locals; and, therefore they do not take any active part in the internal affairs of the movement of this country. I believe such locals should be taken into our own movement.

Now, if the obstacle of language may properly be removed by the creation of special locals, why not also the obstacle of color or race, or any other obstacle which can be removed better by exceptional than by the regular locals?

That fatal economism or economic determinism which we are told levels down all racial barriers, has it thrown down the barriers between the Gentile and Jewish races? The Jewish race contributes its share to the economic rulers and the proletariat of every country; it forms a component part of every nation in the civilized world, and furnishes as many national types as there are different nations: yet it preserves and maintains its racial integrity everywhere. If the principle of economic determinism applies to the Jews, then they have maintained their racial integrity for the promotion of their economic advantages, and consequently also of their political rights, thereby exhibiting a method of promoting their economic and political objects diametrically opposed to that which the gentiles among themselves have followed every since the dissolution of primitive trival society.

May it not be, therefore, that the economic advantages and political rights of the negroes could be secured to them better by a method which would tend to preserve or maintain their integrity as a race, than otherwise?

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that so far as the organization of the party is concerned, the creation of optional locals for the negroes would be conducive to the advancement of the movement, by securing to them a means of exercising their right to participate in the party, from which they are now deprived, and as such I should like to have it specifically sanctioned by a national expression.

New Orleans, La.

ERASTE VIDRINE.

"Poverty."—A Review.*

MR. ROBERT HUNTER, of New York, has just produced a work which I have no hesitation in pronouncing the greatest contribution to sociological literature that has appeared during the past year, and this year has been a year fruitful of works in this field. Many reviewers attempt to compare it with such works as that of Charles Booth in London. In reality, its field is so utterly different as to afford no ground for a fair comparison. Booth's work is that of the patient investigator, this, of the thinker who correlates facts in order to show their effects and relations. To be sure this book contains the results of much direct investigation, and Booth's contains valuable generalizations. Yet the line between the two classes of work is fairly distinct.

Mr. Hunter's work is a study of those who in a land of plenty must live below the standard of animal comfort. In order to arrive at the number of those who constitute the subject matter of his work, he approaches the subject from various points of view. The number of evictions, of cases of tuberculosis, of pauper burials, of dispensary patients, of accidents to workers, are used as checks against estimates founded on more direct studies of poverty. And he finally comes to the conclusion, which is certainly extremely conservative when considered in connection with the facts that he presents, that at least *ten million people* are to be considered as living in *chronic poverty*. Those who are distinctly paupers and in whom the desire to escape from that condition has been crushed, are differentiated from the workman who lives and *works* and *produces wealth in constant poverty*.

Still the line between the two is a never shifting one. The unemployed working man must sooner or later become a pauper unless he possesses unusual strength of character. His comments on the unemployed are well worth quoting at length:—

"It reflects very grievously upon the justice of our social system that so many men, willing to work, should be unable to find work to do. The history of the world has perhaps never shown more abject victims of chance than the modern propertyless workman. A man possessing his own tools or land may always employ himself, and, although it may at times be necessary for him to sell his products for a very low price, he need not, except in extraordinary times, become dependent upon others for relief. The tools of the modern workman are the machine; both it and the land are owned by others. He

*Poverty. Robert Hunter. The Macmillan Company. Cloth. 382 pp. \$1.50 net.

cannot work on the land or at the machine except by permission of another. If the owner does not find it profitable to employ him, the workman must remain idle. At certain seasons of the year this idleness is compulsory to workmen by the tens of thousands, and at times of business depression by the hundreds of thousands. Without savings adequate to supply his needs, and with his income wholly dependent upon an intermittent demand for his labor, circumstances are apt to arise sooner or later that will force him either to commit crime against property or to depend upon public relief for sustenance. If the state of dependence continues long, habitual pauperism or vagrancy is quite likely to result. In other words, these outcasts from industry have before them the choice of three evils—starvation, crime or relief by charity.”

It is useless, as he points out, to advise the workman to save against the coming of the inevitable rainy day, since he can only do this at the expense of present suffering for himself and family. This is especially true in America, where the tremendous pressure of modern industry compels that the human machine be well fed if it is to be run at all.

In the chapter on “The Vagrant” he is not satisfied with any of the superficial reasonings of the Wyckoff’s, Riis’ and the charity organization workers. He sees plainly that “even if these vagrants could be forced back into the working class they would only augment the distress in the mass which makes up the reserve of labor.”

One of the great causes of poverty is sickness. But sickness is both a cause and an effect of poverty. It is always with the poor, and the pictures which he draws of sickness in the tenements have a literary power in vivid painting of facts that should stir the soul of every reader to an endeavor to abolish the social conditions which make such things necessary. Yet the poor are compelled to live in tenements with death rates two and three times as great as exist in more favorable localities. We are ordinarily inclined to boast of the superiority of American conditions in these respects. Yet Mr. Hunter says: “I dare say that no other nation has so many needless deaths or so many cases of illness wholly due to preventable industrial causes as the United States of America.

“There was once a Great Black Plague. It was the consternation of the people of the time when it grew and flourished. Those who were able to do so fled from the cities which it ravaged. It lived a year and caused the death of two or three million people. It was probably the result of filthy, undrained streets and vile tenements. ‘The Great White Plague’ has lived for centuries and centuries; it was known before the time of Christ. It has caused the death of millions and millions of people; it will this year cause the death of over one million more. One hun-

dred and fifty thousand people in the United States alone will this year die of the disease. Within the next twelve months not less than fifteen thousand of the people of New York City, some of whom will be our neighbors, friends, and even perhaps our relatives, will bow down before the Great White Plague. It is a needless plague, a preventable plague. It is one of the results of our inhuman tenements; it follows in the train of our inhuman sweatshops; it fastens itself upon children and young people because we forget that they need playgrounds and because we are selfish and niggardly in providing breathing spaces; it comes where the hours of labor are long and the wages small; it afflicts the first joys of married life and bringing into the world their lit-school; the plague goes to meet them. It is a brother to the anguish of poverty, and wherever food is scant and bodies half clothed and rooms dark this hard and relentless brother of poverty finds a victim. It is more kind to the old, who have every reason for dying, than it is to the young, who have no reason for dying. It takes, as it were, an especial delight in mowing down the bread-winners of wage-earning families at the sweetest and most treasured period of their lives—at the time when they are having the first joys of married life and bringing into the world their little ones. More than one-third of all deaths that occur between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five are due to the Great White Plague. It is a waste of youth prepared for life and labor, cut off by needless death as life and labor begin, for it is a wholly needless and preventable cause of death and of inestimable mourning and anguish among the widows and the fatherless.

“The extent of the White Plague is one of the best tests of a high or low state of society; in many ways it is the truest and most accurate of social tests. The number of its victims will indicate the districts in which sweatshops flourish, and the streets in which the double-decker tenement, the scourge of New York, is most often found. Where the death rate from the Plague is greatest there ignorance prevails; drunkenness is rife; poverty, hunger, and cold are the common misfortune.”

Yet all of this suffering is unnecessary. “The following measures, if carried out in every part of this country, would stamp out the Plague in twenty years. First, the disease should be declared in all states and in all cities ‘infectious.’ Second, there should be compulsory notification of all cases of tuberculosis. Third, the advanced cases should be given care in institutions suited to their need. Fourth, the establishment and maintenance of sufficient sanatoria and dispensaries for the treatment in the earlier stages of every case of consumption. Fifth, careful and complete disinfection of all houses and rooms in which consumptives have died and from which consumptives have been removed. Sixth, the construction of decent tenements, and the destruction,

or satisfactory renovation, of every house known to be a source of infection, the demolition of 'Lung Blocks' and the establishment of breathing spaces in the poorer districts of the cities. Seventh, a crusade of hygienic education among all people and the punishment of promiscuous spitting.

"The Great White Plague' is the result of our weakness, our ignorance, our selfishness, and our vices; there is no more need of its existence on the earth than of the existence of the Great Black Plague, the plague of typhus fever, the plague of dysentery, the plague of Asiatic cholera, the plague of leprosy, or the plague of smallpox. . . . It will be stamped out when the humane work of the Tenement House Department and the Health Department of this city, is victorious over opponents; when there is established in the mind of every one that vital principle of an advanced civilization, namely, that the profits of individuals are second in importance to the life, welfare and prosperity of the great masses of people.

"The entire matter sums itself up very easily. In the first place, we put property before human life; we unconsciously estimate it more highly and foster it more tenderly; we do it as individuals and we do it collectively."

The chapter on "The Child" is one over which it is difficult not to grow enthusiastic. In its analysis of social fundamentals, in its literary make-up, in its logical massing of facts and conclusions, I know of but few pieces of work in the whole realm of sociological literature that are entitled to rank with it. "Poverty degrades all men who struggle under its yoke, but the poverty which oppresses childhood is a monstrous and unnatural thing, for it denies the child growth, development, strength; it robs the child of the present and curses the man of the future. . . . It seems to me sometimes that all children from the tenements, and even from many apartment houses, should be classed in poverty, not because they are underfed, underclothed, or badly housed, for the majority are not, but because they have been forgotten, their play-space has been taken up, and no excuse made, nor has any substitute been supplied. When the city came to be the abode of men, the child was given the common to replace the fields; as the city grew in size the child was pushed from the common into the small yard, and from the yard he has been turned into the street. . . ."

"By far the largest part, 80 per cent at least, of crimes against property and against the person are perpetrated by individuals who have either lost connection with home life, or never had any, or whose homes have ceased to be sufficiently separate, decent and desirable to afford what was regarded as ordinary wholesome influences of home and family."

But it is almost impossible to quote, or rather to choose what not to quote. The study of the effect of industrial evolution on the child is so good that it should be given entire, but space forbids. After showing how, two or three generations ago in the old days of home industry, the family worked, lived, grew and developed with their work,—learning, playing and producing at the same time,—he goes on to show the terrible effect of the introduction of capitalism on this condition. "When this industrial revolution brought into the world the large cities and a new industrial life, it at the same time destroyed what has been described as the home. In our large cities this home no longer exists, the economic development of the last hundred years has destroyed it and left in its stead a mere shadow of what has been the source of all influences essential to the world." Our systems of education too have reflected the industrialism under which they have grown until they have lost all pliability and are completely out of touch with real social problems. "There are probably no other people in the country, of equal importance to the country, who as a class need to be brought back to the people so much as do the teachers."

But it is not simply that negatively society has taken away from the child his playground and his home, it has brought in the new and terrible evil of child labor. "I do not mean, of course, that children never worked before the factory made child labor an evil. Children have always worked; but their labor was not an evil, but rather it was a good thing, in the earlier days. When the race was young and the battle of life was directly with nature; when the world was poor and the securing of even the most meager livelihood meant constant struggle; when there was no other method of doing the world's work but by hand and with the aid of the simplest instruments,—inexorable necessity forced man, woman, and child to labor in order that life might be maintained. There was then need for child labor, a valid excuse for its existence. And even more than that,—for even extreme want would not have excused the child labor of that time if it had meant the ruin of the child,—the labor of the children in the days of the craftsman and artisan was educative, and the processes of learning how to weave, spin, and brew, to do the work in the fields or home, were not such as to overburden and break down the little workers. With the advent of the machine this period of harmless child labor passed away. And now in this day of steam and electrical power, when the mere force of one's hands is the most insignificant part of production, and when numberless machines are able to turn out a hundred and thousand fold more than it was possible for men to do when aided only by the simple hand-tools, child labor has become an evil—superfluous and

wicked—a shame to our civilization and an inexpiable crime against humanity.”

Both on the side of play and on the side of work then capitalism has brought only evil to the child. “To think of this problem in part is to fall into error. When one has only in mind the working child, one’s first thought is—he should be at play; when one has only the playing child in mind, the first thought is—he should have some occupation. But the dilemma is only a present one. We are in a transitional period in which the old individualistic ideas are still strong and the social ones are yet vague and groping.”

The chapter on “The Immigrant” presents in new and stronger form much that has often been said before together, with considerably new material. He shows how the immigrant has been brought to this country by those who are interested in the cheapest possible labor power and how those brought have simply contributed to their own misery and to that of those that have gone before as well as the native born. Neither does this mean that the population of America has been increased above what it would normally have been if there had never been any immigrants. The coming of those who were willing to live on a lower economic plane has simply reduced the birth rate among those who felt the pressure growing greater. The population has actually grown the slowest in just those years in which immigration was greatest.

While the work in no place sums up for socialism, yet no one can read it without realizing that the writer recognizes the fact of there being no other escape. With or without the label, this is a work which will always stand as a part of the great literature of socialism.

A. M. SIMONS.

The Recent Canadian Elections.

OBSCURED by the attention attracted by the recent historical campaign conducted by the Socialist Party in the United States, a campaign of lesser importance but of equal historical significance was conducted in Canada in October and November last. Canada, greater in area than the United States, is less advanced commercially and its vast tracts of undeveloped farm lands offer a haven for the surplus population of Europe and the overcrowded districts in America, the tide of emigration which is now flowing towards the Canadian Northwest being likely to continue in increasing numbers for the next two decades at least.

The great issue in the recent contest was the building of a new transcontinental railway across Canada to open up the districts north of the height of land from which the waters flow into the great lakes. This will mean that the fertile lands in the districts drained by the rivers emptying into Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean will be settled by emigrants in the next few years—the building of the railroad having been decided upon.

The Liberal party, in control of the Government, favored the building of the road on the private ownership basis—the people to build the road and the capitalists to own it—while the Conservative party, for election purposes, declared in favor of public ownership. The Liberal party had the largest campaign fund and won the election.

The historical phase of the campaign was the entry of the Socialist Party into the national elections. The election deposit law, requiring a deposit of \$200 in cash by each candidate, this to be forfeited if less than one-half the vote polled by the winning candidate is secured, is aimed to prevent the working class from securing representation in the halls of parliament. An additional requirement is a nomination paper signed by 20 voters in the district contested. These obstacles prevented the nomination of Socialist Party candidates in 210 of the 215 constituencies, but in five British Columbia districts the Socialist Party was represented and made a most creditable showing, saving the deposit in the Nanaimo district, where the Socialists carried all the mining districts and were only defeated by the farmers' votes. The vote cast in the five districts was as follows:

	Liberal	Conservative	Socialist
Nanaimo	1,509	1,122	784
Vancouver City.....	2,939	2,081	752
Kootenay	2,204	1,595	602
Yale Cariboo.....	1,380	1,323	393
Victoria City.....	1,692	1,192	336

The five districts constitute about three-quarters of the province and the socialist vote in these is about 15 per cent of the total. A provincial election took place in October, 1903, but the geography of the districts is so different that it is difficult to make a comparison. In one or two towns a decreased vote is shown for the socialists but the old parties' votes show a like discrepancy, the districts evidently being apportioned differently. In Vancouver and Victoria cities the vote in 1903 was double that secured in 1904, but the 1904 vote is a class conscious vote, while the 1903 vote was not, each voter then having several votes, enabling him to split his ballot between two or three parties. On the whole the 1904 election provides a fairer opportunity to estimate the Socialist strength than the 1903 campaign and the result is most encouraging. The following table shows the comparative strength of the three parties in some of the British Columbia mining camps:

	Liberal.	Conservative.	Socialist.
Nanaimo City	382	248	377
Ladysmith	220	185	243
Northfield	15	11	53
Greenwood	126	78	116
Phoenix	41	54	116
Slocan	37	32	44
Sandon	28	23	60
Ferguson	11	11	32
Fernietown	161	81	30
Michel	15	8	20
Fairview	57	28	28

Outside of British Columbia the only action taken by Socialists was the issuance of a circular by Local Toronto, calling upon all Socialists to write "Socialism" across the face of their ballots, the Socialists being unable to nominate candidates to stand for the election of Socialism.

In three of the districts candidates were nominated, all losing their deposits. The only Socialist candidate was A. W. Puttee, of Winnipeg, who has served two terms in Parliament as a labor member. In 1900 he polled 3,441 votes, 1,183 more than his capitalist opponent. This year he secured 1,277 votes, while the two capitalist nominees polled 4,252 and 4,006 respectively. While in Parliament Puttee kept his hands clean although he straddled the fence with one leg on the capitalist governmental side and the other on the side of "independence"—whatever that term means. He voted for a large money appropriation to send Canadian soldiers to South Africa to do the bidding of the Cecil Rhodes bunch of German-Jewish mine owners, and in other respects he aped the doings of his capitalist co-legislators. The result of the election shows that Winnipeg workingmen pre-

ferred an avowed capitalist representative to a spineless laborite who was "putty" in the hands of capitalist politicians.

A revolutionary Socialist movement is now springing up, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia all having locals which stand clear for the abolition of the wage system, and it is proposed to unite these bodies into a Canadian Socialist Party with headquarters in Vancouver, B. C. About three years ago there were about 60 Socialist "leagues" in the various Canadian provinces, but they were based on sentimentalism and probably three-quarters have passed out of existence. Some, however, have read other literature than the *Appeal to Reason* and have, in line with evolution, advanced in thought and formed militant working class political organizations out of the sentimental "leagues."

The Ontario Socialist Party has adopted the platform of the British Columbia Socialist Party and the locals at Winnipeg, Man., and Glace Bay, N. S., are expected to follow this lead, thus uniting the movement upon a common declaration of principles. Two Socialist papers, the *Clarion*, of Vancouver, B. C., and the *Standard*, of Port Arthur, Ont., will aid in educating the wage-workers to their class interests and in building up a strong movement from the splendid nucleus which now exists.

The capture of the Democratic party by the capitalist class and the control of the two great parties by the gigantic corporations is duplicated in Canadian politics. The Liberal Party formerly represented the dying middle class, but it is now an ultra-capitalist organization and the field is clearing preparatory to a straight fight between the capitalists and wage-workers. The taking up of the public ownership cry by the Conservatives will not result in their reorganization as a political factor with the rural element behind them. The two old parties are recognized as avowedly capitalistic and no third party is likely to arise to befog the issue, the Socialist party thus having a clear field to combat organized capital in Canadian politics.

Toronto. Ontario.

WESTON WRIGLEY.

Factors in Social Progress.

IT is estimated that there are, in the world today, somewhere between thirty and fifty millions of people who believe in the principles of Socialism, and those of the number who have the privilege of voting, cast their ballots for our cause. We are firmly convinced that sooner or later Socialism will be adopted by mankind throughout the whole world and become the ladder upon which the race shall climb to such heights of intellectual and moral greatness as no man has as yet deemed possible.

We are told by the masters of our science, and even by such opponents as Herbert Spencer, that some form of Collectivism is inevitable, that it cannot be much longer delayed, and that when it does come it will profoundly affect the whole industrial and economic status of mankind. As a direct consequence the whole fabric of modern civilization will undergo a radical change of such proportions and value that nothing which has preceded it during the whole course of history will be at all comparable to it. Such an uplift will be given the entire human family as will, for the first time, so adjust the relations of men to one another that the state in which they live may justly be termed civilized.

The picture drawn of the future of the human race by such idealists as More, Bellamy and others is so beautiful and alluring to the victims of our present state of savage strife and merciless competition that by comparison it seems like heaven and there can be no doubt that many thousands date their conversion from the time they read those writers' works.

Perhaps no phase of socialistic thought is more fascinating to the enthusiast than a study of the causes which are operating to bring about the coming revolution and speculations as to its probable time of arrival. In a general way that indefatigable student and profound philosopher, Karl Marx, set forth with remarkable accuracy the direction and results of capitalistic evolution and subsequent events have more than confirmed his predictions.

It is now generally recognized that we are rapidly approaching the critical period when the "entire fabric of human civilization will be thrown into the melting pot and recast, to emerge from the trial by fire purified, glorious and beautiful," and those of us who have been permitted to gaze in dreams upon the noble structure destined to arise upon the ruins of the present crumbling atrocity believe that when the time arrives life upon this planet will really be worth living. Marx pointed out that the institutions, habits of thought and customs of any people are largely the result of the means whereby they gain their livelihood, and that any change in the methods by which they accomplish this neces-

sarily involves corresponding changes in all those things enumerated. We have now entered upon the age of the machine; a new slave has been found, tireless, of unlimited strength and possibilities, infinitely better adapted to supply the material wants of mankind than the human slaves heretofore depended upon to perform the work of the world, and abundantly able to lift from the weary backs of toilers the crushing load they have for ages carried. The forces of nature have been harnessed to the machine and man's control over his new and wonderful servants becomes daily more pronounced and effective. It is to the utilization of these forces and the evolution of the simple hand tool into its present complicated and almost human perfection, in fact, that socialism has come to be regarded as desirable and inevitable, for it has already brought the socialization of production in many forms of human activity and the substitution of scientific machine production on a larger scale for the crude methods of individual hand production proceeds with ever increasing acceleration.

What is to be the outcome of the immense activity of the inventors and workers along the various lines of scientific research during the next few years? And in what manner and to what extent will it affect the movement of the working class looking toward the ownership of this new slave of iron and steam by the human slaves now obliged to compete with it? Prophecy is a dangerous pastime no doubt, but it is certainly a most fascinating one; and this article is an attempt to outline, with such accuracy as may be, along what lines progress may be expected, although the problem is too complicated and any one man's knowledge too limited to make pretense that any considerable weight should be attached to what follows.

There are so many factors to be considered and they are all so intimately related to one another that it is extremely difficult to single out those of most importance in the present discussion, but let us assume that those of immediate concern may be grouped as follows:

Improvements and inventions of a mechanical character.

Discoveries and new applications in the domain of chemistry.

Extension of our knowledge in the control and possibilities of electricity, together with a determination of what electricity really is.

It will be readily seen that in an article of this sort only the briefest mention can be made of the most important developments in these three fields and attention directed to their probable effects.

In the first division more has been accomplished of late in the way of perfecting the machinery used by the various "Christian" nations to destroy each other than in any other, and further progress may be looked for in that direction, especially in submarine vessels and aerial crafts of either the airship or aeroplane

variety. True, the aeroplane is not necessarily an implement of war, but in view of its almost unlimited possibilities when used for that purpose, all the governments of the western hemisphere and also Japan are devoting a great deal of money toward solving the problem of aerial flight. So important is the part likely to be played in human affairs by a successful flying machine that too much stress cannot be laid upon its consideration. That it will even put a stop to the whole business of organized murder which we call "war" is not too much to expect, for naturally the first place of attack with such machines would be the capitols and persons of the rulers, and no human precaution would avail against the frightful effects of a thousand pounds of high explosive dropped upon St. Petersburg or Tokyo from above. With a knowledge that the enemy possessed vessels capable of sustained flight and of carrying capacity sufficient to drop a half ton of dynamite on their heads within twelve hours after hostilities began, it is highly probable that wars would immediately become most unpopular with the only class who are now sufficiently interested to instigate them. With the power with which even the weakest nation would possess to kill off the rulers of any country, it would seem that permanent peace between all and a reference of disputes to some sort of international peace tribunal must be simply a matter of the conquest of the air. Recent developments indicate that a mechanism entirely capable of performing all the functions of a successful flying machine is even now possible, but it may be some years before all the details are worked out, and even then the greatest problem will come in the attempt to navigate it.

The submarine boat, in the opinion of many present-day experts, already bids fair to make the huge navies of the world useless for anything except junk, and the great nations are bending every energy toward adding large numbers of these small and comparatively inexpensive crafts to their equipment. At present their range of action is slight and their speed limited, but from the fact of their entire submergence in the water the ordinary means of attack and defense are useless. Cannons have been improved to the point where some are capable of throwing a projectile fifteen or twenty miles and the American government fills its shells with a new explosive called maximitite, which is so insensitive to shock that it may be fired from a cannon and even forced through armor plate without detonation. The time fuses used in connection with this shell, however, are so arranged as to explode it immediately after penetrating the interior of the enemy's ship, and the destruction it might cause under those circumstances is more to be imagined than described. Small arms are being improved constantly, and altogether war has become too horrible to be contemplated with anything but loathing and disgust.

Turning now to the arts of peace we find that one of the most recent and promising innovations is the development of the gas engine as a source of power in large units. It has been recognized for some years that this form of motor is capable of realizing in the shape of power a larger percentage of the theoretical energy of the fuel than any other motor known, but it is only during the last few years that the machine has been adapted to the use of a crude gas made by merely blowing air through a mass of incandescent carbon. Gas engines utilizing this product are said to save two-thirds of the fuel cost as compared with the best modern steam engines, and if such is the case it can be but a short time before it displaces all other sources of power, at least where large units are employed.

Another source of power of great and constantly increasing importance is the tremendous energy of falling water, and because of the ease and economy with which electric power may now be transmitted to any reasonable distance, thousands of water powers hitherto undeveloped are sure to be harnessed to the use of man in the immediate future. While there is nothing particularly new in the method by which the energy of the water is transformed into mechanical power, nor is anything more economical than the modern turbine and impact wheel likely to appear, special types are being perfected and details improved. It may be remarked that if all the water powers in the country are fully utilized the aggregate energy will be many thousands of times that obtained in all the steam and other engines now in use. The quantity is sufficient, in the opinion of experts, to furnish all the power, light and heat for the entire country several times over, and with the progressive exhaustion of our coal and other fuels must receive a correspondingly greater degree of attention.

In other lines of mechanical progress the most notable achievement of recent years is the automobile, which within a decade has reached a state of perfection and usefulness almost undreamed of. True, its price is still altogether out of proportion to its cost, and it may still be regarded as the rich man's toy, but with the standardizing of its various parts and increased facilities for manufacture its history will undoubtedly be similar to that of the bicycle, except that there is no reason why it should ever decline in popularity. With hard, level roads, such as those gridironing Europe, the automobile would prove a dangerous rival to the railroad by virtue of its great speed, unlimited range of action, ease and cheapness of operation and adaptability to all sorts of uses. That the automobile, by enlisting the aid of wealthy city residents, will bring an immediate improvement of the public wagon roads of the country there can be little doubt. Considerable has already been accomplished in this direction in various parts of the country and the national government has done and is doing a great deal of good in educating the farmers by spreading literature and the

maintenance of a corps of experts who travel about building short stretches of first-class roadway. With a universal system of good roads many hundreds of millions of dollars will be saved to the nation annually, although of course as long as the competitive system endures the benefits will be largely appropriated by the capitalist class.

In railroad practice the tendency is toward larger and larger units in locomotives and freight cars and somewhat higher speed in passenger traffic. Locomotives have now about reached the limit of weight and power possible with the present standard gage of track; and, although freight cars are now built to carry three times as much as those in use twenty years ago, further increase to a limited degree may be expected. With the same number of men it is now possible to run trains carrying three to ten times as much freight as at the period mentioned, especially when the "double header" plan is used. It may be that at some time in the future it will be deemed advisable in the interest of economy to broaden the gage of railroads in America to six feet, as was attempted many years ago, but such a suggestion would receive no consideration at present.

Almost any amount of space might be given to further discussion of the mechanical factors thus briefly touched upon, but we must pass on to a field of infinitely more importance—electricity and chemistry—for these two sciences are so intimately associated that it is quite impossible to separate them.

So important has the science of chemistry become during the last few years that almost every industrial establishment, no matter what its business, maintains at least one and frequently a whole staff of experts fully equipped with elaborate apparatus for the investigation of all technical problems connected with their particular manufacture. Independently of these are hundreds of men of world-wide reputation, many connected with great institutions of learning, all engaged in probing into the secrets of nature and continually making new discoveries of the most revolutionary character and greatest possible importance to the human race. What the future holds for us through the efforts of these men can scarcely be conjectured. As a rule they scorn to withhold from the world the results of their studies, but give out, freely and without any hope of reward other than the honor of their fellow men, processes and methods from which they might, if so minded, realize millions. The X-rays of Prof. Roentgen, the discovery and investigation of the wonderful new metal, radium, by the Curies, are cases in point. So far reaching is this latter addition to our knowledge of the elements indeed that it bids fair to effect a complete transformation of the whole theory of matter and its attributes. The phenomena of radio-activity, as exemplified by radium, uranium and a few of the other so-called elements, can be accounted for by no property heretofore known to be possessed

by them, and the whole chemical world is today bewildered and asking "where are we at?"

For some years there has been a growing tendency on the part of the great workers in this field toward acceptance of the theory that all of the so-called elements are in reality but different forms of the one real element, which many believe to be hydrogen; and now comes Sir Oliver Lodge with the startling hypothesis that all matter is nothing more than electricity, which, he suggests, may be a material substance instead of merely a force. His arguments are of an entirely too technical a character for reproduction here, but, coming from a man of his eminence, cannot fail to attract an enormous amount of attention. One thing may be regarded as established, and that is the fact that radium, besides possessing the power of giving off light and heat in quantities and ways altogether irreconcilable with hitherto accepted laws, is eventually resolved into helium, thus lending weight to the dreams of the alchemists of old in their search for means to transmute baser metals into gold.

What will be the outcome of all the study and attention now being directed toward the new problems presented by these later discoveries it is impossible to say, but that we are on the eve of developments of almost unthinkable importance is quite certain.

One of the questions which has engaged some of the chemists for many years, especially those in the employ of the government, has been the devising of some plan for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen in such form as to make it available for the use of growing plants. It has long been known that it is largely due to the loss of this element that soils become impoverished or "worn out," and until recently no other method for replacing it was known than a resort to mineral nitrates, such as those brought in large quantities from Chile, or the planting of certain species of leguminous vegetables—clover, alfalfa, etc. Recently it has been discovered that these plants obtain their nitrogen from the operations of a minute organism which is found in multitudes of tubercles attached to the roots. Patient study of the life and functions of this species of bacteria has been rewarded with most gratifying results, and they are now propagated artificially, dried, and distributed broadcast to all applicants by the government. By placing small quantities of the dried material in a barrel of water and spraying this over almost any sort of crop, the soil may be impregnated with countless billions of this most beneficial organism and the most phenomenal yield obtained from land thought to be valueless.

An electrical process has also come lately to the front by which it is possible to obtain a compound of nitrogen and oxygen directly from the air, which forms with water nitric acid, but whether this can be utilized commercially is at present undecided. The importance of all this can hardly be overestimated, as it solves the

problem of an adequate food supply for an indefinite period, once agriculture shall be placed in the hands of experts and conducted by the community instead of being intrusted to a lot of ignorant, independent, intensely exploited small producers.

In other branches of chemical science much activity is observable, especially in organic and synthetic directions. Many substances formerly obtained only from the vegetable and animal kingdoms are now produced artificially, notably indigo, camphor, etc. Although nature produces an almost infinite number of what are known as organic compounds—that is, those containing carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen—no method of combining these substances in any form on a commercial scale was known prior to the discovery of the now common substance called “calcium carbide.” From this, by merely dropping it into water, is obtained acetylene gas, composed of hydrogen and carbon in equal quantities. Aside from its great value as an illuminant, this gas serves as a starting point for the manufacture of an almost endless array of alcohols, ethers, oils of various sorts, and it may be possible before many years to produce synthetically in this manner almost anything wanted of those articles, unless in some cases the increased cost shall prevent.

Of such hopeless complexity are some of the most common and valuable organic compounds, as, for example, sugar, starch, cellulose and rubber, that but little is actually known of their structure, but a vast amount of research is being given to their consideration and something of importance may be looked for at any time. To make glucose from corn starch is a simple matter, but glucose, although identically the same as cane sugar, so far as chemical analysis indicates, is of only one-half its sweetening power. Some method to change its molecular form, thus imparting to it all the qualities of its sweeter other self, would be of such value to human-kind that its discoverer could obtain almost any price for his secret. In almost as great a degree would some one profit from a process of artificially producing rubber, the supply of which seems to be lessening, while the demand grows with leaps and bounds. Yet all these things contain nothing whatever but carbon, oxygen and hydrogen and it is hard to believe that chemistry, which has solved many problems apparently much more intricate, shall long prove impotent to cope with these, in view of the possible rewards.

Any number of pages might be profitably devoted to this one subject of chemistry, but with a final mention of one other point we must hurry on. If there is one thing more than another which has been dangled before the longing eyes of workers in this most fascinating field for hundreds of years, that thing is the possibility of making glass malleable. The material par excellence for a multitude of uses, because of its cheapness, hardness, transparency, resistance to weather, chemicals, water, and in fact

pretty nearly everything else, it is yet unfitted for most of those uses by its extreme brittleness. A means to impart to glass that one quality of malleability would furnish us with the ideal material for building purposes, an unlimited number of articles for household use, tools, implements, machinery, ties, probably rails, and a host of other things now made of the various metals and woods. Tradition has it that an ancient Roman workman was possessed of the secret and made goblets which would merely bend when dropped on the floor, but he is said to have been beheaded by the emperor, who feared that all of the then existing glasses in the world would become valueless should the secret be made known.

It is electricity, however, which has been and is dazzling the world with its apparently unlimited possibilities. So much has been accomplished in the way of enslaving to the uses of man this mystic force or element, whichever it may be, that the world is prepared to accept almost anything from that source. Beginning, not so many years ago, with the telegraph, the invention of the dynamo-electric machine, driven by a steam engine or other prime mover, afforded a base for the present gigantic expansion of the science as applied industrially. With an unlimited source of electric power we now have a bewildering network of telegraph, telephone, power, and rail lines all over the country, while Tesla and Marconi even promise to perform all of the functions of the wires by electrical vibrations traversing merely the ether. There is no place here to enumerate all of the uses to which electricity has recently been applied, and we must be content with a few of the most important.

The next few years are likely to witness a remarkable development of the various systems of wireless telegraphy, and it is reasonable to expect that it will be possible to communicate between any two points on the globe by that method, although whether the apparatus for the purpose can be made portable and usable without interference by other similar plants at the same time is still uncertain. Probably this difficulty will be overcome, although at present it prevents good results in places where the systems are most used, as in the seat of the far eastern war.

As a means for the utilization of water power hitherto entirely wasted, the electric current is attaining vast importance. It is said in Buffalo no stationary steam plant is now in use, all of the power used in that city for any purpose whatsoever coming from the great generating plant at Niagara Falls. In California power is carried from the fastnesses of the mountains to distances of more than three hundred miles to centers like San Francisco, Los Angeles and many minor points with but a slight loss. By means of the alternating current and "step-up" transformers the only difficulty in the way of carrying the power for any distance is the proper insulation of the wires. In dry weather this may be ac-

completed, even with pressures as high as those used in California (50,000 to 80,000 volts), but when bad weather supervenes the problem is sadly complicated. Then there is the danger inseparable from the handling of currents of such intensity, although most people are today wise enough to shun wires known to be carrying power. It seems probable that most of the water powers anywhere near centers of population in this country are likely to be brought into requisition very shortly, and electricity, on account of its wonderful adaptability to so many different uses, is sure to have an enormously greater field than at present. For one thing, it is unquestionable that the time is not far distant when electricity will largely or altogether supplant steam as a motive power on all lines of railroads, thus making possible the operation of single cars as units, after the manner of present trolley lines. By the use of the single-phase system of transmission the cost of operation should be considerably reduced and recent trials in Germany indicate that the speed limit under proper conditions may be safely raised to ninety or one hundred miles per hour.

When coal is burned under a steam boiler and the power thus generated used to turn a dynamo, the energy actually realized in the shape of electric current is only a small part of that theoretically possible, but no practicable means has yet been discovered of transforming heat directly into electricity on a commercial scale, although it may be done experimentally by the thermopile or the carbon-potash primary battery. The former offers possibilities which are receiving due consideration from present-day experts, and it will eventually be possible, in the writer's opinion at least, to obtain a far larger output of current by some such means than by the present roundabout and excessively wasteful method.

Another source of this kind of power which should not be overlooked is the energy of the wind. In some districts, particularly on the great plains between the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains, where the atmosphere is rarely quiet, there is absolutely no limit to the amount of power which might be generated electrically, using large windwheels geared to dynamos, these in turn to effect the charging of storage batteries. On account of the uncertainty and variability of the wind it may not be possible to use the current direct, but the storage cell has reached a high state of efficiency already and is likely to undergo still greater improvement.

We now come to the domain of electro-chemistry, in which some of the most spectacular discoveries of recent years have been made, and which is today receiving more attention than any other field of scientific inquiry. The invention of the electric furnace, and the use of that wonderful appliance made possible by the harnessing of the almost infinite power of streams like Niagara, has placed in the hands of science one of its most, if not

the most, effective tool known to man. Grouped around the great falls in easy reach of the huge generators now driven by a minute portion of the water diverted from its original leap, are growing up great plants for the manufacture of calcium carbide, barium carbide, carborundum, alundum, aluminum, caustic soda, nitric acid and many other valuable products hitherto made by other processes or not at all. Some of these processes employ the electric furnace, and others, such as the caustic soda plant, simply use the current to effect decomposition of certain mineral compounds, which in this case is a common salt, the chlorine passing off as a gas, to be combined with slaked lime to form bleaching powder, while the metallic sodium immediately decomposes the water present to form caustic soda and hydrogen gas, the latter being, of course, used as a by-product.

It is difficult to prevent waxing entirely too enthusiastic over the possibilities of electro-chemistry, for it offers opportunities for profitable study and large reward to a greater degree than almost any other branch of science. If there are any limitations to the field in which these methods may be applied to the discovery of new and the cheapening of known substances, it is not apparent, and it is easier to interest moneyed men in this direction than almost any other.

To sum up, it may be said that in spite of all the marvelous inventions and discoveries in so many different lines during the last century, all that has gone before will be as nothing compared with what the next hundred years will bring forth. Let us give the devil his due and cheerfully admit that capitalism, whatever may be its shortcomings, has shown us the way by which we can forever free the human race from want or the fear of want by having solved the problem of production for many times the number of people now living on this globe. It has also added innumerable comforts and conveniences which, although enjoyed at present by but a few, will be participated in by all, once we have thrown down the barriers of private ownership in the means by which they are produced.

In these, the final years of capitalism, the process of concentration in all the various lines of industry will proceed with ever increasing rapidity, the plants will decrease in number as they increase in size, new and improved methods will be constantly introduced, there will be greater and greater tendency toward standardization with the monopolization of all industries and scientific methods and processes will bring order into the chaos hitherto existing in all of our industrial affairs—so far as may be consistent with the perpetuation of the capitalist system. With the continual improvement of the machine toward the capitalist ideal, where human labor will be no longer required and production entirely automatic, there must necessarily result a continual increase in the army of unemployed and a greater intensifi-

cation of their present miseries. Eventually the capitalist system must break down, because of its utter inability to provide the barest necessities of life for its millions of famishing wage-slaves, and when it shall have given place to a rational and just system of co-operation, such a flood of scientific and inventive talent will be let loose that progress, from that time forth, will date its real inception from the Socialistic revolution. At present we have only touched upon the outer edge of the vast sea of knowledge, owing to the fact that men have always occupied themselves in fighting each other instead of directing their attention toward more rational employment. There are thousands of potential Kelvins, Edisons, Curies and Pasteurs in our midst today engaged in following the plow or delving in the mines, who, under Socialism, would find opportunities to develop their latent genius and confer untold benefits upon mankind.

CHARLES ELWOOD RANDALL.

Concentred.

Children, twenty thousand, slaughtered in the "Concentration" camps!
On with sackcloth and with ashes—in the Temples, out with lamps.
Hush the voice of supplication; for its season long has past,
For the blood of breathless children stirs Omnipotence—at last.

Twenty thousand tongues—though silenced—sentence ye: accept your fate.
What a word is this, Repentance? but your penitence comes late.
Much too late to make the Mothers bless, instead of curse the land.
Much too late—the earth is trembling. Can ye now not understand?

Curst forever by the Mothers of these martyred infants! Say,
Did ye count the cost of conflict when the sword was raised to slay?
Did ye think to stifle curses that must rise to Mothers' lips
At the sight—forever present—of the child Starvation grips?

Oh ye Mothers who are mourning son or husband lost in war,
Time shall touch your lips to singing; Time shall close the open sore.
But the breasts of famished Mothers of these twenty thousand slain
Shall the deathly pain be aching; shall forevermore complain.

Mute the lips; nor conscious cursing in the cowed, rebellious lives;
But remembrance speaks forever—and the bitterness survives,
In the silence of the night time comes the vision—faces blanch;
And a cry to God for vengeance, that shall loose the avalanche.

Twenty thousand? Twenty thousand must be many multiplied,
For the cities of all Nations have their slaughtered babes supplied.
Children in the slums concentrated, starving children everywhere.
Wring with anguish hearts of Mothers—till they curse in wild despair.

Curst. Accumulated curses have concentrated on our heads.
Curst. And cool contempt for others sends us crassly to our beds;
While a multitude of Mothers by their slaughtered children weep,
We—concentred all in "Profits"—think the victory was cheap.
—EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTE.

The Italian Elections.

The socialist reviews are by no means entirely agreed as to the general effect of the recent elections in Italy. The new publication *La Vie Socialiste* has an article by A. Tisbo from which we take the following extracts:

"The verdict of the country is known, but is it truly the country which has elected the deputies? We may doubt this, not alone because of the great majority of illiterates and indifferent persons who have not been included in the electoral lists, but also because an important fraction of the electors have been prevented from voting either by the recall to active service of the reserves of 1880-81 and by the official orders given to State employes, and because furthermore in very many places the police and the troops terrorized citizens and prevented them from exercising the right.

"The governmental coalition does not appear to be firmly established. Rumors are already current of an inevitable division, and it is easy to foresee that the Cabinet will soon be compelled to choose between its electoral supporters, its moderate proteges, and its clerical adherents. When the time comes that it is compelled to make this choice it will find itself embarrassed and very much menaced.

"But it is not alone because of these things that the joy of the official journals is very much restricted. The evident hope of the Ministry was the complete annihilation of the power of the extreme Right and the extreme Left. Now, however, it is evident that the Chamber of tomorrow will resemble at nearly all points that of yesterday. Upon the one side the friends of M. Sonnio have slipped themselves into a majority, and on the other hand the extreme left with its most combative fraction, republicans and democrats, has not been diminished as much as they have hoped.

"Indeed, what few radicals have disappeared are just those radicals which solicit governmental support. Those who are elected are nearly all those who offered open battle to the Ministry. On the other hand, the republicans in spite of their strong attitude have lost two or three seats and the Socialists have maintained their positions. They have indeed 29 deputies of which three have been elected in two districts. This success, however apparently small, is in reality a great victory.

"The result of the election of 1900 gave us but 28 delegates and this result was obtained through a union with the democratic and republican party. Our candidates supported by all those popular forces then obtained only 164,976 votes

in the entire peninsula. This time they were practically alone and in spite of the defection of certain elements eliminated by the general strike and the conflict which has divided our party, we have received nearly 320,000 votes.

"It is necessary to note that the reverses which we have met are largely due to the intervention of a new force in the struggle, that of the clericals. All of the clericals have voted at either the first or the second election.

"For ten years they have held over our heads this threat of clerical intervention. Now, it has come to pass and our party comes forth stronger than ever."

Perhaps the most remarkable comment on the election is that which proceeds from the opportunist point of view. Leonida Bissolati, who was formerly the opportunist editor of *Avanti* from which position he was deposed by the party to make room for Ferri has an article on the result of the Italian election in the December number of Bernstein's *Monatshefte* which is remarkable for its frank statement of the reformist position. To him it is a source of sorrow "that the electoral battle did not turn on any parliamentary question such as the railroad or tariff question, but was a battle in which the parties were forced to align themselves according to their fundamental differences, and especially in relation to the labor movement in its most universal and complex manifestation, of which the general strike was the most significant expression. In my opinion it is a proof of the backwardness of political life when the battle of individual parties turns on their fundamental tendencies instead of on individual questions which spring from the reality of daily life. It is certainly true, however, that an election which was brought about by a general strike could have taken no other character."

To the socialist who has always supposed that it was a fundamental principle of socialist doctrine that every election should turn on just these fundamental questions such talk sounds strange. But there are further surprises. "The extreme left lost in the neighborhood of 15 seats in the Chamber. To be sure, the Socialist Party can boast of doubling its vote in comparison with the election of 1900, but the number of their representatives in parliament is somewhat reduced. To be sure the reduction is very insignificant—we had 33 and we will henceforth have 32 representatives—so that when we consider the great efforts that were made to crush the Socialist Party we can say that it has almost maintained its previous position. It would, however, be foolish boasting to talk about a victory. * * * Let us turn for a moment from the number of socialist votes and socialist representatives to

other considerations. I have already remarked that the slight reduction of a fraction may perhaps be considered as offset by the increase in votes. Nevertheless it may easily be maintained that such an equivalent does not exist, but that on the contrary the loss of even one seat as opposed to the increase of votes can injuriously affect the activity of the party, limit its strength and injure it in just those directions wherein the main point of the struggle consists: the advance and conquest of parliamentary position. But let us leave these considerations to one side. The gains and losses that a party receives in electoral battle arise not alone from the number of its representatives in elections, but much more from the favorable or unfavorable situation in which it finds itself after the battle and as a result of the struggle. From the point of view of the party and proletarian interests the situation is undoubtedly worse. The socialists, both in parliament and outside see themselves opposed by a union of their opponents such as has never confronted them before. The conservative capitalist parties have, to our disadvantage, drawn nearer to each other, so that from now on the tactics that have previously served us, based upon the rivalries which weaken the camp of the enemy, will be continuously more difficult. At the same time the powers upon which we could count, in certain moments, either for the advance of liberty or the conquest of better positions for the proletariat, have grown weaker. I refer to the decrease in the strength of the extreme left. So it comes about that our relations to the capitalist democracy have become very cool, and in just the degree that the feeling of the little merchant and little bourgeoisie which were once openly sympathetic to us and are now, even if not in direct enmity, at least envious, mistrustful and angry, toward us."

Oda Oldbert, the Italian correspondent of the *Neue Zeit*, also writes of the Italian elections in a recent number. Quotations from this article give a very different idea from that of our opportunist comrade. "In 1897 under the ministry of Rudini the Italian Socialist Party cast 108,086 votes and captured sixteen seats. There has not been a universal election since that time and until the 6th of November of this year there has not been any opportunity for socialists to obtain a clear view of the strength which they possessed for the conquest of political power. This last election has given us this view and the party received over 300,000 votes or one-fifth of all cast, and captured 29 seats. In spite of this advance which, to be sure, indicates a normal development of a sound healthy party organization in a favorable social environment discussions have constantly arisen, both at home and abroad as to whether it indicated a step in advance or a

retarding of the socialist movement. This is partly because of recognized official falsification and partly because of the ignorance or false interpretation of early party history. These conclusions are based upon the fact that the election of 1897 was followed by that of Pelloux in which 32 socialist seats were gained and forgets that this election turned on definite objects for which the socialist party united with the radicals and the republicans."

"In the chamber which has just been dissolved there were 32 socialists, not counting Barbatto, who although elected in a republican district, had declared himself a socialist. Of the 32 socialists 28 belonged to the socialist party, three to an autonomous group and one was unattached. In the new Chamber there are also 32 socialists, 29 belong to the party organization, one to an autonomous group and two are unattached.

"The party therefore has one more member than in the previous Chamber. To be sure the party has suffered losses, *but it has not lost a single seat that it won by its own strength unaided by an alliance with any other party.* * * To be sure, of the 30 second elections only four went favorable to us, because the government brought to bear all possible influence upon the election and practically no support was received from the republicans and radicals.

"Our tremendous increase of votes along the whole line is the best security for the future, and the party will certainly not allow itself to be discouraged because it has been swindled out of a few seats. It must be remembered that the election followed the general strike and according to the representation of the government is to be considered as the judgment of the people upon that event. Although every effort was used to repress the vote of the country, yet through the clashing of arms and the rolling of the gold pieces, the voices of over 300,000 voters was heard, who on the morrow of the general strike, on the morrow also of the revolutionary movement that has cost tremendous material sacrifice without bringing anything but idealistic advantages, stood for the party and its programme. Such votes cannot be lightly underestimated. * * *

"The party had in no way sought to avoid the responsibility for the strike. On the contrary its central organ had openly and expressly declared the strike to be in full accord with the socialist methods and positions as an expression of a proletarian party resting upon the class struggle, that it could and would repeat if necessary. So it was that the question to which the socialist voter gave an affirmative answer was not as formerly: do you wish to stand with a party that

strived for this or that humanitarian ideal, or for this or that present programme, with a host of modifications and restrictions?

"Such questions have been previously answered in the affirmative by many recent transient adherents simply because they wished to follow a part of the programme. The storm of the general strike scattered this sort of forces. From such a position to the acceptance of responsibility for the general strike is a long stride, that only those will take who are convinced of the historical necessity of our movement, of the inevitability of a violent conclusion and of the extent of the sacrifice demanded, whether they proceed upon the ground of theoretical convictions or of personal class interests. The general strike has thus become a powerful touchstone with which to separate the vague socialistic feeling from the socialism of the class struggle.

"Further the strike has injured the actual personal interests of the little capitalist class, and those who from many points had been drawn to our minimum programme, were suddenly driven away. This is especially true of the very numerous class of little merchants, which still exists in Italy, who were injured by the strike, and have been wholly lost to us in this present election. This dissolving of the fallacious unity of ideals and interests finds its political expression in the disappearance of the lines of the popular parties."

Translations and comment by A. M. Simons.

Letters from a Pork Packer's Stenographer.

LETTER NO. VII.

Chicago, Ill., 190—.

My Dearest Katherine:

Your letter came this morning, and it has set me thinking all the day, for alas! You speak truly, when you say I am changed. That dear little letter was the one link to bind me to the past, the one bright spot amid the wrecks of my illusions; for it represents the friend who loves me for the things I have been, for the things I am now, and who, though I break every one of the Ten Commandments, though I mock at the mistaken ideals of men, and put my trust in the things they call evil, will continue to love me till the end.

It was a welcome letter, my Kate, for it gave me one tried cord to cling to, at a time when I find the teachings of my mother, the beliefs of the Church, and all the vaunted intellects of the college, irreconcilably opposed to the deductions that Truth, and Reason, and Experience dictate. I find myself alone, facing the new and untried, the way to growth and progress, against the old, which represents all that the world has trusted and believed in the past.

I am no longer the little girl who stole from her crib and crept down the stairs one Christmas eve sixteen years ago, with the hope of discovering the St. Nicholas of childish fancy, and nursery lore—to lose—her first illusion. Nor the school-girl, who boasted of her American birth, and worshipped her Sons of War, who honored where honor was not due, and blamed where she should have given praise. Nor a Christian, in a land where men compete with each other for the means of existence, and count it noble. No longer the idealist who believes in appealing to the sentiment—the humanity in man.

I am the woman of twenty-three who has buried her illusions, who has outgrown the shell of her past beliefs, who respects the old, only because it has made possible the new, who has seen sentiment fail, and Christianity stagnate, and who believes the only programme calculated to benefit the man and woman of the future, must be, as it has been in the past, founded upon the never-failing stimuli, of personal benefit—self-interest, as a Christ's teachings of a brotherhood in this world were founded upon a personal reward to be reaped in Heaven; as many manufacturers in the North, forty years ago, became abolitionists, and worked for the freedom of the negroes, in order that Northern manufacturers might be able to compete with the Southern markets; as cannibalism died away, when it became apparent to the ancient tribes that they could better use their enemies by making

slaves of, than by eating, them; as society has ever progressed through the constant seeking of every individual for his own personal happiness.

I have come to believe that self-interest, and not self-sacrifice, is the law of progress, for no matter how ideal may be a man's aims, how altruistic his motives, or how loving his soul, he has first to supply the needs of his own body, ere the work moves on.

Until of late, however, in spite of my lagging faith in the truth of the Church, my waning respect for college intellect, and my new conception of Man, I had still belief in the laws and institutions of our country—that they were formed for the purpose of protecting the innocent from the guilty—and stood for justice and equality toward all. But again, I say, I have buried another one of my illusions.

I am awakened more fully every day to the fact that the laws are made nowadays more to protect the guilty from the innocent, than to uphold the virtuous; rather to help the strong to become stronger, and to protect the colossal robber in picking the pockets of the poor. I have been reading the morning paper and the trial of the hoodlums in Missouri. I see that the Packing Companies are going to "Legally" combine. So, while they were punished (in Missouri, a paltry fine of \$5,000) for combining—in May—they are combining, according to Law—in June.

Trusts buy, where they cannot defy—and it is only the poor man who obeys the laws. If the new anti-anarchist laws were put into effect, I think some of us would be surprised at our friends who would be transported.

It seems to me that it is mockery to talk of Liberty when half a dozen men own the resources on which the lives of the whole nation depend! And that we are only suffering a new kind of slavery, where our backs and our stomachs scourge us onward, and bid us yield homage to the kings, as did the lash of the master's whip, in the days of old! And the hand that holds the job rules the world!

But in spite of the loss of my old beliefs, I have found one rock of truth amid the new. Human nature is ever the same. It has always been the same, and doubtless it will continue so. And human nature is selfish. It seeketh its own. It is compelled to seek its own in order to live. On this fact, and on this fact alone, must the Future build. On this fact has History built, and it is this great natural law, that will eventually bring greater happiness, greater liberty, greater knowledge, and broader life, to all men. Utopia must come as the Republic came—not founded upon the sands of sentiment, or religion—but upon the natural and eternal law of self-interest.

I suppose you have seen in the papers that the fortunate Sylvia has at last succeeded in landing her Count. The *Tribune* calls him an imbecile, the *News* says he has \$500,000 bad debts, while

the *American* proclaims that he has a club-foot and has suffered from rickets since his childhood. But no matter how rickety he is, nor how foolish or wicked he may be, he is a Count for all that (just as Pierpont Graham would have been ever increasingly a millionaire, if he had been born an idiot), and even if Sylvia has to have him shut up in an asylum, she will still be the Countess of Know-nothing-at-all-and-never-did-a-lick. I believe John Graham, himself, is not much taken with the idea of having a Count in the family. But whether it is more praiseworthy to get rich by working the people who do the work, or by marrying a bank account, would be a question somewhat difficult of answer. Perhaps the Count will prove a good spender—Counts usually know that much, anyway—and thus keep the custodians of Sylvia's wealth from going crazy trying to look after her money.

Mrs. Graham, it seems, warmly approves of the match, and has expressed herself by presenting her niece with a country place in England, worth over a million dollars, for a wedding present. Hundreds of workmen have been dispatched to the de Souci Gardens to rebuild the ancient palace that belonged to the fathers of the Count, which the papers tell us he has been able to redeem on the strength of Sylvia's millions. They are also having built the finest yacht that ever sailed the seas, in which this modest pair, a score of friends and twice as many servants, are to spend their honeymoon. It is to be hoped, with Sylvia's place in Santa Barbara, her mansion in New York, her home in Denver, her farm in Massachusetts, and her cottage at Newport, that this humble, hard-working pair may never lack a spot to lay their heads.

It is said they will own the finest stables in the world; that the harness worn by the horses, of the Countess-elect, is worked with real gold and studded with jewels, and that her favorite saddle horse would set up Teddy and me for life.

And have you read the daily descriptions of my lady's trousseau? Thirty sets of underwear, woven by hand so skilful, and of thread so fine as almost to rival the gossamer cob-web in texture! Such wonders of real lace, and embroidered hose, such marvels of Parisian dressmakers' skill, such treasures from the Orient, such curios from the Occident, such silks and jewels, such a wealth of costly gifts showered upon a young bride, was never known before in the "Land of Equality!" Never known anywhere since the days of Louis the XIV, or the merry-mad times of old Rome!

Sylvia and her maids, and the Count and his men, are being fêted from palace to castle, from noon until morning, and the celebrated Dr. L., is afraid Sylvia will be unable to endure the strain of so many teas, breakfasts, dinners, dances, so many glovemakers, dressmakers, bootmakers and milliners. Did you read about the dinner given in this young lady's honor at Arling-

ton Palace, last week, by the Duchess of M? Where the walls were hung with garlands of American Beauty roses, and hyacinths, and birds and fishes sported in the artificial lake and amid the tropical plants arranged in the center of the tables; where the favors were ivory boutonnaires, worked with gold and inlaid with pearls and rubies? So much wealth is enough to intoxicate any woman into belief in the divine rights of money!

Mr. Mac. says this is just so much money thrown into circulation, and we ought to be thankful to the rich; and Doctor Hughes, whom I heard at Church last Sunday evening, says we owe all our pleasures, and even our lives, to the kind and brotherly capitalist. It is just such sermons as this that make me stay at home, or go to the theater on Sunday evening. I never heard a minister preach anything but contentment and endurance with society as it exists to-day, and from all I can learn, it has been their attitude in all time past, and at their present rate of progress, it seems to me this will continue to be their stand in the future. God is always pleased with the existing state of society, and to oppose such a condition would be to oppose the will of God himself, is the teaching we generally hear from the pulpit. It is the reason progressive thinkers go another way. Anything that retards progress should be set aside, and so they *ought* to go another way. But we find that most ministers, like all other men, form their opinions largely at the source from which they draw their salaries (the wealthy parishioners of the diocese).

All these ecclesiastical theories on endurance, and these college philosophies founded on property, are enough to make anybody sad-hearted. It is not charity we want, but justice; not to be told to endure, when there is a cure; nor to render thanks when we have been the givers of gifts; nor to wait for justice in Heaven, amid injustice here! And it isn't a just Government that permits one child to be born a millionaire, and another a pauper!

I must tell you what I did last night, Kate. After reading the foregoing portion of my letter, you will be surprised—and I am myself surprised, that the young woman who could write such thoughts, should have so narrow a scope of self-satisfaction as to think more of her own shirtwaists than of the sorrows of a child-laborer. For, while I believe that self-interest, self-seeking, is the law both of life and progress, yet there is selfishness, and selfishness. There is Miss Katherine Wallace, who denies her stomach for the sake of her mind, because she prefers to do it; and the mother who goes hungry herself, because she would rather her children be fed; the man who dies for his brother, because it satisfies his soul to give up his life for another; and the man who rejoices in his physical pains, because he hopes, and believes to be made happier in the world to come. All selfish, all self-satisfying, all appealing to the strongest appetite in the in-

dividual; but I had hoped and believed that I was beyond thinking only of my own troubles, and could take my pleasure in giving other people pleasure. But I will tell you about it.

I have exactly four shirtwaists that I can wear at the office, and three of them were in the wash, which Mrs. Flynn, who has been my tried and steady laundress, called for some ten days ago. But this time she failed to reappear on Friday with my clean clothes, as was her custom, nor did she come during the week which followed, and by the time I had soiled my best white waists, I decided to hunt her up, and see if I could not get something to wear. And so, last night, promptly after dinner, I took a car, and after riding over an hour, through the darkest, dirtiest, most wretched looking, and most offensive smelling, district in the city, and after much wandering through interminable alleys, I finally found the little house, in the basement of which dwelt Mrs. Flynn, her husband and four children. Ten or twelve ragged and dirty urchins played noisily about the steps that led down to Mrs. Flynn's abode; a woman sat nursing her baby on the narrow front porch, and a drunken bricklayer (I heard her say) was playing foot-ball with his family in the room above. And mark you: I, a strong young woman of twenty-three—I, who have earned my daily bread for half a dozen years, and who know the meaning of the struggle for life—I was AFRAID, in the community where Mrs. Flynn's little *children* are GROWING UP.

I found Mrs. Flynn sick, lying in a legless bed upon the floor, in her little room in the basement, while Sarah, aged eight, the eldest of the little quartette, walked wearily too and fro in a vain endeavor to silence the wailings of six months' old Theodore Roosevelt. She wore a gored skirt, made for a woman and cut off at the knees, a pair worn boys' shoes, and alas! one of the missing shirtwaists, which I recognized at a glance. When she saw me she scurried back of the cook stove, baby and all, in a wild effort to conceal her attire, while I gave Mrs. Flynn a Sunday School discourse on honesty, and the rights of private property.

She told me that Pat was a pig-sticker at the plant of Graham & Company, and made \$2.00 a day, when there was work, but he was seldom needed more than three or four days out of the week. Of late, she said, the Packing Company had been putting foreign workmen, who were either willing, or forced to work for lower wages, in the places of the old men, and she, herself, had been taken sick, and obliged to give up the weekly washings, and scrubbing with which she had sought to eke out their slender income. Little Sarah was taken out of school, and obtained a place as cash-girl in one of the big department stores. And, being without one whole garment to her back, they had 'borrowed' from my washing to enable her to go to work.

Mrs. Flynn did not acquit herself as I have here, and as Teddy

The Trusts at the Amsterdam Congress.

THE subject "Trusts and Unemployment" had been placed on the Agenda of the International Socialist Congress, held at Amsterdam, at the request of the Socialist party of the United States.

It is very likely that amongst the comrades, who make Trusts and their influence on the life of the workers a special study, some must have looked forward with keen interest to the report of our comrades of the United States on the connection they could point out as existing between trusts and unemployment. This report has not come forward. The little yellow volume bringing the long waited for reports and resolutions on the various subjects of the Agenda, appeared just one or two days before the opening of the Congress and contained the information that the Socialist party of the United States had not been able to elaborate the question of "Trusts and Unemployment" and requested to strike it from the Agenda. It seemed then quite natural that the Congress should not deal with a question, the discussion of which lacked any introduction or preparation. The bureau of the Congress has deemed adequate to act otherwise. It has maintained the question "Trusts and Unemployment" on the Agenda of the Congress. It has thus assumed the responsibility of the inconsiderate way in which the congress has dealt with the question of Trusts.

An International Socialist Congress is hardly a study club. It cannot be expected that either the Congress at large or even a committee having a few hasty hours only for its work, shall go deeply into the research of the connections which may possibly exist between certain problems of capitalist production, nor that they shall establish complicated facts, the data for which are still scarce and not sufficiently reliable.

It follows that an International Congress should not be asked to adopt resolutions on questions, which are still matter of study and research.

There seems to be a general feeling amongst our comrades that our International Congresses cannot help but adopt a certain number of resolutions. If this is a fatality, we should, if our resolutions shall have some value, questionable as it may be, thereby stick to such points, whereupon there exists some fairly general opinion, or where sufficient data are available to enable the formation of a tolerably founded judgment.

The question of "Trusts and Unemployment," the establishing of what connection there may exist between the two problems, surely does not come under said category. The general development of trusts being comparatively new (some delegates at the commission told us that in their country they had not seen any

trusts so far, but they had seen unemployment and would be only too glad to get same remedied) our knowledge of their methods and of their consequences must necessarily be incomplete. The appearance of unemployment is surely of older date. Several generations of workers have gone through lives of constant anxiety in the face of everthreatening unemployment, have suffered all kinds of misery during the periods when the want of employment was actually upon them. But do we have in most countries fairly complete data as regards the extension of unemployment in various industries, and since when? And where we have those statistics, are they classed analytically according to the causes of unemployment in each separate case, such as to make us to compare the importance and the nature of the unemployment at different moments and in various industries, and to go into the causes which are at the bottom of the differences we find? Do we really thus dispose of the necessary data to state: in such country in such industry at such moment the unemployment was so much, at such other moment, all other circumstances being perfectly equal, the unemployment has been so much; the difference between the two figures arises from the development of trusts into said industry? It is only too evident that we are still at a great distance from this extension of our research and precision of our knowledge.

Still there is the bureau of the Congress deciding that, irrespective of the total absence of information available for the delegates, the subject "Trusts and Unemployment" shall be maintained on the Agenda of the Congress. A commission is appointed to deal with the question. Let us suppose that it consists of submissive and obedient delegates. They resist the temptation of going to listen to Bebel and Jaures at the commission for tactics. They retire virtuously into the little corner set out for their meeting.

"There is no well defined connection between trusts and unemployment," says one delegate. "There may be such connection but we cannot clearly see it so far," says the more prudent number two. "We should enforce the trusts to afford regular employment to their workmen," says a third. "According to certain economists the trusts have the tendency to diminish unemployment in the industries they control," remarks a fourth delegate. "If they do not prevent unemployment, they make, it is said, its appearance less sudden and thus less terrible." "In any case the trusts oppress the workers and we must condemn them." "This is not what the Congress asks us to do, we are asked to formulate a resolution on Trusts and Unemployment." "Why should this retain us from wording a resolution on trusts generally?" "We do have the resolution of the Paris Congress 1900; why shall we repeat same?" "There are four years since and new appearances may have developed meantime." Such are the

principal opinions expressed at the Commission. Surely there would have been expressed some other and different views if the gatherings of the commission had been complete, without the irresistible attraction of the discussion at the Commission for tactics.

Some decision has to be arrived at. The commission on "Trusts and Unemployment" means to be courteous. They will not go before the Congress and say: "You will try us at riddles? We do not like the game." They will take the question "Trusts and Unemployment" as earnest; if a resolution is wanted they will formulate one.

The Commission comes before the Congress with a resolution as below:

TRUSTS AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Amsterdam International Socialist Congress declares that there is no evidence to show that the trust form of production and distribution has done anything to diminish the amount of unemployment, but that on the contrary the control by trusts of capitalistic production enables them to accentuate unemployment in the interest of their profits; it reiterates the Paris resolution in stating the futility of attempting by legislation either to prevent the formation of trusts, or to restrain their growth, and therefore repeats its appeal to the workers to use their organized power to effect the socialization of production and distribution.

(All this in spite of the apparent fiasco of anti-trust legislation in the United States.)

In the explanatory report, limited within ten minutes, two arguments are put forward as having led the commission to word the resolution as proposed.

In view of the assertions of certain economists to the effect that the trusts are the conscious regulators of employment of the workers in the trustified industries, it was found desirable to state that there are no reliable data to show anything of the kind. It was further found desirable to point out that the trusts from their character and nature, affording as they do to the masters of industry the power to limit and restrain the production in an entire branch if they find it their interest to do so, must have rather the tendency to increase unemployment, it being manifest that in many cases the trusts have actually led to restrict the output. Strictly speaking, the Commission could have satisfied with this statement and could have therewith considered its task as filled. It has yielded to the temptation to add a few words of warning against all hope towards anti-trust legislation, prohibitive or restrictive. The motive was that in several countries of Europe trust-regulating legislation is under consideration or assumed to

be under consideration and that even in our party we meet with the opinion that it would be possible by legislation to conduct the trusts. It was on this ground found necessary in reaffirming the Paris resolution, to emphasize it on this point and to clearly establish our position towards such legislation or towards platforms of political parties to this effect.

If the resolution did not say more, it was because the Commission felt no desire to indulge into generalities.

The Congress, however, did not want such a modest resolution. On the mere proposal of the English delegation, without one single word of argument or even discussion, the Congress asked the Commission to formulate another resolution.

The Commission met the next morning. It came to the conclusion that, submissive as it desired to be, it could not on the subject of "Trusts and Unemployment" say anything else than what the Congress had refused to listen to. But that if a resolution on trusts generally was wanted, they were prepared to formulate one.

This information having been put to the Congress, it manifested its desire to have such a general resolution. The Commission has obeyed and has worded a resolution as follows:¹

TRUSTS.

The trusts in their complete development eliminate competition among the masters of production. They gradually develop from loose associations of independent capitalists into gigantic and solidly organized corporations, national or even international, often leading to practical monopoly over various industries. They are the inevitable outcome of competition under a system of production by wage labor for capitalist profit. In these bodies the great capitalists of all countries and of all industries are rapidly being welded into a compact unit on a basis of common material interest. Thus the conflict between capitalist and working classes becomes ever sharper. Production is regulated diminishing waste and increasing the productive power of labor. But the whole benefit gives to the capitalists and the exploitation of labor is intensified.

In view of these facts and of the further fact that experience has amply proven the futility of "anti-trust" legislation on the basis of our system of capitalist property and profit, the International Socialist Congress reaffirms and emphasizes the conclusions of the Paris congress to the following effect:

1. That the socialist parties in all countries ought

¹ It is not superfluous to repeat the text; the resolution, though being printed in the three languages, not having been distributed to the Congress and having in consequence been mentioned even in our party press quite erroneously.

to refrain from participation in any attempt to prevent the formation of trusts or to restrain their growth, regarding such attempts as always futile and often reactionary.

2. That the efforts of the Socialist parties should be directed to establishing public ownership of all the means of production on a basis of public utility, eliminating profit. The method of effecting this socialization and the order in which it comes into effect will be determined by our power at the time of action and by the nature of the industries trustified.

3. Against the growing danger which threatens their economic organization through this solidification of capitalist forces, the workers of the world must set their organized power, united nationally and internationally, as their only weapon against capitalist oppression and the only means of overturning the capitalist system and establishing socialism.

This resolution has been adopted by the Congress, without discussion, without even being read, nor being distributed. In this way the International Socialist Congress of Amsterdam has taken position towards the important trust problem.

The mere establishing of these facts judges the method adopted by the Congress in this matter.

If a new resolution on the trusts generally was really wanted, it was surely not in this way that it should be arrived at.

It may be said that no mischief is done; that the resolution is quite tenable and may do good work in those countries where attempts at trust legislation are going on. If this is so, it is no merit of the Congress.

The new resolution is in fact the same as that of the Paris congress, somewhat corrected. The comrades who worded it had some misgivings as to the fate which falls to questions put before a congress toward its close. They have exercised good prudence in keeping the resolution within the limits of fairly recognized opinions, that no reproach should reach them of having led the Congress into error.

There may be warning in experience. Let us be warned that our congresses shall have to adopt better methods of working if in similar matters they desire to be taken in earnest.

Surely the trust problem may deserve the attention of an International Congress some day, when we shall have time, rather more than ten minutes, to deal with the question properly. Neither the Paris resolution nor that of Amsterdam can be said to exhaust the subject. There are several points at issue, on which there is by no means an established opinion in the party at general. There is the connection between trusts and protective tariffs, to name one. Some of our comrades affirm that trusts and

industrial combinations generally cannot exist, at all events cannot prosper where there are no protective tariffs. Others think that irrespective of tariff legislation the formation of trusts will follow its course. There is, to raise another point, the position of trade unions in trustified industries. Must the trusts of necessity oppose trade unions? Or can there, on the contrary, be a basis for lasting agreements between the two organizations? There is further the question of legislation on trusts; if it cannot prevent their formation or growth, could it put them under certain control or raise special taxes from them? There may even be the question of "Trusts and Unemployment." For we do not deny the possibility that the formation of trusts may essentially interfere with unemployment, either with its form of appearance or with its relative or absolute importance. It is even possible that a somewhat deep-going discussion on the subject "Trusts and Unemployment" might lead us on delicate ground: the connection between trusts and industrial crises, as regards their frequency, their duration and their violence. A discussion which may concern, if not our theories, at least their classical and most prominent interpreters. But we will all agree that such a discussion could not be properly carried on without having before us quite a collection of figures and facts, which for the greater part are incompletely established.

It will be sufficient to point out these questions under some of their aspects, to show that the discussion of the trust problem by an international congress, in order to be worthy both of the subject and of the congress, should be well introduced and amply prepared in the party periodicals.

Conclusion: The Socialist Party of the United States has acted wisely in requesting the International Bureau to strike the point "Trusts and Unemployment" from the Agenda of the Amsterdam Congress.

Second conclusion: The International Bureau should not have maintained on the Agenda a subject which had not even been set out in a report. The fact that something or other was wanted to occupy the congress with, during the continued discussions on tactics at the commission, is not quite sufficient excuse.

Third conclusion: Let us request our International Bureau to consider the possibility of adopting for our future congresses some rule and rigidly keep to it, to the effect: that no point shall be placed on the agenda for the congress unless the question involved be set out in a report received by the International Bureau by not later than nine months before the date of the congress, so as to enable its being published by not later than six months before such date, which would leave sufficient time to discuss the subject in the party periodicals of the various countries.

F. M. WIBAUT.

Amsterdam, September, 1904.

A New Messiah—A Reply.

I AM limited in space in my reply to Mr. Untermann's article entitled *A New Messiah* in December *International Socialist Review*. That I admit that I know nothing of Socialism; that I endorse the objection that Socialism can not come about unless we first change human nature; that I do not know what my own philosophy is in regard to the future are misunderstandings. See page 279, last of section II, and first of III., of my article, and chapter XIX of my book entitled: *What the Socialization of Humanity Will Accomplish*. As to the style and logic of my book *The Lewiston Evening Journal* says: "The Socialization of Humanity is certainly original, well and plainly written, unmistakable in its intent, searching in its analysis of nature, life, mind and society." *Boston Ideas* says: "The Socialization of Humanity is a candid, sane consideration of humanity, a summing up of essential results, their causes and their legitimate outcome—all written from a standpoint so deeply and so surely based that the book becomes a thing of absolute value to humanity in its evolutionary struggle to understand itself, its origin and its future. The author sees so much and so clearly and expresses it with such unusual power and succinctness. The book is sure of attention and appreciation from all who have arrived at the point where broad conceptions are restful and nourishing." *The Craftsman* says: "The volume abounds in definitions making it extremely easy to follow the thought. However one may look upon its conclusions, it must be admitted that they are logical and fearlessly reached." *The Boston Transcript* says: "This is the first materialism which has faced the religious emotion, accepted it as a veritable power, and applied it to the welfare of the race." The chapter on "The Supreme Law of Ethics" is a valuable addition to modern thought. As a philosopher, Mr. Franklin is practical, as a socialist he is philosophical. It is the first time philosophy and socialism have joined hands." Mr. Untermann completely misses my concept of religion as the dynamic of the socialization of the race. Religion is a feeling, a social force; the motor power of an action, not an idea directing it as "the science of life" would be. Religion is the emotion resulting whenever any race-conserving, race-protecting, race-perfecting function is performed, no matter how simple or how sublime. It has been due to almost every kind of rite, service, sacrifice; but the fundamental cause of the highest and truest religion is scientific morality, that kind of conduct which expends all energy with perfect economy resulting in a conscious social organism with the function of producing the perfect individual. Religion

is the sustaining power of every reformer's life. No matter how fierce the opposition, how ignorant the reception, how unkind the treatment, he perseveres, he does not falter; he knows no surrender, fears no fate, conquers even death by living in the memory of the race, the true immortality of the blest. This was the fate of Buddha, Socrates and Jesus, and the avatars of to-day will prove no exception to the rule.

CHARLES KENDALL FRANKLIN.

EDITORIAL

Federal Control of Corporations.

Nothing in President Roosevelt's annual message has attracted more attention, and rightly so, than his proposal for Federal control of great industrial corporations. The reformers have welcomed it as indicating that the "big stick" was at last going to be used against the "octopus." Some of the organs of capitalism have also contributed to this feeling by an excellent imitation of a bad scare at a possible "disturbance of business interests." In the effort of the latter to act well their part they have even conjured the old spectre of "states rights" from the tomb where it has been resting peacefully for the last two score years.

But are these expectations and fears justified? Do the industrial rulers of America really oppose these steps? Is the fight between the trusts and Roosevelt on this point real or sham?

On page 797 of the first volume of the report of the "Industrial Commission" there is the following significant question and answer:

Q. "What legislation, if any, would you suggest regarding industrial combinations? A. First, Federal legislation, under which corporations may be created and regulated."

Again, on page 565 we find the following testimony: "If you should ask me, gentlemen, what legislation can be imposed to improve the present condition, I answer that the next great, and to my mind inevitable step of progress in the direction of our national development lies in the direction of national or federal corporations."

And the men who gave that testimony were, respectively, JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, and his chief attorney, John D. Archbold. This testimony was delivered nearly ten years ago. Yet we are now told that Roosevelt is frightening the trusts, and leading the advance of the attack on "frenzied finance," when he accepts the recommendations that Standard Oil expressed a decade ago.

A look at the make-up of the present federal government suffices to allay any fears that might be entertained of strenuous activity against trusts. Some time ago *Frank Leslie's Monthly* published a study of the make-up of Congress and came to the following conclusion: "The Congress of the United States is its own lobby. In nine cases out of ten the lobbyist sits in the Senate with his state behind him, or in the House of Representatives with his district and his senator behind him. Also

in nine cases out of ten the senatorial or representative lobbyist acts and speaks for some great corporation which is seeking some vast special privilege which is antagonistic to the public interest, and to which it has no moral right."

In other words the United States has fully realized the condition described in the Communist Manifesto—"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." So much for the legislative wing.

The administrative and executive side but add new proof of the corporation character of our present government. The Secretary of the Navy is Paul Morton whom the Interstate Commerce Commission has just shown to be himself an extensive law breaker. He is the direct representative of Rockefeller interests, the former manager of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company who are directing Peabodyism in Colorado.

But the federal control of corporations has another side. It takes those great industries out of reach of any popular uprisings so long as the central citadel of political power is retained by plutocracy.

This principle has further extension than appears at first sight. In these days of National and International markets it is hard to name any industry which cannot claim to be engaged in "Interstate Commerce." The consequence is that should any state or municipality fall into the hands of the socialists any step that it should take hostile to property interests would be at once met with the claim that these were protected by national incorporation and control. In short Roosevelt's trust policy so far from being an attack upon these companies is simply adjusting the National government to correspond to the industrial situation which their existence creates.

Co-operative Social Study.

Sometime ago a plan for a study class in social subjects with both residence and correspondence work was suggested in these columns. This work has since reached the stage of realization. The residence class is at work in Chicago, and numerous correspondence students have been enrolled. From the beginning the work has been kept upon as high a plane of scholarship as possible. No encouragement whatever has been held out to those who were looking for a chance to be "filled up" with ready-digested information to be disgorged as Socialist speeches or editorials. But for those who really wish an opportunity to study in order that they may know more of the principles upon which Socialism rests an opportunity has been created which should leave a lasting impression for good upon the American Socialist movement.

Two phases of study, which were scarcely anticipated in the preliminary organization of the work bid fair to be the most important portion. One of these is the organization of classes by locals and branches of the Socialist party and other groups of persons interested in social study, who use the correspondence lessons as the basis of their work. So many such classes are being arranged for that special

plans have been developed for their direction. The names and previous preparation, as well as the leisure for study, and inclinations of the various members of the class are secured, and as far as possible, the work is so divided that at each meeting of the class the various members may each bring a separate contribution. It is hoped that as this sort of class work increases it may prove a valuable method of at once enlivening and arousing interest in local meetings and in educating the party members for more effective work.

Another phase which is just now working itself naturally out of the general work is a sort of a "co-operative, correspondence seminary" for investigating work. It has been suggested by some Socialists, already familiar with methods of sociological investigation that if all those who are able and willing to do such work could co-operate in a systematic organized effort along definite lines, some extremely valuable work could be done. If there could be a few such workers in each great city where there are exceptional library facilities, as for example, Washington, New York, Boston, Cincinnati, etc., each one could, to some extent, make use of the services of all the others upon occasional topics, and thus all the material upon a given subject would be at the disposal of any one working on that subject. As yet few details have been worked out, but several comrades are already co-operating in an informal way, and we would be glad to correspond with any person desiring to co-operate in such work with a view to formulating further details.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The annual meeting of the National Civic Federation in New York last month seems to have been an anti-Socialist *talkfest* and capital-and-labor harmony *plauderei* for fair. Labor was very much in evidence, as Gompers presided, and "Sissy" Easley, in making his report, took occasion to congratulate the A. F. of L. in having "smashed socialism" once more at San Francisco, whereupon the fat men made famous by Cartoonist Opper applauded and looked pleased. Owing to ill health Carnegie was unable to accept the presidency of the Civic Federation, whereupon Mr. August Belmont, American agent of the Rothschilds, presiding genius of the New York street railway monopoly, and so forth, was selected to fill the position, which means that "Sissy" Easley's salary of \$10,000 a year will be assured. Carnegie and Roosevelt sent long letters which were read at the banquet, and both gushed over the workingman whose undying friend they were, even though the men are still on strike against reductions ranging from 25 to 71 per cent in the mills at Youngstown and Girard, O., and even though the open shop crusade is still in progress in Washington, where Roosevelt dismissed Presidents Keller and Cunningham, of the two national branches of letter carriers because they were endeavoring to secure from Congress higher wages and better treatment for the men. Marcus M. Marks, who led the fight for the open shop against the garment workers and put the latter to an expense of thousands of dollars and untold suffering; Otto M. Eidlitz, who is at the head of the New York contractors who have fought the unions for several years with lockouts and dual organizations of scabs; H. H. Vreeland, who has a record as a union-smasher; George A. Fuller, whose crowd is conspiring at this moment to destroy the bridge and structural iron workers' organization, and many other capitalists smiled sweetly upon the labor officials who were present at the feed. Gompers, still fresh from San Francisco, where he smashed the Socialists for the forty-eleventh time and told them he would give no quarter and ask for none, simply outdid himself to assure the capitalist brethren that they (the capitalists) were not the monsters they had been accused of being, and that the Civic Federation was doing much to destroy the enmity and hate that had existed between labor and capital. New York dailies report that a number of speeches were delivered in a similar vein, and there was great enthusiasm manifested by the harmonious views expressed by the capitalists and labor men present. From all accounts Gompers lost his head completely in the dizzy whirl with plutocracy. It appears that the convention decided to establish a "department of industrial economics," and what does Gompers do but make a motion that President Eliot, of Harvard University, act as chairman of the bureau, with power to select fifteen members to constitute the department! Eliot more than any other individual in this country has thrown the cloak of respectability upon the scab, the traitor to his class; Eliot, the man who was denounced in bitterest terms by the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., this Eliot whose prolific pen produces arguments for the open shop by the yard, is nominated by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of La-

bor, as the person to grind out the peculiar kind of economics that are to be fed to the working people of this country—economics that will no doubt reassure many unthinking workmen that it is heroic to scab and that an open shop is a paradise on earth! And, mind you, this is the Gompers who says Socialists are union-smashers because they dare to criticize his public acts! Just what the man will do next is difficult to predict—probably he will appoint Parry a general organizer; there's no telling. Owing to his annual re-election at Federation conventions, Gompers has become so inflated with his own power and importance that he imagines that anything and everything he does is right and will be backed up by his constituents. And I can't say that I have much sympathy to waste upon those unionists who are growling now because he is "rubbing it in." Let them continue to worship their little tin god; they ought to elect him president for life and make him a law unto himself. The National Civic Federation was organized for the purpose of destroying the militancy of the trade unions and enervating the labor movement. I made that claim before, repeat it now, and—well, wait and see, and read the signs.

Last fall Debs addressed a meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, during the course of which he pointed out that the so-called labor leaders who were raising a great hullabaloo for Douglas, the shoe man, for governor were committing treason to working class interests. Debs was roundly denounced by the "labor leaders" who are always on the alert "to keep politics out of the union," especially if it be of the labor brand, and who dragged capitalistic politics into the unions and the unions into capitalistic politics in the most riotous fashion. Douglas was elected, and forthwith it was gladly acclaimed throughout the land that "labor did it." I recall that at the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. some of the New England delegates swelled up like toads as they recounted how "practical" politics had been played in Massachusetts, and how "labor's friend," Douglas, was going to do things to the capitalists who didn't behave themselves. To hear some of them chatter away, with a self-satisfied and a blissful air, one would almost have imagined that the millennium was going to be turned loose on Beacon Hill along about New Year's. But it seems to have been the old story again, and that some of our eminent leaders, alleged, were dwelling in a fool's paradise. It came to pass that another "labor's friend," Mr. A. Belmont, who was recently elected as president of the National Civic Federation, owns the New York Times, which is likewise an organ of the open shop fanatics. Belmont's paper dispatched an interviewer to Douglas, who propounded this query regarding the cause of his election: "Doesn't every one think it was the labor vote did it?" This is what Douglas is quoted as replying: It is rich:

"Yes, they do. That is the incomprehensible part of it. But it is a wrong idea; entirely wrong. The fact is that it was the solid business interests of the state that elected me. Of course, I got the labor vote, too, but without the moneyed interests I couldn't have carried the state. You see, I am a conservative business man. I am a manufacturer and a bank president myself, and as such I am bound to be conservative. Now, the labor vote is all right to talk about, but there really isn't any such thing as a labor vote. I was elected on the stand I take on the tariff question and as a supporter of Canadian reciprocity. I am a conservative, even though I have always been a consistent friend of labor. I have worked to secure for New England the markets that are hers by natural right. Under a reciprocity treaty with Canada we manufacturers can buy our goods cheaper. I can buy my raw leather cheaper, and consequently I can sell my shoes cheaper. Understand, now, that I am the friend of labor. I have always shown myself to be such. Only it is a most mistaken idea to say that labor elected me."

But this repudiation of the labor leaders, etc., ungrateful though it may be, has a sequel. Douglas had to have an adjutant-general to com-

mand his state militia and strut about in gorgeous uniforms on holidays. No obscure militiaman without a record would do for "3.50." He had to have the real thing, and suddenly startled the labor class with the announcement that General Nelson A. Miles had been selected for the position. Miles is on the pension roll, but Roosevelt, realizing that he is a thrifty old warrior who has served the corporations well, gave him permission to accept a second job. The Massachusetts unionists—except those who are too slavish or have their price—say that it was Gen. Miles who was sent to Chicago by Grover Cleveland, in the great railway strike of 1894, as commander of the United States troops "to preserve order," and who, after being on the ground a few days, sent to Washington his famous telegram declaring that "we have broken the backbone of the strike," which demonstrated the fact, as well as did a whole mass of evidence collected, subsequently, that "law and order" was a secondary consideration and that the corporations were to be assisted in destroying the strike and smashing the unions.

While, of course, Miles took his orders from Cleveland, it was really Mr. Richard Olney who issued the commands, and Miles was a pliant tool and exceeded his authority, as did his law-breaking superiors. This same Richard Olney heads the moneyed interests of Massachusetts and is the Democratic boss in that state. It is the Olney crowd to whom Douglas is subservient, and they put up the money in the campaign and dictated the appointment of their creature, Miles. That is why Douglas admits that it was the "moneyed interests" who elected him. The "labor victory" in Massachusetts was one of the greatest fakes that has ever been perpetrated upon the working class. Whether any of the labor politicians will be rewarded with jobs cleaning cuspidors or inspecting sidewalks, is extremely doubtful.

Meantime, while all this industrial and political jugglery is taking place there isn't the slightest lessening of the class struggle perceptible. Strikes and boycotts are on and more are anticipated, court injunctions are issued, damage suits are filed, labor laws are annulled, and the open shop crusade confronts nearly every trade. Just a couple of samples:

Another heavy damage suit has been filed against the miners. Some time ago the Victor Fuel Co., of Colorado, brought suit for \$85,000, which case is still pending. Now the same corporation has begun another action against the United Mine Workers and twelve national and local officials for \$491,000 damages, alleged to have been sustained by the company during the strike of the coal miners. No doubt the plans of the British mine operators and their lawyers will be closely followed here. Still several of the miners' delegates at San Francisco voted against opening the doors of the unions to economic discussions in order that the members might be enlightened regarding the true situation of affairs.

Again: The highest court of New York State has followed the lead of lower courts in Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio and other states, by deciding that contracts by which employers agree to employ only union workmen are unconstitutional and void, and that an employer who has signed such a contract has a right to break it, and a forfeit or penalty to which he has agreed cannot be collected by the union. In other words, it is illegal for any employer to sign an agreement to operate a closed shop. Shops must remain open or non-union.

Maybe the conservatives will declare that the Socialists are pleased because of this capitalistic aggression. Whether they are or not does not change the condition. The Socialists do not hobnob with and are not in the confidence of the capitalists. The conservatives are in cahoots with the plutocrats. Why don't they abolish the class struggle, or evolution or gravitation or something?

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Russia.

The press has been full of stories of uprisings by the working class of Russia during the past month. It is very evident that unless all signs fail that there is something doing of great significance. The Russian autocracy is endangered much more by socialism at home than by the Japanese abroad.

The following news and comment from the Berlin *Vorwaerts* shows how the forces of revolution are consolidating and the lines on which they propose to move.

“In a western European city, which cannot be named just at present, a conference of representatives of the revolutionary and opposition parties of Russia was held a few weeks ago. It was brought about through the initiative of the *Finnish Party of Active Resistance*. Eighteen Russian party organizations were invited to take part. Eight of these have accepted the invitation, including the *Russian Socialist Revolutionist*, the *Polish Socialist Party*, the *Social Democratic Party of Lithuania*, the *Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, the *Polish National League* and the *Union of Socialist Party*, the *Social Democratic Party of Lithuania*, the *Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, the *Polish National League* and the *Union of Russian Constitutional Democrats*. The following resolutions were adopted by the conference:

In consideration:

First, that absolutism stands as the foremost obstacle to all advance and to the welfare of the Russian people and all other nationalities oppressed by the government of the Czar; that in the present stage of civilization it is an absurd and injurious anachronism.

Second, that the battle against this system can be conducted with more strength and greater results if an agreement can be reached concerning the action of the different Russian and non-Russian opposition and revolutionary parties.

Third, that the present moment is especially favorable for an agreement concerning the action of all these parties against absolutism, which is now discredited and exhausted through the frightful results of the war to which its reckless policy has led it. Therefore the representatives of the above parties, assembled in convention, unanimously agree upon the following resolutions:

Without in any way giving up their special programs or their tactical methods, all these parties declare themselves as standing for the following principles and demands:

First, abolition of absolutism and repeal of all measures directed against the oppression of Finland.

Second, substitution of absolutism by a democratic system founded upon universal suffrage.

Third, right of the various nationalities to free development, and the insuring of this freedom through legislation. Abolition of the oppressive

measures of the government which have been directed against the various nationalities.

In the name of these principles and these fundamental demands the parties represented at the conference declare that their efforts shall be united toward this end. In order to hasten the unavoidable overthrow of absolutism which constitutes a hindrance to all these parties in the further development of their various objects.

Among the parties which did not attend the conference was the *Social Democratic Party of Russia*, the *Jewish Labor League*, and the *Social Democratic Party of Poland*.

We have no information as to the reasons why these parties remained away from the conference, but we are of the opinion that the present conditions demand the union of all forces in Russia opposed to absolutism. We suppose that our brother party was influenced by the fear that any arrangement with bourgeois radical circles must be purchased at the cost of concessions to its hesitancy and half-heartedness. Nevertheless the present moment in Russia appears to us as decidedly the most favorable for the *Russian Social Democracy* to step forward in co-operation with all revolutionary and opposition elements and become the leader of Russian progressive forces. That the bourgeois opposition recognizes its dependence on the socialist party is seen in the fact that their demands—political equality of all citizens, freedom of assemblage and organization, etc.—are taken from the program of the socialist party. Through the energetic efforts of the socialist youths and the proletariat the Russian bourgeois democracy must continually be pressed more and more to the left, since otherwise it is threatened with the danger of being crushed between the reaction and the radical forces and being driven back into its previous complete political insignificance. If, however, our brother parties are to play any significant role upon the political battle field they must immediately arrange for complete unity among themselves. It is impossible for us to determine whether it is now time for a formal amalgamation of the social democratic parties, but we know that this desire exists in the ranks of these parties. We hope that the news of a formal unity into a compact party of all social democratic organizations need not be long awaited. Such a consolidation, combined with co-operation with the socialistic, democratic, nationalistic organizations, would create a power which with skillful utilization of the present extraordinary situation would conquer freedom for Russia."

Japan.

The Japan socialists are undergoing a very severe persecution. On November 2 an attempt was made to hold a socialist meeting in the Y. M. C. A. hall at Tokio. There were over 1,000 in the audience when the speaking began. The first three speakers were stopped by the police officials who were present, and the meeting ordered to disperse. The audience refused to do this, whereupon the police official attempted to talk to the meeting, but his voice was at once drowned by the shouts and stamping of the audience. Fifty more officers were then brought in, and the audience still refusing to disperse, a policeman dragged Comrade Sakai, one of the speakers, off the platform. At this the audience rushed upon the policeman, and knocking him down trampled him under foot. The socialists who were present did their best to prevent this action, but in vain.

The issue of *Heimin Shimbun* for November 6 was suppressed without any particular reason being assigned. The issue of November 20, in which this news appears, contains the full text of the communist mani-

festos in Japanese. A later issue of the paper, however, informs us that this number was not allowed to circulate in Japan.

An attempt was made to hold a garden party on the thirteenth of November, the fourth anniversary of the founding of *Heimin Shimbun*, but this was also dispersed by the police just at the moment when those present were to have had their photographs taken. The editors of the paper, Comrades Kotoku and Nishikawa, were arrested and sentenced to five months' imprisonment and a fine of 50 yen. Moreover, the paper was ordered to discontinue publication. This will probably cut off our knowledge from there, except as we can secure it by correspondence. But we shall at once take steps to communicate with Japanese socialists in order to learn the outcome of events there.

Poland.

The convention of the Polish Social Democracy, held at Cracow November 13, was principally significant as indicating the general trend toward unity that seems to be sweeping through the international socialist movement. There were two principal socialist parties in Poland divided according as to whether they owed allegiance to Austria or Russia. There was also a small organization of which Rosa Luxemburg seemed to be the principal member. By a vote of 52 to 26 a resolution of union of all these parties was carried, while a resolution for the union of those of Russian Poland alone was adopted unanimously.

A second question closely allied to the first was that of the organization of the Jewish comrades. According to the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Vienna, a few young Jewish party members, mainly students, under the influence of the Universal Jewish Labor League of Russia, commonly known as the *Bund*, had formed themselves into a National Jewish Organization. This organization had been a cause of continual friction within the party, and at this Convention it was determined that steps should be taken to amalgamate it with the party. Comrade Daszynski pointed out that of all nations, there was the least reason for the Jews to maintain an independent organization. He quoted at considerable length from Comrade Feigenbaum of New York to the effect that the Jewish jargon and so-called literature was not worthy of preservation, but, on the contrary, was a survival of the compulsory Ghetto days, and that in America the second generation of Jews no longer understood the jargon. By a vote of 64 to 15 the separate organization of the Jews was condemned, although on the motion of Dr. Gumplowicz, the well known political economist, a separate Jewish agitation committee, subordinate to the existing party officials, was created by the unanimous vote of the Convention.

Germany.

The Imperial Anti-Social Democratic Association has once more come to life, says the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*. Its principal official, who bears a strong resemblance in his general activity to the well known Mr. Parry, is now actively engaged in organizing local associations which again remind us of our familiar Citizens' Alliances. German Socialists, however, treat him as very much of a joke and calculate, much like the comrades in this country, on how many votes his activity will make for their movement.

The Social Democratic Party of Prussia and indeed throughout Germany is just now engaged in the discussion of the school question. A

Convention of the Prussian Social Democracy was held on the 28th to 30th of November and one of the principal subjects to be discussed was the school question. *Der Tag* and *Germania*, both capitalist papers, published in Berlin are very angry at the assumption that the Socialists are to have anything to say about the schools. The primary effort of the Socialists is directed toward the complete separation of School and Church and the removal of the scholars from the clerical influence. They also demand greater freedom in education and some other important reforms. The Social Democratic women, at a recent meeting on the 8th of November, took up the question and prepared for greater activity along the line of school reform. *Die Post*, also of Berlin, has a small spasms because of the fact that the Teachers' Organization of Berlin published its official announcements only in the *Vorwärts* and demands that steps should be taken to account for this "peculiar sympathy for the Social Democracy on the part of Berlin teachers."

Edward Bernstein, in the *Neue Montagsblatt*, which he established some months ago in Berlin to preach revisionism, has simply proved a source of disorder and disorganization. Many demands have been made upon the party management of Berlin to call for a boycott on the paper. The *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, however, thinks that the Berlin comrades will soon grow tired "of this factional, scandal-mongering press and that within a short time the *Neue Montagsblatt* will cease to appear."

Just as we go to press the *Leipziger Volksblatt* comes with the news that the paper has already suspended publication.

France.

The unity movement in France continues to progress. *Le Petite République* has recently been conducting a symposium on the subject of unity and, with few exceptions, the representatives of all parties have declared themselves in favor of unity. The Allemanists have recently decided, through a referendum, to take part in the Unity Conference. Meanwhile, Jaures has succeeded in making an international spectacle of himself by engaging in one of the *opera bouffe* duels for which France has become so notorious. It is almost needless to say that no one was hurt, and that the only injury done was to the cause of Socialism.

England.

The unemployed problem continues to become ever more urgent. Processions of the out-of-works are now marching in many of the cities. Soup-houses, relief lists and other charity methods are being organized. The socialists are everywhere demanding a special session of Parliament to deal with this subject and are organizing meetings and circulating petitions to that end, all of which gives an excellent opportunity for socialist propaganda. Keir Hardie has just published a pamphlet on "The Unemployed Problem," which makes several proposals for immediate action. He would shorten the hours of municipal employes everywhere to at least eight, which would provide for a considerable number now idle. He also suggests several lines in which the unemployed could be put to work productively, both for the present emergency and permanently, and outlines the administrative machinery necessary for such steps. The pamphlet is a distinct contribution to socialist literature on this subject.

BOOK REVIEWS

MASS AND CLASS, a survey of social divisions by W. J. Ghent. The Macmillan Company. Cloth, 260 pp. \$1.25.

Such a book has double interest just at this time, when Bernard Shaw, Keir Hardie and other spokesmen of the opportunist wing of English socialism are attempting to relegate the class struggle to the philosophic scrap pile. In America, on the other hand, even our opponents are obliged to recognize the truth of the class struggle as an interpretation of temporary society. Such a work as this, however, is such an important contribution to socialist philosophy that it would be of value even if it came at a less opportune time. In his opening sentence the author tells us that "History, which once was the record of little more than the doings and sayings of warriors and kings, comes now to be the record of human society." He accepts and explains the economic interpretation of history in an exceptionally clear and striking manner. With reference to the influence of idealistic or spiritual forces he brings up once more the well-known modifying quotation of Engels and points out "that there are two pertinent facts not to be lost to view. First, that all of our idealistic or spiritual conceptions (apart from conceptions of the supernatural) have their origin in past or present social needs, and these in turn have their base in economic needs, and, second, that everywhere and always the economic environment limits the range and effect of spiritual forces."

He does not seem to see, however, the full force of his first consideration in that it absolutely does away with the need of consideration of idealistic motives, as such, since they become simply creations of past economic conditions, and therefore economic conditions past and present account for all.

"It is a part of the economic interpretation of history to hold that since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, social processes have inevitably grouped men in economic classes. An economic class is an aggregate of persons whose occupation has the same bearing on the supply of things wanted by mankind, and who in that occupation sustain the same relation toward other persons. Or, in other words, it is an aggregate of persons whose specific economic functions and interests are similar, and who, therefore, bear a common relation to the prevailing economic system.

"Out of class interest and function developed class instinct..... It must not be thought, however, that because men developed class instinct and class feeling they necessarily developed class consciousness. The latter requires a much longer and more intelligent evolution."

In his analysis of classes and class functions he admits at the beginning that "no analysis of class divisions can be entirely satisfactory." He recognizes that the "test of relative income fails utterly to furnish a standard for distinguishing classes..... It is the difference in methods of making a living that divides the mass into economic sections." On this basis, he finds six economic classes in our present society. "The first, the most numerous and most important class, is that of the proletariat, or wage-earning producers. Class two comprises the self-employed producers. These are in the main land-holding farmers and

handicraftsmen. This class from its very nature has contradictory instincts and impulses. Class three comprise social servants, such persons as educators, clergymen, physicians, artists, writers and the employes of public institutions. The moral pressure exerted upon this class by the dominating class is constant and severe; and the tendency of all moral weaklings within it is to conform to what is expected from above. Class four comprises the traders, divided into two sub-classes: *a*, manufacturers and dealers in commodities; *b*, financiers. Class five comprises the idle capitalists. Class six comprises the retainers, those various sorts of persons who are directly responsible to the traders and capitalists, and whose occupations consist in contributing to their comfort or interest.

It would be easy to criticise this classification, and to claim that, after all, when discussing economic interests, there are only two essential classes, and that all that Mr. Ghent has done is to subdivide these classes and that there is no particular reason for stopping the sub-division where he did, once it was begun.

In the discussion of class ethics he gives us an excellent study of the growth of ethical ideas under the influence of economic interests, and how different interests created different ideas in the various classes. "The beliefs which a class holds as a result of its economic relations are generally sincere beliefs and are held in the mind unconscious of their determining cause." As a result, class three, to which he has referred, becomes the mouthpiece of the dominant class. Therefore: "In this day one may inerrantly prophesy what theme will next be heard dominant in the chorus arising from pulpit, chair and sanctum, by learning what thing it is that the trading class next demands for the protection or fostering of its interests. The righteousness of the open shop, the injustice of a restricted output, the criminal imposture of the union label, the moral heroism of the 'scab,' though occasionally voiced by some of the more pronounced retainers, were unapprehended concepts to the average publicist until recently pointed out to them by the manufacturers. The lawlessness of capital in every phase of its activity, the particular lawlessness and brutality now prevalent in Colorado, are clothed in an impenetrable veil to the eyes of the 'safe' preacher, the 'conservative' economist, and the 'sane' press-writer; but the slightest infraction of the law by striking workmen is seen by them as with an X-ray."

Among producers two fundamental moral convictions have arisen and gained general acceptance, they are the "ethic of usefulness" and the "ethic of fellowship." There are few stronger chapters in the literature of socialism than the one in which he elaborates this position showing how this ethic has acted and re-acted upon the working class and the attitude taken toward it by the ruling class.

The "Ethics of the Trader" is also a keen analysis of the ideas of right and wrong which have grown up under the influence of production for the market.

The chapters on "The Reign of Graft," while a mine of information for socialist readers, contains but little that is fundamental and new, and is marred somewhat by a straining after phraseology in his use of the word "graft."

His final chapter, however, on the "Failure of the Trading Class" would make a splendid propaganda pamphlet. "Traders are now and have been for nearly three-quarters of a century the rulers of the civilized world." Yet these rulers are showing a most hopeless incapacity in all of the fields for which they are supposed to be particularly fit. They are wasting the human and natural productive resources with criminal lavishness, and are utterly unable to maintain further any of the forces that work for social well being. "Whatever their individual virtues or defects may be, the traders as a class have failed dismally in administering the world's affairs. And so obvious to great numbers of men is this failure, and so intolerable is the burden which it entails, that now an opposing

class, ever increasing in numbers and ever attaining to a clearer consciousness of its mission, threatens the traders' dominance. A class it has been termed, but it is something more than a class. It is a union of all men whom the burden and pressure of the trading class régime force to like action in the assertion of their economic claims, and in whom is awakened a common hope of a reorganization of society and a determination to achieve it. At its centre is the class of wage-earning producers; and it is flanked by other producers; by such social servants as have risen above the retainer mind; by such of the petty manufacturers and dealers as see in the continuance of the present régime an approaching ruin of their livelihoods; by men of whatever class in whom the love of usefulness, or the love of fellowship, or the passion for social justice is intrinsically stronger than the love of profit or of individual advantage. It is the Social-minded Mass arraying itself against the unsocial-minded classes.

This work is a long stride in advance over the author's "Benevolent Feudalism." We are glad to learn that he has also taken a decisive personal step and united with the socialist party. This book for many years to come must stand as one of the books which it is necessary for every well informed American socialist at least to read.

FARMINGTON. *By Clarence S. Darrow. A. C. McClurg & Company. Cloth, 277 pp. \$1.50.*

The reader who hopes to find in this book any exposition of Mr. Darrow's philosophy will be disappointed. The work is a charmingly written series of semi-biographical sketches. To be sure there runs all through it touches of his peculiar philosophy, as, for example, where he opposes punishments, and in his remarks on school friendships, the nature of work, and on the unreasonableness of keeping the best things to the last, as in the eating of pie.

On the whole, however, it is as a literary work in the common sense of the word that it must be considered rather than for any social theories it contains. As such, we can recommend it to our readers as one of the most charmingly entertaining things that has come within our knowledge for a long while. Simply idyllic in its character, there is not a dull page in it.

BORN AGAIN: *A Novel. By Alfred William Lawson. New York: Woz, Conrad Company. Cloth, 75c.*

This is a crude, amateurish story of theosophy, vegetarianism transcendental ethics and a vague utopianism. It has been widely heralded as a socialist story, but it has nothing in particular to do with the international socialist movement. A single sentence from the book will illustrate the author's position. "It is within the power of mankind to perfect itself, but this can only be accomplished through the unselfish efforts of the whole people." For Mr. Lawson, the works of Marx, Engels and Labriola have been written in vain.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Finances of Our Socialist Co-operative Publishing House.

In June, 1904, the manager of the publishing house offered to the other stockholders that he would out of the balance due him from the company duplicate each and every contribution made by other stockholders for the purpose of placing the publishing house on a cash basis. Reports have been made in this department of the Review of the progress made from month to month in clearing off the debt. The figures for December are as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$2,618.08
H. H. Meyer, Ohio	6.15
J. O. Duckett, California, (additional)	2.00
J. E. Lehner, Missouri, (additional).....	5.00
Cameron H. King, Jr., California (additional).....	5.00
Edward Upton, British Columbia	7.00
John A. Becker, Wyoming	5.00
O., Illinois	1.50
Alexander Schablik, Washington (additional)	2.00
P. P. Wheaton, California (additional)	10.00
F. M. Crunden, Missouri	1.00
A. C. Price, Pennsylvania	5.00
W. S. Burnett, California, (additional).....	6.00
Mrs. Prestonia Mann Martin, New York (additional)	50.00
Rudolph Pusch, Illinois.....	.50
H., Massachusetts	1.00
J. Swezyneki, California	2.00
Albert Smith, Maryland (additional)	2.00
U. L. Secrist, Georgia (additional)	2.50
J. M. Kerr, Colorado	2.50
Charles S. Wheeler, Illinois	5.00
J. J. Campbell, California (additional)	8.00
C. W. Leckenby, California	2.25
M. H. Spangler, Washington	2.50
J. A. Lindquist, Alabama (additional).....	.50
Dr. H. M. Wilson, Pennsylvania	5.22
Otto M. Hansen, Illinois	20.00
A. K. Gifford, Iowa	1.10
J. D. Martin, Arizona	10.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois (additional)	170.72
Total to December 31, 1904	
	\$2,959.52

The result of these contributions is that the debt to non-stockholders is practically paid off, the only exception being a few small notes to printers and binders which will be paid out of the ordinary receipts of the next two months, and one note of eight hundred dollars to the Capital City Bank of Madison, Wisconsin. This draws 7 per cent interest and should be paid as soon as possible. There will then remain only the debt to stockholders. Of this sixteen hundred dollars is to a comrade in Wyoming who is obliged to ask us 6 per cent since he is dependent upon the income from his small capital and could realize a larger return from the money if he could invest it in his own state. It is therefore desirable that this note be paid off at the earliest possible day.

In view of these facts, Charles H. Kerr extends for three months longer the offer made by him last June, that is to say, he will contribute out of the balance still due him from the company a sum equal to all contributions made by others, up to the end of March, 1905. This is not for making up a deficit, there is no deficit. It is for the purpose of stopping, once for all, the payment of our earnings to capitalists as interest, so that every dollar received from the sale of stock or of literature may go into the publishing of more literature.

Loans from Stockholders.

The wiping out of our debt to outsiders, along with the growth in the company's business, enables us to offer unquestioned security to stockholders who have either small or large sums of money for which they have no immediate use, and which they would prefer to have employed in the interest of socialism rather than of capitalism. We can afford to pay four per cent. interest on a limited amount, which we should use to cancel obligations now drawing a higher rate of interest. We will agree to return sums under fifty dollars on demand, and larger sums on sixty days' notice. In the course of two years we expect to sell enough stock to single holders to provide all the capital needed, so that no debt of any kind need be carried. Meanwhile we ask every one who believes in the work we are doing to give such help as he may find possible.

Katharine Breshkovsky.

This is the name of a Russian exile now in America in the interest of the Russian revolutionary movement. "Daughter of a nobleman and earnest philanthropist; then revolutionist, hard labor convict and exile for 23 years in Siberia; and now a heroic old woman of 61, she has plunged again into the dangerous struggle for freedom." Ernest Poole, one of the most prominent of Chicago's journalists and writers has put Katharine Breshkovsky's story into graphic literary form, and it has just been brought out by our co-operative publishing house in a pamphlet under the title of "For Russia's Freedom." An excellent portrait of Katharine Breshkovsky is on the cover. The price is 10 cents with the usual discount to stockholders.

Rebels in the New South.

This book by Walter Marion Raymond, published just before the holidays, has met with instant success, and has been enthusiastically greeted by socialists everywhere. We quote a review published in the last issue of *The Christian Socialist*, edited by Comrade E. E. Carr of Danville, Ills.

"Rebels of the New South" is the suggestive title of a charming romance by Walter Marion Raymond, illustrated by Percy Bertram Ball and published by Chas. H. Kerr and Company, Chicago. Price \$1.00.

There is a delicious Southern flavor throughout the story. Its quaint Negro dialect, schoolboy slang, keen anti-Republican prejudice, distinctive reverence for "the lost cause" even while rejoicing over its loss, will all be appreciated in spite of one's own prejudices to the contrary. We would hint that the "heresy" so feared by Black Aunt Millie is more interesting than dangerous. The book advocates Christ-like character—absolute love of God and man—as the noblest religion.

It is a Socialist book, though it has very little to say about Socialism directly. It is the spirit, the atmosphere of the book—the feeling that if such people are Socialists the Cause must be divine—which makes it a power against the most false and despicable slanders ever uttered against socialism. All who have read Dixon's "One Woman" should read this also.

But the real charm of the book is in one of the purest, sweetest, noblest love stories ever told; not the love of man for woman, although there are two delightful romances of this kind included, but the royal, holy, tender, joyous love of men for men, "Passing the love of women."

Aside from its entrancing, dramatic interest, it is impossible to read the book without receiving some permanent impressions of the glorious visions of character it brings to view, of faith, hope and love, sublime, eternal, and the divine possibilities of human life on earth, if rightly lived under right conditions.

And the boy Custis is a character-sketch worthy to live in memory forever.

We also quote in full a letter received as we go to press from Comrade C. J. Lamb, State Organizer of the Socialist Party of Michigan. He says:

Every Socialist ought to get a copy of "Rebels of the New South," and keep it lying around where the unregenerate can get their hands on it. It gets them and it holds them. It coaxes them to read about Socialism and presents the subject in a most fascinating way. Our copy is in almost constant use—they all want it at the same time. It is in demand and I am sure it will be read by scores of persons before it palls. We will pass it around among our farmer neighbors and they will be sure to read it. Nothing in the way of Socialist literature has proven so attractive; non-socialists read it with avidity, and Socialists will find it easy to propogate the doctrine by just putting it in reach of the people they desire to proselyte. It's the easiest way to make Socialists yet.

Fraternally yours,

C. J. LAMB.

The Recording Angel.

Readers of the International Socialist Review need no introduction to Comrade Edwin Arnold Brenholtz, of Texas, whose poems, appearing from time to time, have been a notable feature of the Review. Comrade Brenholtz has put years of enthusiastic and artistic labor on the manuscript of a novel. When completed it was found to be of too dangerous a character to be suitable to any capitalist publishing house. Comrades George D.

Herron and A. M. Simons read the manuscript some months ago and commended it in the highest terms. Our publishing house would have brought the book out long ago but for lack of the necessary capital. The great increase in our receipts during the last few weeks has now encouraged us to undertake the publication of the story, and Comrade Brenholtz has contributed all future profits from the book to the work of socialist propoganda. The book will be ready for sale as soon as the process of manufacture can be completed, and the first copy will probably be in the hands of readers in the month of March.

We have always preferred to be cautious in our words of praise for books offered to socialist readers believing that they will in the long run be better pleased with critical descriptions of the various books than with fulsome praise of first one work and then another. We trust that our readers will bear this in mind when we have to say that we believe "The Recording Angel" is the great American socialist novel for which the movement has been waiting. In next month's issue we shall give full particulars regarding it with perhaps one or two opinions from comrades who have seen the manuscript.

Meanwhile we solicit advance orders for the book at the rate of \$1.00 a copy postage included, or 60 cents a copy postpaid to stockholders. Mechanically the book will be fully equal to "Rebels of the New South," while it will be a somewhat larger volume. The cost of first publication will be not less than \$500, and we trust that the advance orders will enable us to cover the full amount by the time the book is ready.

Address CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (Co-operative),
56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.