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Christianity and Paganism (A REPLY)

THE editor of the Review has asked me to reply to the article by Julian on "Paganism and Christianity" which appeared in the June number. I must confess to some difficulty in determining the exact point which Julian seeks to make. He opens the article by a reference to the attempt on the part of the so-called Christian Socialists to show the relation of socialism and Christianity, and remarks that "both socialism and Christianity fare but indifferently in the process." One might expect from such an introductory paragraph that there would follow a clearing away of the hazy elements of so-called Christian Socialism from the simon-pure socialism. But Julian makes no further hint of this very desirable clearing up, but plunges us into pages of matter on "Paganism and Christianity," in which Christianity, at least, "fares but indifferently." How paganism fares remains in part to be seen.

If we do not mistake Julian he seeks, on the one hand, to get at the roots of pagan life and to show us the elemental materialism, which in our times is manifest in materialistic socialism, and hence is the great factor in bringing about the co-operative commonwealth; while, on the other hand, he would lead us to understand that Christianity is based on a philosophy that has "on its side all the cowering timidity of man just emerging out of barbarism and all his paralyzing terror before the great Unknowable," and hence such a social factor is a hindrance to socialism that must be absolutely abandoned. "Christianity," he says, "has served its purpose as a social factor. . . . the wave of progress rises higher and sweeps onward, onward!"—but Christianity is not on the crest; it is left in the trough behind, to be utterly buried in the next

(RECAP)

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movement of the deeps of society. This is what we understand to be Julian's theme, but when we come to analyze critically the whole article there seems to be an enigma behind it. At any rate there are irreconcilable contradictions.

When he shows over and over again how thoroughly paganized the church became, and expresses his gratitude that the church so innocently "sheltered paganism in its trying hours," he almost gives us to believe that his beloved paganism is still here with the Christian label on it, but in his concluding paragraph he blasts our hopes by saying that "Christianity has served its purpose as a social factor," for with him Christianity and paganized Christianity are one and the same. So we are left to understand that, with the passing of Christianity, which alone so kindly sheltered paganism "in its trying hours," there passes also the dying paganism thus conserved by the church through these long centuries. And though we have a something left to assist or retard the "ascendancy of democracy" and the socialist movement, it is neither paganism nor Christianity—which, unwittingly, is perhaps too near the truth. Exactly what Julian has given us is difficult to see.

I.

He starts out with an almost sophomoric announcement of his devotion as a student of man and of society to the scientific method—the dispassionate, objective method. But he must be corrected for his unscientific use and treatment of terms. "Armed with the weapons of science," says Julian, "the scientific student penetrates into the holy of holiest not to rail and to scoff in wanton derision, but to study, to inquire, to sift facts and trace them to their origin." Does Julian do this? Certainly not.

1. The two terms which form the heading of the article under criticism he defines incorrectly. Paganism he defines as "the civilization of antique Greece and the sublime heritage it left to mankind." Now the word paganism is not a general term that applies to all the facts and forces of antique Greece, but is used particularly to designate a type of religious opinion and moral conduct. The Century dictionary defines paganism as "the religious opinion, worship and conduct which is not Christian, Jewish, or Mohammedan." "Paganism," says Trench in his "Study of Words," was applied after the triumph of Christianity in the cities of the Roman empire, "to all the votaries of the old and decaying superstitions." When Christianity began to gain a foothold in the cities, and the worship of the old Greek and Roman gods was confined to remote villages (*pagi*) and to the scattered settlers in the country (*pagani*), the dying faith became known as paganism. According to the

International Cyclopaedia the only general use of the term "paganism" which is justifiable is to make it synonymous with heathenism and polytheism. Thus, for instance, the religious opinion and conduct of the South Sea Islanders and of the bushmen and hottentots of South Africa is properly termed paganism.

The reader may say that this criticism of Julian's use of the word paganism is a cheap splitting of hairs. Not so. When Julian identifies the passionate love of beauty and the intense desire to penetrate to reality, which we find displayed in the art, science and philosophy of ancient Greece—when he identifies these with paganism, and makes them practically synonymous with paganism, and then sets this over against Christianity in an illogical comparison, he has committed a sin in logic that is quite unpardonable.

These elements of antique Greek life which Julian extols are not in any sense the antithesis of Christianity. They are no more the antithesis of Christianity than the laws of motion or the established truths concerning electricity. But paganism, properly defined, is the antithesis of Christianity. The world acknowledges the mighty triumphs of antique Greece in art, literature and philosophy. But to confuse the culture of Greece with the decaying superstitions of its dying religious cults is to get hopelessly mixed. Already before the advent of Christ the moral—or rather immoral—bottom was falling out of the civilization of Greece and Rome, and was leaving no social basis for culture of any kind to rest upon. Society was morally rotten because paganism could give it no moral salt. Never in the history of mankind has there been witnessed a more rapid retrogression in human rights, or a greater prostration of hitherto attained liberties. John Lord, writing of the state of society at this period, tells us of "a sensual and proud aristocracy, a debased and ignorant populace, enormously disproportionate conditions of fortune, slavery flourishing to a state unprecedented in the world's history, women the victims and the toys of men, lax sentiments of public and private morality, a whole people given over to demoralizing sports and spectacles, pleasure the master passion of the people, money the mainspring of society," and finally, "a universal indulgence in all the vices which lead to violence and prepare the way for the total eclipse of the glory of man." Thus we see that the utter demoralization of ancient Greece and Rome in the first century of our era had already practically eclipsed the intellectual and aesthetic glory which Julian extols. Christianity did not save the Roman empire. It was not worth saving. Julian will later show us that the enthusiasm for humanity which was the supreme quality of primitive Christianity was choked by the pagan elements that entered the church and thus shut out

for centuries the glory of Greece which only a real Christianity could have conserved. You cannot build intellectual glory on a bog of immoral mire. There is no antithesis between Grecian or any other culture and Christianity. Julian, failing to define paganism scientifically, gives an incorrect coloring to his whole article. Paganism is a certain type of religious and moral conviction, opinion, worship and conduct, and is properly to be compared with the teaching of Jesus which came as another interpretation of life, character, and conduct; and thus a rival of the decaying superstitions of Greece and Rome.

2. Then when Julian comes to define Christianity, he identifies the church and the teaching of Jesus, both in his direct statements and his indirect historical references. He says it would be unphilosophic and unscientific to dissociate them. On the contrary, it is unphilosophic and unscientific not to dissociate them. The scientific method requires the most searching analysis to discern between essential and adventitious elements—as Julian says, “to inquire, to sift facts and trace them to their origin.” This method Julian observes when he proceeds in the very next sentence to describe what he calls paganism. “Here,” he demands, “we must subtract all adventitious elements and study them in their early unadulterated condition.” Under this scientific treatment he says we may see “the remarkable simplicity of the life, manners and conceptions of Greece of antiquity,” standing out “white and clear through the mists of receding centuries.”

But when Julian defines Christianity he refuses to continue the scientific method. He hopelessly confuses the essential elements as taught by its founder and the adventitious elements which became attached to it through paganization. Later in the article, in his longest and most rhetorical paragraph, he shows how paganism captured the church, and yet he, who sought to treat paganism so scientifically, now loses paganism in papal Christianity, sees it there, is grateful for its presence, but calls the whole offensive mixture Christianity. He is unable to see primitive Christianity “white and clear through the mists of receding centuries” as he had called us to look upon antique Greece.

Let us briefly show to Julian how two noted scientists treat Christianity. Enrico Ferri, in his late work on “Socialism and Modern Science,” with true scientific insight differentiates between the Christianity of Jesus and the early church and later paganized Christianity, saying the former is “very different from the latter,” which he calls a “fatty degeneration of Christianity.” Ernst Haeckel in “The Riddle of the Universe,” also differentiates the teaching of Jesus, the so-called Christianity of the middle ages, and the pseudo-Christianity of modern times. He extols primitive Christianity, and says that we must en-

deavor to save it from the inevitable wreck of pseudo-Christianity. He declares that the false Christianity attempted to turn all the virtues taught by Jesus, viz, "true humanity, the golden rule, the spirit of tolerance, the love of man in the best and highest sense of the word"—to turn these into the direct contrary "and still hang out the old sign." If it is philosophic insight and scientific discrimination to classify as a single social factor the lofty thought and love-impassioned life of Jesus and His devoted democratic followers, with the "fanatical hatred, merciless persecution, clerical bloodthirstiness and spiritual oppression" of twelve centuries of a restored paganism—restored according to Julian minus its art, literature and philosophy—then there is an end to clear thinking.

Let not the reader think this rather extended criticism of Julian's unscientific use and treatment of the term Christianity is a mere struggle of words. For to the writer, representative of a large and growing body of people, if the elemental truth on brotherhood and social justice, on the essential divinity of man, and his wondrous possibilities of unfoldment taught by Jesus—if this truth and life are to be treated as identical with the spiritual despotism and barbarity of the dark ages, "a frivolous contradiction of all Jesus taught," and as one with the mammonized pseudo-Christianity of modern times—then we are dumb. We are without defense. But such a position as Julian takes is untrue to history, it is false to the dispassionate scientific method, and being so reckless of the universal truths which Jesus enunciated, it is positively unfair to the race, in which there originally burns the same elemental and original fires of truth and justice, which Christ interpreted.

II.

No attempt will be made at this writing to reply to the manifestly absurd motives which Julian holds concerning the social elements of Christianity, as for example when he says that "the precepts of Christianity were designed for a society of masters and slaves, of rich and poor, and they contemplate the perpetuity of that system." Julian is so hopelessly at sea as to the essentials of Christianity that it would take a whole article to correct him. On the other hand no attempt will be made now to show the immense contribution to democracy and thus to socialism which are inherent in elemental Christianity. Were space at our disposal, instead of Christianity "having served its purpose as a social factor," as Julian says, we would show that as a psychic factor in civilization, its promise and power for democracy and for socialism is simply tremendous and never so potent as a social factor as in the present social movement.

Before this can be done, however, we must make the one reply which Julian's article demands and properly clear away the pagan debris still heaped upon Christianity, so that we may the clearer see it "white and clear through the mists of centuries," as Julian saw the glory of antique Greece. Having thus seen it we shall be able to recognize it as the permanent factor in the life of the race.

There is, therefore, one single proposition which we must make clear to the reader in this reply, viz, that the Christianity against which Julian makes his complaint, in his seeming defense of paganism, is paganized Christianity; that the elements of the pseudo-Christianity of modern times, which, usurping the place of real Christianity, are a hindrance to democracy and to socialism, making the church the home of cults and placing it at the service of capitalism and plutocracy, are the pagan elements; and therefore the task remains before us not to champion paganism but to beat back the paganism from our pulpits and from our moral ideas and ideals, and to let the elemental and universal truths of vital Christianity emerge.

If the readers of the Review would read critically Julian's article and especially the ninth paragraph under the sub-head "Christianity," they would not need much elaboration from me as to the pagan elements that entered into the church and still remain there.

Julian tells us that pagan "ideas were given theologic authority in dogmatic form" by the best minds of the church. "Pagan rites," he says, "were given a Christian name and sanction." "Paganism was sheltered and cultivated" "in its trying hours" by the church, when otherwise it would have perished. "Some of the greatest pillars of the church were good pagans. The multitudes that raged against everything that bore to them a pagan aspect were often kneeling before a pagan." To cap the climax in one rhetorical illustration Julian confesses all that I am going to prove in succeeding paragraphs. He writes: "Rome has grown great because it took into its bosom and admitted to citizenship the conquered nations. This has decentralized the power of Rome and became ultimately fatal to its supremacy. Pursuing a similar course," confesses Julian, "Christianity has adopted antiquity into its bosom"—here he fails to complete the illustration; he should have added: "This sapped the power of Christianity and for centuries was fatal to its supremacy." We are left to infer as much.

Thus to point out to Julian his own confession to the utter paganizing of the church ought to be enough for him. But it is not enough for the object in hand. To the statements of Julian we must add the authority of scientific research.

We may be grateful that the scientific spirit of the last century entered the field of historic criticism; and perhaps in no

single branch of historic criticism has more faithful and painstaking work been done than in biblical criticism in general and New Testament criticism in particular. To this movement we must trace the numerous biographies of Jesus which have appeared in the last fifty years. Along with the critical treatment of the life of Jesus there has proceeded a similar treatment of primitive Christianity and a scientific analysis of the elements which entered into the historic church, as it developed from century to century. Probably the best single work in the last mentioned field is that of the late Edwin Hatch of Oxford University. The editor of his posthumous writings says of him that his "purpose, like his method, was scientific" and his work is "an attempt at the scientific treatment of the growth and formulation of ideas, of the evolution and establishment of usages within the Christian church." We shall quote freely from Hatch's authoritative work in maintaining our thesis concerning a paganized Christianity.

III.

1. To confound attendance upon church services and forms and ceremonies and compliance with ritualistic requirements, is one of the most subtle and common substitutes for a vital Christianity. As a pastor myself living in close touch with the people I early discovered this easy way among men of dispensing with the practice of righteousness. In fact attendance on services and the presentation of children for baptism and confirmation, and being present at sacramental observances is to thousands of people a form of absolution for almost everything un-Christian, and becomes a sort of constant and regular gift, not sale, of indulgences.

Now whence did this fine religious art arise in the church—this simplest and most pleasant substitute for Christianity? Julian tells us: "It is to the element of paganism in its rites that the church (not Christianity) owes in no small degree its vitality." But this element of paganism in its rites has repeatedly choked the Christianity of Jesus.

Hatch in his critical work shows in the most conclusive manner how, as Julian says, "pagan rites were given a Christian name and sanction." The Greek mysteries were for intensifying the polytheistic religion and for elaborating their ritual. Only those who could pass a rigorous initiation could enter. Those who entered were the "good" and became like the separate members of a secret cult. In the fifth century so complete was the conquest of the ritualism within the Greek mysteries over the so-called sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper in the church that the Great Dionysius in describing at great length "all Christian (?) ordinances uses terms never

found in the New Testament and applicable only to the Greek mysteries. Hatch says that the whole conception of Christian worship was changed. But it was changed by the influence of the contemporary worship of the mysteries and the concurrent cults. In the splendid ceremonial of Eastern and Western worship, in the blaze of lights, in the separation of the central point of the rite from common view, in the procession of torch-bearers chanting the sacred hymns—there is the survival and in some cases the galvanized survival of a pagan ceremonial.

It may be interesting to add that in every new outburst or revival of essential Christianity, such as in the Franciscan movement, the Reformation and the Wesleyan revival, ritualism has been renounced and attacked, and in every period of religious and moral decay ritualism revives, as a pleasant caricature of reality. Should a majority of the socialist clubs of the world elaborate a magnificent ritual for the glorification of Karl Marx and William Liebknecht and Friedrich Engels, and then substitute the observance of the ritual at stated intervals for their present heroic efforts to bring about the co-operative commonwealth, we would have a "paganized socialism," so to speak, which Julian would be the last to confound with the genuine article. Scientific training is not necessary for such a simple intellectual act—a little average common sense is all that is needed.

2. One of the most severe criticisms brought by socialists against the church is the claim that it instructs men to get off by themselves and "save their own souls." Such separative piety, to the socialist down in the mud and struggle of reality, is impious and offensive to the last extreme. And he is right. But whence came this offensive element which the socialist despises? Not from the carpenter Jesus, who lived and taught among the people, who was accused by the good of eating and drinking with the common folk, and who gathered about Him as His closest companions a group of greasy and unsophisticated fishermen. Whence came this element? It is a pagan survival.

The asceticism and monasticism that crept into the church in the fifth century was a revival of the methods of the school of Greek philosophy known as cynicism. The cynics wore a rough blanket and unshorn hair. "To wear a blanket and to let the hair grow was to profess divine philosophy." The idea of getting apart from the world while not confined to Greece is essentially pagan. It is the very antithesis of the teaching and practice of Jesus. Every word describing the monk and his life are the revivals of the Greek philosophic terms. Hatch says that "the enormous growth of the later form of monastic life cannot wipe away the fact that to Greece, more than to any other factor was due the place and earliest conception of that

sublime individualism which centered all a man's efforts on the development of his spiritual life and withdrew him from his fellow-men in order to bring him near to God."

Here again is our debt to paganism which ought to be repudiated by all of us in the church and out of the church. This element of paganism is reviving again in our times, not in what is known as evangelical Christianity, but among schools and clubs and classes of the devotees of what is known in general terms as the "New Thought" some manifestations of it cannot be pardoned for its exclusiveness and refined selfishness.

3. Hearing the regular "sermon" and Sunday "pulpitizing" generally is another most pleasant substitute for the program of Jesus. "What preacher shall we go to hear to-day?" says the "hearer" on Sunday morning if he is not already "always present" at "his" church. Critics of the church, especially among social reformers, talk about the "words, words, words," that pour forth from the pulpits of the land to be "heard," while the human deeds that would free men from injustice are left undone—in this criticism duplicating that of Jesus himself, when he said, "Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" Whence arose this substitution of "words" and the "hearing of sermons" for the life and deeds of early Christianity? This also is an inheritance from paganism.

In the early Christian period the Greeks had become a nation of "talkers." The largest class of these talkers were known as sophists, who spent their energies in expounding and elaborating what dead sages had said. They had no living message of their own. They were sermonizers, phrase-makers, rhetoricians—like their descendants still living who can talk on anything from Sunday bicycling to the Chinese war with equal volubility. They talked "divine philosophy" until they killed it. It became a joke. It ceased to be real. They preached because they could warble words as a trained soprano can chase a high note. Others might do the practicing. From this pagan rhetoric of a decaying age we must trace the rhetoric that has supplanted the method of inspiration and power which was the mark of primitive Christianity.

Jesus himself never preached a sermon. His teaching on the mount, no doubt a compilation of various utterances of many times, had to wait for pagan influence before it received even the name of "Sermon on the Mount." He appointed no preachers from the rhetorical standpoint. The witnesses or heralds of the message of human brotherhood and the divine life, which he did send forth, were to speak under inspiration a living message of experience.

Commenting on this conquest of the unique method of inspiration of early Christianity by the artificiality of pagan rhetoric, Hatch writes: "Around primitive Christianity thronged

the race of eloquent talkers, who persuaded it to change its dress and to assimilate its language to their own. It seemed thereby to win a speedier and completer victory." (Julian says: "It was due to paganism that the doctrines of the humble and meek carpenter of Nazareth became militant and aggressive.") "But," continues Hatch, "it purchased conquest at the price of reality. With that its progress stopped. There has been an element of sophistry in it ever since; and so far as in any age that element has been dominant, so far has the progress of Christianity been arrested. Its progress is arrested now, because many of its preachers live in an unreal world. The truths they set forth are truths of utterance rather than truths of their lives." He concludes as all thoughtful men must conclude: "If Christianity is to be again the power that it was in its earliest ages, it must renounce its costly purchase."

In contrast with Julian we are not grateful for this "sheltering of paganism." The race can do without unreality and sophistry and the substitution of rhetoric and "words" for life and reality.

4. "The hide-bound creeds" of the church have been the object of an untold amount of criticism by all kinds of reformers. The reformer comes up against a "creed" which seems to demand a more sacred treatment than human life. It must not be tampered with for any reason, though full of old half-truths now become lies. Statement of conviction is inevitable to men who think as well as feel, but the idea of placing a "hide-bound creed" as the object of faith and the test of orthodoxy never entered into the mind of Jesus or the early Christians. Where, then, do we find the influences which transferred the basis of union from right living and loving to assent to a body of doctrine—to a creed? Why is it that simple ethical teaching, breathing good-will and justice, stands in the forefront of primitive Christianity and an unfathomable metaphysical creed stands in the forefront of fourth-century Christianity?

To answer these questions we must quote Julian's words again, viz: "We find the ideas of antiquity given theologic authority in dogmatic form; even as the ruins of pagan temples furnished materials for cathedrals." Exactly so. The hide-bound creed demanding assent, dissent from which brands you as un-Christian and merits excommunication—this is directly traceable to pagan influence, not to the idea or method of Jesus. How this is true we shall see.

Julian, writing of the Greek system of conception, says that "the system that was of Greece had for itself one factor only—knowledge." Thus in Greece Christian teaching entered an educated world. The chief features of their education were knowledge of literature, cultivation of literary expression and general acquaintance with rules of argument. With these men

of "knowledge" to define clearly a moral idea was naturally a greater virtue than to live it. Hence agreement of opinion was the basis of union in the schools of Greek philosophy. The followers of Aristotle, the first great scientist, were the first "dogmatists." For surely what "science" or "knowledge" had established must be absolutely true even though it was as absurd as the proposition that the earth was a vast flat area with jumping-off places all about. They and the Epicureans and Stoics were the "philosophers of assertion." In the first four centuries there was little or no original thinking among the Greeks. The philosopher gave place to the "professor," who dogmatized about what he thought previous thinkers had taught. From this temper of the Greek mind arose one wholly un-Christian fact in the church, viz: "The ideas of antiquity were given theologic authority in dogmatic form" by paganized church fathers, (quoting Julian.) But the idea of a creed was unknown to the early Christians. They sought a quality of life. Men were to be known by the spirit of their lives and their deeds, not by what abstract propositions they assented to.

Julian vigorously complains in more than one place that Christianity "deals with beliefs which forbid and exclude rational discussion." This tantalizes his scientific habit of mind. But the dogmatic statement of beliefs, against which he murmurs, and the rational discussion of which became forbidden and excluded, is the direct result of pagan influence. This he himself confesses in the passage quoted above. Primitive Christianity had no dogmas. It had to await the "philosophers of assertion," and the Greek "dogmatists" to change the elemental, self-evident and universal truths of Jesus into a dogmatic system with the ethical element eliminated. It was thus that the basis of fellowship in the Christian societies was changed from character and conduct to belief or assent to metaphysical dogmas. Why, even the words "dogma" and "orthodoxy," purely Greek, reveal this point—the former meaning "the thing thought" and the latter "right thinking." These creeds of the Greek church fathers would have been unintelligible to the apostles. It is doubtful if Jesus himself could have passed a creditable examination for license to preach on these paganized creeds. This bequest of paganism to Christianity, of establishing the personal convictions of a few noted "fathers" as a dogmatic system from which you dare not dissent, is, to quote Edwin Hatch, "a damnable inheritance." And he says, "It has given to later Christianity that part of it which is doomed to perish. By laying more stress on the expression of ideas than upon the ideas themselves it tended to stem the very forces which had given Christianity its place." To repeat the words of Julian, "Christianity had adopted antiquity into its bosom" and paganism ate the heart out of it. So far

as the substitution of creed for conduct is concerned, paganism did for Christianity what many socialists properly fear for the socialist movement at the hands of the "Intellectuals."

Had not this substitution of dogma and creed supplanted the simple basis of union in the early Christian societies, all the great reform movements of history would have been recognized immediately as the very fruit, on the psychic side, of the Christian impulse, which is universal. The socialist movement for social justice and the rights of labor would likewise need no defense against dogmatic creeds and paganized rites, ceremonies and modes of worship, but would be at once recognized as one with elemental Christianity in its hopes and aims for social and economic liberty; or as Enrico Ferri, the noted Italian socialist, says, by "its ardent faith in a higher social justice for all—a faith that makes strikingly clear its resemblance to the regenerating Christianity of primitive times."

5. The "creed" once placed by pagan influence as the center of gravity in the church, the ethics of Jesus passed. Even the moral teaching of Paul was discounted. As Julian states it: "The church never attempted to carry out the doctrines of Christianity in all their spiritual purity." How could it? Christianity was in eclipse. Evidently, as Julian tells us, "the light shed by Grecian civilization. . . . took a firm hold of the human mind, including the best minds among the fathers of the church," for Ambrose of Milan, one of the greatest theologians of his time, reduced the Greek ethics to a pseudo-Christian form, and in the language of Hatch "the victory of Greek ethics was complete." The ethics of the Sermon on the Mount passed away; the ethics of the Greek stoic and the Roman jurist took the place thereof. And the dead hand that lies on the modern church to-day, which makes trouble when the social teaching of Jesus is read with emphasis in a modern pulpit, is the dead hand of pagan ethics. As a result of this "victory of Greek ethics" paganism preaches from a thousand pulpits of the church, and sits all unconsciously in ethical ignorance and stupidity in ten thousand pews. Our pagan inheritance is one of the basic reasons for the fellowship of the church and plutocracy. It is one fundamental reason why the church is at peace with the present competitive and monopolistic system.

IV.

Unlike Julian we are not thankful for the paganism sheltered in the church which bears the name of the carpenter of Nazareth. Even now we have but hinted at this process of paganization. In my attempt to defend the Christianity of Jesus from being identified with that restored paganism which still exists, it may seem to some readers in church circles that I have

proved too much. You tremble, lest in the teaching and defence of elemental Christianity which is certainly upon us, your church, with its ritualism and sacerdotalism, and ecclesiasticism and pagan ethics, may have to go. You may well tremble. But your trembling even might be compared to that of the Greek initiate who sorrowed in the first centuries to see the people forsaking the Greek mysteries as they awoke to the simple brotherhood and divine life which the apostles of the Nazarene proclaimed—a brotherhood which existed without temples, and priests, and rites, and ceremonies, and hide-bound creeds, and found its joy in the “manly love of comrades” and its supreme sacred ceremony in the daily ritual of the common life.

It is possible that this question now opened may prove an undesirable burden to the pages of the Review. Personally, I am jealous that the clear-cut economics of socialism be kept vigorously and plainly before the people. And though I have written this article while preaching socialism every day and sometimes twice a day in Montana, Washington and Oregon, and preaching it from the ethical viewpoint, yet I am always offended by a hodge-podge of so-called “social Christianity” and socialism that neither is seen in its true light. I do not call myself a Christian socialist. In economics I am a socialist. But socialism and all it will mean is but part of a greater whole; it is but part, a very fundamental part, in our time an all-important part of that complete meaning to human life which I either read out of, or read into the Life and Teaching of Jesus. And to those who think with me, the whole question of Christianity and socialism will have to be threshed out sooner or later, for the sake of that moral and intellectual poise which is the necessary basis for vigorous and telling action. As for socialism, it has no need of loading itself up with the unnecessary proposition that it is materialistic, atheistic and anti-Christian. On the other hand I should regret to see any artificial load of “social” Christianity upon the cause that would blur the clear-cut and unmistakable economic program of socialism, with its corresponding appeal to the working classes to grasp political power and bring in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Salem, Ore., June 11, 1901.

J. Stitt Wilson.

A Socialist Wedding



WE were gathered together, we of the inner circle of comradeship, on the last Saturday evening in May. Outside our doors the rain beat down, but within the mellow light fell on a room decked by the skill of the craftsman and aglow with the art of the painter. The fragrance and blossom of spring flowers seemed to transform our rooms into a fairy garden; and the strains of a primitive love-melody, as they drifted to us, were full of mystery and beauty.

Our comrade, George D. Herron, arose, care-worn and sorrowful as one who has passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, yet strong-hearted and gladsome withal; and beside him stood Carrie Rand, clad in pure vestal white and bearing lilies-of-the-valley in her hand. "We believe, friends, in fellowship," he said, "and because we believe that fellowship is life we have asked a few of you to let us share with you the fellowship and sacrament of the unity of life which we wish to now announce to you. For many years this unity of life has made us one in fact, but now we wish this unity to become manifest unto the world, and it is to announce to you this marriage of our souls, which is to us a reality before the foundation of the world and which we can conceive of as having no ending, that we have asked you to kindly come together to-night." Miss Rand responded: "This is the day and hour which we have chosen to announce to you and the world our spiritual union, which is a fact in the heart of God."

The host of the evening, Dr. Charles Brodie Patterson, editor of *The Arena* and *Mind*, next made a brief address. Dr. Patterson was followed by the Rev. William Thurston Brown, of Plymouth Church, Rochester, whose "Annunciation Service" was a poem in prose. It seemed entirely fitting that this tried and true comrade, whose best labor and thought for many years has been given to the socialist cause, should be here to participate in the dedication of these two lives to the socialist movement. He said:

"I cannot but feel—as all of us must to-day—the impotence of words fittingly to express or announce to the world that which this occasion means. This is the time and place for the muse of a poet, the speech of a god; the office of priest or magistrate were an intrusion here. Better than all would it be if the fact of which we here are conscious might be announced to the world in the sweet strains of some wordless music.

"But since these dear friends and comrades have honored

me with the task of speaking for them a word of annunciation concerning this sacred consummation of their life, I joyfully respond. And the one word which above all others impresses itself upon me as suggestive of that which brings us here is the old word 'sacrament.' I know it comes to us from the buried years a-drip with blood and moldy with superstition; and yet, it is a human word, and through it throbs the yearning and struggle and climb of a race. It names an age-long groping after truth—a gleam of the divine—a rift in the clouds disclosing the glory that bathes and interpenetrates the universe. That which calls us here to-day is a sacrament. Not in any conventional sense, but in the elemental significance of the word—a significance which reflects the mind and being of the Eternal and the Infinite.

"Nowhere has the religious institution so nearly approached the frontiers of vital truth as in conceiving marriage to be a sacrament. But nowhere has it departed so far from all that is divine and ennobling as in supposing that any word of priest or prelate can be sacramental. Neither statute nor official, civil or religious, can ever create this sacred thing. Neither has it the smallest sanction to give to that which is sacred, if at all, by the supreme fiat of a pure and perfect love. The divine is not in legislature or council, church or state. It abides forever in human life. Human life alone incarnates God—and laws and civilizations are tolerable only in the measure of their recognition and service of that life.

"We are not here to establish a relationship which otherwise would not have been. We are not here to inaugurate or consummate a marriage. No words of ours or any one's can add to or take from the truth and solemnity of the sublime fact of a reciprocal love uniting soul to soul by a sanction in presence of which all human enactments seem profane and impertinent, for this is the supreme sacrament of human experience. There is something about it which transcends all other things and proclaims its inherent divinity.

"Nor are we here to lend our countenance to that divine event of which it is our privilege to be witnesses. That which is essentially and elementally true gains nothing from the sanction of individuals or states or nations. We are not here to perform a sacrament, but to receive one—to honor ourselves and enrich all that is best in us by sharing somewhat in the truth and beatitude of these dear friends.

"We are here to-day to announce to the world the oneness of two human souls in a love that reflects and manifests and reproduces somewhat of the essence of that Infinite love which swathes and animates the universe. This oneness no more begins to-day than God does. It has no beginning and can have no end. The discovery of such oneness is the discovery of life

—the laying bare the very soul of the cosmos. Time loses its meaning. There is no yesterday and no to-morrow in the married harmony and the joyous rhythm of two such souls. There is only an eternal now, and life rises above its narrow limitations and seems to merge in the All-living and All-loving. Let the fleeting years bring what they may, it cannot matter. Love holds all the years that have been or are to be. Its dominion is universal and its reign eternal. And it lives only to give itself in ever-abounding richness to the hungering needs of men.

“This is a day of joy—overflowing, unsullied, serene; a day of hope—clear, strong, inspiring; a day of faith—laying bare before the souls of men in love’s clear light the realities of the eternal world. It is a day of courage and cheer. It has for the world only a message of freedom and fellowship. It anticipates the dawn of a higher life for all. It proclaims the sanctity and omnipotence of love. It asserts the elemental rights of man—the rights that blend with duty and irradiate the skies with hope and gladness.

“If I have any understanding of what this means, it is supremely a gospel. No note of peace or power or purity is wanting. These friends of ours announce to-day their marriage. They do so not primarily because our faulty human laws require it at their hands, but for a deeper and diviner reason. They do not assume that their life belongs to them alone—nor even that this supreme affection which has made them one, disclosed to them the face of God, and transfigured all this earthly life with His shining footprints, is theirs to hoard or hide. In asserting the limitless freedom and the boundless authority of love they but disclose the full-orbed liberty of the sons of God and anticipate a world’s emancipation. They do not announce that they have now separated their life from the rest of the world. They announce a fuller, deeper, richer harmony with that divine life which is emergent in the unfolding aspirations of the world, than could have been theirs as separate individuals.

“Inasmuch, therefore, as George D. Herron and Carrie Rand are thus united together by the bond of a reciprocal love, I announce that they are husband and wife by every law of right and truth, and I bespeak for them the fervent benediction of all true souls and the abiding gladness that dwells in the heart of God forever.”

As Comrade Brown concluded, Mrs. Rand, stepping forward, kissed George D. Herron and his bride, and, with a voice trembling with emotion, invoked blessing on their marriage.

Each of the fourteen guests present was now invited to make a verbal offering to the consummation of this love-union. Richard Le Gallienne, a poet famous in two continents, spoke first.

"All the friends that Mr. and Mrs. Herron love," he said, "will love them forever, and will love them all the better because they have had the courage to stand up and say they love each other and that love is all the marriage they need. I feel very honored that I had the opportunity of being present on this momentous occasion, and only wish that I had had longer notice, in order to have prepared an epithalamium worthy of its dignity."

Two of the Social Democratic comrades spoke next, emphasizing the fact that the marriage meant, above all, more complete consecration to socialism. "The peculiarly happy thing to me to-night," said William Mailly, of *The Worker*, "is the knowledge that these two comrades of ours are working shoulder to shoulder in the world-wide movement for the emancipation of the toilers—a movement that is destined to usher in the universal life of leisure and love for all men."

Mrs. Ralph Waldo Trine read a poem that she had written for the occasion on "The Land of the Heart's Desire":

"Searching by day and night 'mong rugged ways,
A yearning soul went struggling thro' the world
Seeking a land of which the many said,
'Tis useless, all the ages past and gone
Have men and women hoped to find this land,
And seeking it have perished by the way.
Why leave the beaten road—'tis good for us,
Why not for you? We are not torn and bruised
By beating out a path 'mong mountain ways
As those who go in search of this strange land.

"And then this earnest soul made grand reply.
'I, like the others who have gone before,
Traveling thro' unknown, untried, devious ways,
Seek, not for self alone this wondrous land,
But going before and hewing out the way
Make clearer for those following on the path.'

"And so alone, oftimes with life near gone,
But ever with the promised land in view,
This struggling soul kept bravely on his way.

"At last the country which he seeks is found!
He enters in with songs of love and joy,
And lo! a herald meets him at the gate.
'O seeker after truth, the way was long
And those who enter here are bade to stay
And rest a time within this outer court,
While taught by others who have come before
The truths concerning this new happy land.'

"Then comes one clad in white, with radiant face,
 And sits beside him clasping close his hand,
 And tells to him in accents rich with love
 Of this strange land to which he late has come.
 How in this land glad comradeship abides
 And love and peace and mutual benefit.
 'For know,' he says, 'that in this glorious land
 None are in bondage, each and all are free.'
 He leaves him, and a woman glorified
 Comes gently to him, and with loving look,
 And rapture filling all her voice,
 Speaks of the time before she found this place,
 Of years of sorrow and of dark despair;
 But how at last she finds what sought
 In this glad land among the sons of God,
 Finds freedom and the rapture that it brings.

"Then comes again the one who met him first
 And tells to him the sad part of it all—
 Sad, but with God's own loving justice filled.
 How even tho' the land for him is reached,
 And others too are living in this place,
 Its hidden valleys and far mountain tops
 Cannot be reached till all have found the way
 Up from the darkness of the under-world
 To join with them in songs of love and joy.
 For none is truly free till all the race
 Unites with him in holy comradeship.
 And then he speaks again in accents low,
 'But rest awhile within this outer court
 And finding here a comrade for your life—
 One who is also free and glad and strong—
 Go thou, and holding up each other's hands
 Lead many on unto this land of joy.'

Beautiful words, appropriate to the occasion and voicing the pioneer thought, were given utterance by Ralph Waldo Trine, ethical teacher; Arthur Farwell, musician and artist; Bolton Hall, a disciple of Henry George; Mr. and Mrs. Darwin J. Mesersole, upon whom has fallen so much of the stress and storm of the tornado that has been raging around Professor Herron's life; Marguerite V. Wien, whose young life has been laid on the altar of socialism; and Mabel McCoy Irwin. Mrs. Wentworth read to us with exquisite diction a poem dedicated to his wife by Robert Browning, "the great poet of love, who declared 'There is no good of life but love—but love; what else looks good is but some shade flung from love—gilds it—gives it worth.'" Miss Kendall's expression was also in verse:

“Through Love to Light!
Oh, wonderful the way
That leads from darkness to the perfect day!
From darkness and from sorrow of the night
To morning that comes singing o’er the sea.”

The last speaker was Franklin H. Wentworth. “Having shared the joy and sorrow, the trials and problems, of my two comrades here,” he said, “it is perhaps fitting that I should say the last word on this occasion, and that this word should be a word of personal affection and comradeship. And yet I must confess that the feeling of joy which I have to-night relates not so directly to them as to the cause, in the service of which we are all enlisted. It seems such a mighty triumph of truth and sincerity in the world that the cause must be helped by this union. I believe that the high service of each will be helped by the fact of these two souls working side by side in mutual sustainment, united—yet free. I feel this strongly because of the strength and uplift which has come into my own life through my comradeship with my own true and noble mate. In the very fact that so large a number of persons as are here assembled can be inspired by the same ideal, I see a demonstration that the truth is beginning to force its way and dramatize itself in reference to every human institution. There seems in the gathering of such a company a hint of the dawning of the day when the spirit of freedom shall rule the world—freedom of the body, and freedom of the soul.

“Now, in conclusion, there is a personal word I wish to say: I wish to pay a tribute of loving admiration to the woman who was already standing for human freedom when most of us here were children; a woman who all her life long has been far ahead of her time; who has steadfastly stood against all forms of hypocrisy and organized wrong. In her girlhood life this woman was scoffed at because she was an abolitionist—then the most bitterly hated of all reformers. In her middle life she was jeered at first as a free republican and afterward as a free trader; and now in the time of her age we find her standing bravely ’mid those who believe that the world should take another step toward human freedom, namely the socialists. In her girlhood she worked for the freedom of the chattel slave, and then lived to see the world come halting after her, accepting the truth she saw. And I believe there is no more fitting prayer which I can offer in her behalf to-night, or which will find a more appreciative response in the staunch soul of Mrs. Rand herself than that she may be spared to witness at least the beginnings of the world’s industrial emancipation.”

The gathering broke up, and finally, as a sweet benediction, the bride herself took her seat at the piano and played to us

for awhile, pouring out her soul in the interpretation of one of Beethoven's greatest sonatas. And as she played, the memory of a ghoulish press, of human vultures, of slave-marriage, of cruel capitalism, was blotted out. We saw only the vision of the New Life of Socialism, when the love that made this union holy shall be the only basis of marriage, and when this love, stretching out, shall embrace the common life of the world.

New York, June 1, 1901.

Leonard D. Abbott.



FAIR PLAY

I do not talk religion to you, ye men of the world.
 I say nothing of love or pity or Christianity.
 I speak your own language and conjure you in the name of
 fair play.

You who spurn the man that takes an unfair advantage of his
 competitors in sport or at the card-table, you are at the
 same time playing the game of life with loaded dice.

You are forever insisting on any handicap of wealth and rank,
 however excessive, that you may be able to command, and
 yet you hold up your heads as if you were honourable.

You force men to pit their broken-down nags against your thor-
 oughbreds,—their leaky scows against your steam-yachts,
 —and are proud of the show you make!

By your own code you should be expelled from every respect-
 able club, cut by every self-respecting man, and sent for
 good and all to Coventry.

You have yet to learn that life is a game no whit inferior in its
 demands on your honour to whist or tennis or the turf,
 and that you must extend your code to it or be justly
 ruled off the course.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

Ernest Crosby,

Author of Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.

Letter to Grinnell Church Committee

New York, May 24, 1901.

To the Committee appointed by the Congregational Church of Grinnell, Iowa, to call a council of churches to inquire into my ministerial standing and church membership:

Brethren—I received your request that I join with you in calling a council to inquire into my standing as a minister and as a member of your church. I could not join with you in this call, nor do I feel it essential that I should. You are a body of Christian gentlemen, seeking to do what you believe to be your whole duty, and the council called by you will be as impartial, and as eager to do what seems to it right, as if I had joined in the call. I could not hope to include a friendly church in the council; for, however sad the reflection on myself to say so, I have no friend that I know of in the Congregational Church or ministry of Iowa.

Besides, when I look over the names attached to recent denunciations of my life sent out from Grinnell, and reflect that these are the names of men who have denounced my teachings in years past, and also that some of these are to officiate in the council by which I am to be tried, I do not see how this trial can be anything more than a ceremonial fulfillment of what you take to be your plain duty to the church and society. Weeks in advance of my trial, in the public prints of the religious press, your pastor has proclaimed me guilty of the things for which I am to be tried. He says that he knows what my life has been, and that his knowledge is my condemnation. He says that the church has patiently endured my criticisms of its ministry and spirit, and that these have nothing to do with the judgment of the church upon my character. I think he speaks with perfect sincerity, and does not desire to wrong any one. I think, also, that he represents the general feeling of the church at large. When I place beside this general feeling the fact that I offer nothing in self-defense, and that I have nothing to say that will not serve to further convict me in your judgment, I do not see how I could essentially affect the verdict of even the most impartial court that could be convened from the church. I have, therefore, left the calling of the council with you.

Let me say at once that if a literal interpretation of the civil court decree is to be made the basis of your procedure, or if I refuse to go behind that decree, then I do not see how you can do anything else than establish the conviction at which you

have thus already arrived, and dismiss me from the church and its ministry. I might suggest to you that a court decree, granting a separation of this kind, is based upon a technicality, as you must know. Our laws are so made that a man and woman legally united cannot get apart save upon some nominal charge of wrong-doing. I did not know the wording of the charge upon which this separation was granted, until I read it in the newspapers. I suppose it was the least charge upon which such a decree could be issued by an Iowa court. Still, I fully realize that this suggestion has no value whatever as evidence. You have only the court charge and decree to go by, and such abundant evidence of appearances as you might gather. If I do not go behind that decree, and offer no counter-evidence, I see no course open to you save to dismiss me from your fellowship. The burden of proof, in virtue of all the circumstances, rests upon me; and if I cannot or will not prove my innocence, the responsibility is mine, for you have given me an opportunity. And I know I cannot escape this responsibility by any feeling I may have regarding the predisposition of the church toward me.

Furthermore, the responsibility for the circumstances which call you together rests upon me, where the public has placed it. It seems wholly unnecessary to say this, for no hint of blame upon any one else has reached my eyes or ears, while I have been universally condemned. It does not seem worth while to suggest that such a crisis might come to a life without any one being morally to blame, so we will let the responsibility and condemnation rest just where they are. I should not count any one my friend who would undertake to defend me at the expense of another.

I would ask you to kindly let me explain, however, that I did not desert my children. No father loves his children more than I. But I have long held it a principle that children belong first to their mother. Where such a separation takes place, if the mother desires all the children, they are rightfully hers, and no considerate man would take one of them from her. Besides, in this case, I think the children would choose their mother, who has been their constant companion, except when she was twice absent with me in Europe. They are not babes, but are arriving at some years of capacity to choose for themselves—the oldest of them just blossoming into womanhood. This may not be known to you, because of the fact that I have not yet reached middle life; but it may be understood when you take into account the fact that the marriage annulled took place before I had quite reached my twenty-first birthday. Furthermore, when I turn from the desires of a father's heart to what is best for the children themselves, I think their choice of their mother would be wise; for they will have a good

mother, and the life of a man given to the socialist revolution cannot fail to be more or less the life of an outcast, as the revolution intensifies and arrays a ruling class against a working class in a final issue and crisis.

In this connection, I would like to say that I do not see why the matter of adequate financial provision should have been made a basis of complaint or discussion. Certainly, it was the right and duty of the mother of these children to accept such provision, in simple justice to herself and them, as it was my privilege and duty to provide to the utmost. As to what friends enabled me to do this, that is a matter into which the public has no right to inquire, so long as those concerned are satisfied.

As a council, you are acting in defense of what you believe to be the sacredness of the family institution, against which I am to you an offender. In order that your action on this point may be complete, let me say to you that I do not believe that the present marriage system is sacred or good. It rather seems to me to be the destruction of the liberty and love and truth which make life sacred and worth living. If love and truth are the basis of morality, then a marriage system which makes one human being the property of another, without regard to the well-being of either the owned or the owner, seems to me to be the very soul of blasphemy and immorality. The family founded on force is a survival of slavery, and one of the expressions of the slave-principles on which our whole civilization is built. It is a mode of the superstition which thinks it good for human beings to own each other, and good for the race to have all its sources and tools of life owned by the few who are strong and cunning enough to possess them. The ethics of the legally and ecclesiastically enforced family make it possible for a man to live a life of monstrous wrong, of ghastly falsehood, even of unbridled lust, and yet be highly moral according to the standards by which we are judged. The same standards condemn and disgrace the purest expressions of comradeship, if they cross the conventions or forget the decrees of custom. Free and truthful living is thus made a tragedy, to have overwhelming and revengeful retribution added unto it, while slave-living and falsehood may be rewarded with world-blessings and ecclesiastical canonization. I thoroughly believe in the vital and abiding union of one man with one woman as a true basis of the family life. But we shall have few such unions until we have a free family. Men and women must be economically free—free to use their powers to the fullest extent—free from the interference of legal and ecclesiastical force, and free to correct their mistakes, before we can have a family that is noble, built on unions that are good. Lives that are essentially one, co-operative in the love and truth that make oneness, need no law of state or church to bind or keep

them together. Upon such, the imposition of force is a destruction and a blasphemy. On the other hand, no law in the universe has a right to keep together those who are not vitally and essentially one. It is only in freedom that love can find its own, or truth blossom in the soul, or other than a slave-individuality unfold. It is the business of society to see to it that every child is surrounded by the full and free resources of a complete life; it is the business of society to see to its own fatherhood and motherhood of every child, as well as to hold every parent responsible; it is the business of society to know every child of woman as a free and legitimate child of God, and welcome it as an inheritor of the reverence and resources of the earth; but it is not the business of society to unite or separate men and women in the marriage relation. Love must be set free and liberty must be trusted, if noble and beautiful homes are to spring up to make the earth a garden of truth and gladness. The coercive family system is filling the earth with falsehood and hypocrisy, misery and soul-disintegration, and is perpetuating the morality of slaves and liars. In times past, men have thrown away their lives in protest against what seemed to them tyranny and wrong. There is a new world coming whose way can be made ready only by those who will throw away their good names, and accept, perhaps, everlasting disgrace, as the price of their protest.

And if I willingly accept all the obloquy and retribution which church and society may visit upon me, in making a protest against a system that seems to me destructive to all true morality, and to the very citadel of the soul's integrity, then my protest has earned its right to be heard.

It seems useless and hopeless to speak to religious or moral custodians about the agony of the soul for self-revelation; about the increasing and intensifying struggle of man to outwardly express what he inwardly is. Our morality is so altogether based on appearances, on calculated action, and has so little to do with truth or reality, that the spectacle of a man trying to be simply honest with the world, in order to be honest with his soul, causes him to be taken for either a criminal or a madman. Under our social system, no one says what he really thinks, or lives out what he really is. Our sayings and doings, or the things we do not and say not, are guided by the desire to be respectable, to be approved; hence action and thought are alike dishonest, and without freedom or beauty. Our religion and conduct, our customs and good names, our international diplomacies and business successes, deal with chances and appearances; they are a matter of the dice, and not of the soul. Civilization, with its network of falsehood and suspicion, of retribution and revenge, is a sort of world-conspiracy against the soul's integrity and against individuality. Yet the right of

a single soul to fully and freely express itself, to live out and show forth all the truth about itself, so that it need have within itself no hid thing, but be naked before the universe and not be ashamed, is infinitely more important than the whole fabric of civilization. The travail of the soul to become honest, the struggle of man to come to himself, is far more vital and revolutionary, more menacing to what we call civilization, than any questioning of the marriage system, or the questioning of any institution. You may be sure that when the son of man rises out of the common life, there will not be left a shred of any kind of institutional bond, and there will be no sentinels on the walls of the soul's possibilities.

All that has come upon me, in this for which you condemn me, springs from an effort to be the truth, to make my life appear what it is, even though that which is light to me be black darkness to the world. I cannot speak what I seem to see as truth, without living out all the truth about myself, even though the living of truth destroy my opportunity to speak. If in trying to be truthful to the world, I have lost all means of serving it, then let it be so. The life which you condemn me for not living was a lie. Yet I fruitlessly tried to convert it into truth, in order to be moral and self-denying according to the standards of religion and private ownership. The life I now live is the truth, though these same standards condemn me for living it. I will accept obloquy and destruction from the world and not complain, nor defend myself, nor ask to have any cup of punishment pass from me; but I will not live a lie—not to win or keep the favor of gods or men. The anguish and cost of reaching this point God knows; but I have reached it—or rather been precipitated upon it; and it is this that brings me under your judgment and the world's condemnation. It seems useless and hopeless to say it, but the crisis which brings me under your judgment springs from a moral agony to be true to what I take to be truth. I may be mistaken, or stupid, or mad, or anything you like, but I have acted from the highest right I know, and from the deepest sense of truth and honor I have. Of the monstrous things charged against me, in this wild flood of devastating gossip, I know myself to be guiltless; my soul is white from all of that. And, in the long run, that is enough—enough that a man be conscious of the rectitude of his own soul. In the reach of the centuries, it does not matter what the world thinks a man is; what a man actually is—what he knows himself to be—is all that matters. Sometime and somewhere, if the universe be sincere or rational, the truth will care for its own. And a work that can be overthrown because a man tries to find his way through the dark by the light of such truth as is in him, because he seeks some freer and directer path through life's awful tangle—such a work is not worth pre-

serving; while no good or worthful or lasting work can be overthrown with the overthrow of a man.

Into the public discussion of the action you are judging has come the name of another than myself—that of Miss Rand; and I suppose your judgment, at least in the public mind, will be upon her as well as upon myself. If there were anything I could give or suffer to have this not so, I would; but it is so, and I must meet it truthfully, with you and the world. It is said and assumed that the separation in question was obtained in order that a marriage between Miss Rand and myself might be consummated. So far as I am concerned, and so far as the mere matter of marriage is concerned, that is not true, for the causes that led to this crisis existed long before I knew Miss Rand. On the other hand, it is true that the comradeship between Miss Rand and myself entered into this crisis, and that whenever and wherever she will permit me to announce her to the world as my wife, whether it be to-morrow or next week or years hence, whether it be before your council meet or after, I shall do so. For years she has lived a life of selfless devotion to all that is good, as well as to every work and obligation of my life, giving everything and asking nothing. So true is this, on the mere economic side, that instead of the reputed wealth of public prints, she would come to me practically without money, her inheritance from her father pledged away for her lifetime, and she dependent upon her mother for bread. Again, the world has ruthlessly taken away her good name—the good name of one as innocent as the babe born last night—and this has been done by that part of the world where you of this council live, upon whose college campus she has left a part of her inheritance and seven years of beautiful service. Yet not because of any or all of this would I take this step; but because, when publicly placed in a position where I must either affirm or deny the unity of my life with hers, or else evade the interrogation, I can be truthful to the world in no other way than by establishing the fact of this unity. After this storm of savage and senseless wrong has broken upon her, after the world has taken everything it values from her, after all she has given and lost, after she has been the source and inspirer of so much of such work as I have done, after I have lived for so many years because she has lived also, after she has dedicated my life to the socialist cause of freedom, for me to leave her to face the world alone, or to wait an hour after she would permit me to announce her to men as my wife, would be for me to commit spiritual suicide, and to try to deceive the world in order to win for myself some place or work in it, or some fragment of faith from it. If this confession of life is evil to you, and to all the world, then let it be evil; if to any one on the earth it is good, to that one let it be good. If free and

truthful living be the final outcome of things, then the outcome will vindicate us.

But we ask for no vindication; we can expect none. If the chasm into which we have been swept together closes in about us, we shall not murmur, nor judge our judges, nor seek for mercy, nor ask any one to defend us or stand by us or with us. We face the fact that if we join our lives in this chasm, we condemn ourselves in the eyes of the world. We shall accept this condemnation with open eyes and deliberate purpose, willingly paying the uttermost farthing exacted, for the truth which the world cannot touch or take away, after it has done its worst. For we shall feel that we are standing for the liberty of countless millions of unborn souls when we stand for the truth of our own souls, and pay the fullest price of our own liberty. We should not want to involve a single friend or any cause in responsibility for us, but go our way and live such life as remains to us, anywhere the world may permit.

And now you may judge us. But let me say that I would rather be the worst that has been said about me, rather be worse than the severest denunciation has made me out to be, than to sit in one of your places as my judge, or in the place of those clergymen who have sought to destroy my good name without knowing anything of the causes or facts they were judging, or asking me as a brother if I had any explanation to give. If my good name is gone, and my small value to the world with it, I think the church has paid a dear price for this destruction, however worthy its motives. The spectacle of venerable and prominent leaders of the church competing with a vulture press in a hunt for irresponsible gossip, and for convicting and blasting appearances,—the eagerness of some of these influential clergymen and laymen to make the most and worst of the defenseless position of a man they have tracked and laid in wait for—their pitiless digging at the roots of the sacred sorrow and tragedy of a life, in order to get at its secret and prove thereby that its teachings are false and its deeds evil—all this is a revelation of the spirit and temper of the church that will not be lost on the working class, and that will not fail to disclose the immense and awful gulf between the spirit of Jesus and the church that claims His name.

You cannot know anything of the sources or causes of the crisis you are judging, for no one who knows will tell you, and you would not know if you were told. The depths of elemental immorality, of self-deceit and revenge, lie in our eagerness to judge one another, and to force one another under the yoke of our judgments. When there is the faith of the Son of Man in the world, life will be left to make its own judgments. The only judgments we have a right to make upon one another is the free and truthful living of our own lives.

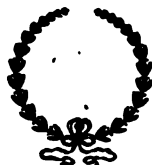
In conclusion let me say, out of justice to you as to myself, that I shall not misrepresent your action, nor put it on other than your own grounds. I shall not represent you as dismissing me for socialism or heresy, or for my attacks on the church. I have nowhere and at no time used language indicating this, and every such word attributed to me has been newspaper forgery. I am dismissed from the church and its ministry for what you consider to be conduct unbecoming a minister and a gentleman. And your view of the life I have lived, with such service as I have tried to render, only seems to you to confirm your judgment, to which must be added the voluntary testimony of this letter. So I shall accept my dismissal in the terms in which you give it, and I shall not try to evade the consequences of your decision. I shall not again speak as a minister of the church, nor seek its fellowship, nor act as its representative, nor use its language. If anything I may hereafter do or say shall be of service to any one or to any cause, it shall be done or said with the clear understanding that the church is free from any responsibility for such service, and that I am disowned by the church because of its judgment upon my life and character.

Pardon me for writing so long. I meant to write only a brief note when I began, but the desire to fully express myself to you has made me write on.

With only fellowship in my heart for you all, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

George D. Herron.



THE TRADE UNIONIST

He climbs through union, lockout, strike,
 Through starving home, and bloody death,
 To power slow growing masterful, —
 To life instinct with brotherhood,—
 To vital solidarity.
 And soon in Hall of State he'll stand,
 Class conscious but magnanimous,
 To legislate his blood-bought Truth,—
The wrong of one is wrong of all.

Oakland, Cal., May, 1901.

Frederick Irons Bamford.

Socialism in Denmark



At the present writing it is just thirty years since the Social Democratic party was founded in Denmark. The Paris Commune kindled the fire. Its ideas were in the air and discussed everywhere. A young official in the postal service, Louis Pio, was influenced by them and gave them expression in a pamphlet, "Socialistic Leaflet," which appeared in May 1871 and aroused the greatest attention among workmen. In July the first number of the weekly paper "The Socialist" appeared. This still continues as a daily under the name "Social Democrat," and is the leading organ of the Social Democracy in Denmark. In the fall a section of the "International" was established which speedily enlarged its membership. The ice was broken for the new movement, and it is from this starting point that the Social Democracy in Denmark has grown gradually to its present strong position.

Socialism has developed in Denmark side by side with capitalism. In the beginning of the 70's, when the socialist movement started, the capitalistic method of production was still comparatively little developed. Guilds which had bound the trades to half-medieval methods were just abolished. Industry, organized on a large scale, was just beginning. Denmark was quite overwhelmingly an agricultural country. In the cultivation of the land small holdings prevailed. Ordinarily the farmers cultivated their land with the assistance of their family, without the employment of any outside help excepting one or two hired men. Production was predominately a production for the home market. Export production played only a small part. Pre-capitalistic conditions were still strongly represented everywhere in Danish society.

But within the thirty years that have since elapsed the development has gone on with remarkable rapidity. Capitalism has everywhere made itself the determining factor. The city population has greatly increased. In 1870 only 15 per cent of the population lived in the larger towns that had a population over 10,000; in 1880, 18 per cent; in 1890, 24 per cent, and in 1901, 30 per cent. In these four enumerations the actual country population amounted to about 75 per cent, 71 per cent, 66 per cent and 60 per cent. Industry on a large scale has developed rapidly in the cities as well as in the country. In 1897, 44 per cent of the industrial population was occupied in industries employing twenty-one or more workers; 19 per cent in industries with at least 101 workers; and everything indicates

that since this there has been further development towards capitalistic production on a large scale. The small industries that still remain are for the most part really proletarianized, partly by being reduced to the most miserable conditions and partly by being dependent upon the large enterprises. In the country the development is not less evident. Agriculture has been transformed into an export industry, supplying the English market with butter and pork. The farmer is absolutely dependent upon the condition of the world's market. The mortgage indebtedness which really robs him of his property is increasing enormously. At the same time there has grown up a very large agricultural working class. The small land-owners who own less than one areal—about six acres—making, as a rule, a small potato field and garden—and who must therefore live principally upon what they earn working for the larger farmers, increased from 1873 to 1895 by 30 per cent. The balance of the agricultural population increased only 1 per cent.

Capitalism has thus created a numerous proletariat in Denmark. But socialism has followed close upon its heels, driving its propaganda into the midst of the proletarian masses, uniting them to resist and organizing them around its standards.

The socialist movement in the beginning of the 70's had all the fortunate and unfortunate qualities of a young party movement. There was a certain vigor, a certain poetic susceptibility about the young Social Democratic party, but it lacked to a marked degree solidity and organic growth and was greatly weakened by a hero-worshipping devotion to its leaders, particularly Pio. How frail the party was in spite of its apparently large growth was shown in 1877 when Pio, bribed by the authorities, left the country and went to America. Within a few months the whole movement collapsed and nothing but ruins remained.

In the end of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's the movement started afresh—and this time not to collapse again. The crash of 1877 made it firmer and gave it a new character. It was built upon a broader and more democratic foundation. There was no longer any talk about devotion to leaders. It became a workingmen's movement—a truly Social Democratic workingmen's movement. The leaders, or, more correctly speaking, the men whom they place their confidence in, are practically all from the working classes. Of the present Social Democratic members of Folkethinget (the second chamber of the Rigsdag) one is an academician, one a public school teacher and the remaining twelve are workingmen. But the movement is not therefore of any narrower character, like an exclusive, petty tradesmen's, workingmen's movement. The trades unions and political sides of the movement have been firmly knit together. The struggle against capitalistic principles has been

the center of the movement. And socializing the means of production has been the goal towards which by different ways we have been aiming.

In 1878 the political and trades union organizations became separated. The former united into a central organization, "the Social Democratic Alliance," while the latter remained isolated. The separation was a matter of policy and it is a division of work that has proven practical. The trades unions have shown themselves since that time to be the best schools for socialism—the centers through which socialist ideas constantly penetrate deeper and deeper into the working population. The trades unions allow their members absolute freedom in their political affiliations, but it is a matter of fact that only a constantly decreasing number are members of any other party than the Social Democratic. The associations between the political and trades union organizations has now become official. When the trades unions in Copenhagen in 1886 formed a joint organization, it was decided that two out of the seven directors should be chosen from the "Social Democratic Alliance." Since the trades unions of the whole country in 1898 entered into a central organization (The Co-operative Trades Union) the Social Democratic Alliance choose from that membership some of their directors and vice versa. The trades unions are part owners of the party press. In case of an election they are as a rule active supporters of the Social Democratic candidate.

The few large struggles that the trades unions have had with the capitalists have also had a strong and conspicuous political coloring. There was a lockout of smiths and machinists in 1885 just at the time when the workingmen's movement was beginning to get new life again and the Social Democratic vote was beginning to count in elections. The result was not decisive in either case, but it did not succeed in stopping the growth of Social Democracy. Even more important was the great lockout in 1899 that involved about 40,000 workers, lasted for four months, and on the capitalists' side was conducted with the greatest brutality. The employers' motive in this case was evidently not only to break up the trades unions but also to cripple the regular Social Democratic workingmen's movement. The opposition has also been unsuccessful whenever it has tried to start "non-political workingmen's associations," "Christian trades unions," etc., by which means it has tried to separate the trades unions from the Social Democracy.

The growth of the trades unions during the last ten years has been remarkably large. In 1893 the number of organized workers was estimated at 35,000; in the summer of 1896 at 42,000; in the fall of 1899 at 75,000; in January 1900 it reached 96,295. More than three-fourths of all the men in industrial

pursuits and more than one-fifth of all the women were at that time members of a trades union. Even if these figures are compared with the corresponding figures in that promised land of trades unionism—England—Denmark is still far ahead.

Along with this numerical increase the trades unions have developed new strength and growth. The original independent unions have united for mutual support both in the local organizations of every trade and in the national organization. In the beginning of 1898 they united into a central organization embracing about 85 per cent of all trades unionists. Slowly and organically this great structure has risen. That it stands firm is best shown by the result of the lockout in 1899.

The direct results of the trades union movement are: An increase of wages and a shortening of the working day. In 1872 the average pay per hour was 4.35 cents; in 1899 it had risen to 9.54 cents. In 1872 the working day averaged 11.3 hours; in 1899 it had been reduced to 10.1 hours.

The great growth of trades unionism is an expression and measure of the extent to which class consciousness has developed among the Danish working classes. Side by side with the trades union movement and in close co-operation with it the Social Democratic party movement has grown.

There has been an endless amount of public speaking, but the daily press has been the great propagandist of the cause. The daily paper "The Social Democrat," which is now in its thirtieth year, has grown from an edition of from 2,000 to 3,000 copies in 1880 to 13,000 in 1884, 20,000 in 1885, 25,000 in 1894, 30,000 in 1896, 40,000 in 1899, 42,000 to 43,000 in 1901. It is a large-sized sheet and is published six times a week. It is the most extensively circulated paper in Denmark. All its surplus is used for party purposes. When a strong party movement grows up in any locality, a local paper is started with funds from "The Social Democrat." The Social Democratic provincial papers have at least 30,000 subscribers. The Social Democratic daily press, splendidly conducted as it is, has exercised a revolutionary influence that cannot be too highly estimated. It has always entered the lists for all progress of a social and political nature. It has with keenness and ability laid bare a whole series of the offences of the ruling class and has by its daily activity given support to the socialist ideal.

The growth of the Social Democratic party movement can be seen by the vote for Folkethinget (the second chamber of the Rigsdag). The number of votes received by the Social Democratic candidates was as follows:

1872—	268	1890—	17,000
1876—	1,000	1892—	20,000
5-24—1881—	1,300	1895—	25,000
7-27—1881—	1,700	1898—	32,000
1884—	6,800	1901—	43,000
1887—	8,400		

Thus there was a gain from 1890 to '92 of 3,000; from 1892 to '95 of 5,000; 1895 to '98 of 7,000; from 1898 to 1901 of 11,000. For the first time in 1894 two Social Democrats were elected to Folkethinget. In 1901, however, fourteen were elected (Folkethinget has 114 in all). Undoubtedly at the next election still more will be elected. In many places the vote is very close. Not least gratifying is the increase in the country vote. The class consciousness of the agricultural laborers and the small farmers has been aroused and they are coming over to Social Democracy. Formerly the voting was public and there was much coercion on the part of property owners and large land owners. But the secret ballot, which was used for the first time this year, makes it finally possible for the agricultural laborers to vote according to their convictions.

Still the vote by no means shows the actual strength of the party. On account of peculiar political conditions and election arrangements, the Social Democratic and Radical candidates have often stood for elections at the same time in places where the election of a reactionary candidate seemed impossible. In 1898 the number of votes of the Social Democrats was counted in only twenty-three places and in 1901 in only thirty. A count at the same time in all the 114 districts would show a much larger number of party members. How great the increase has been is evident from the seventeen districts where the votes were counted both in 1895 and 1898, and where the number rose from 19,603 to 25,537, or 30 per cent. In the nineteen districts where the votes were counted both in 1898 and 1901 the number rose from 24,460 to 29,867—22 per cent.

The direct results of the Social Democracy's parliamentary work are of various kinds. For example the social legislation, which was begun partly upon the initiative of the Social Democrats and with their active assistance, or at any rate as a direct result of the demand which the Social Democratic workers' party created. A factory law raising the age below which children cannot work in factories from ten to twelve years has been passed, also certain regulations about the maximum working time for workers under eighteen years. An accident law was passed compelling the employers to pay damages for accidents occurring in the course of work. The schools have been improved. More humane arrangements have been made

in providing for the aged. Better provisions for the official class have been introduced. All these things have been secured as conquests made by Social Democracy. Every such victory has made the party's position more secure. Many new demands made by the party are now at our doors and will evidently be facts in the near future, such as state aid for those out of work and public sanitariums for consumptives. For similar social progress the Social Democrats have worked with success where they are strongly represented in the municipal governments, as is the case in Copenhagen and the other large cities.

Not less remarkable has been the position of the Social Democracy in general politics. The political struggle for many years has been a struggle for or against the Folkethinget parliamentarism. Over against the reactionary party, which in spite of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the population has occupied all ministerial offices, which for nine consecutive years (1884-'95) adopted and carried out a positively revolutionary policy, with budgets that were not approved by the Rigsdag, which has encouraged militarism and highhandedly fortified the capital, which has opposed all popular progress and social reform, which has made itself contemptible by its corrupting brutality—over against this reaction which only by its lack of ability differs from the reactionaries in the most barbaric countries, the Social Democrats have fought hand in hand with bourgeoisie democracy, academic liberalism and peasant radicalism. The result of this co-operation is the almost complete disappearance of the reaction. Only eight reactionaries were elected this year to Folkethinget, and of those only five are really supporters of the present ministry. A new and radical ministry may be expected in the very near future. However remote it may be from Social Democracy it will at any rate be an acknowledgment of the common democratic demand that the majority of the people should determine who are to be the leaders of their government. The Social Democratic party will then stand as the strongest opposition party and its growth will surely be much more rapid than heretofore.

This active participation in political affairs was forced by circumstances. The overthrow of the reaction means preparing the way for the Social Democratic party's victory. From this participation the party lost none of its revolutionary power. By its political actions it has helped on the class struggle which has for its aim the emancipation of the proletariat. It has not forgotten its historic mission in opportunist politics. It is as far as possible from having become a bourgeoisie social reform party. By its participation in the country's politics—

always on the side of the Left—it has on the contrary gained strength and firmness and preserved a remarkable vigor.

Social Democracy in Denmark stands altogether on Marxian grounds. In its ideas and theoretical construction it is closely related to the German. Factionalism it has been spared almost entirely. A branch of ultra anti-parliamentarians started up in 1890 within the party, but it has disappeared, not even leaving a trace. A sporadic effort to form an anarchist party in Denmark fell absolutely flat. An effort on the part of some "Christian Socialists" to sidetrack the Social Democratic workmen's movement was absolutely without result. All attacks and all disturbing forces have bounded back.

What is most peculiar to the Danish Social Democracy is its organic character and the organic development which has carried it forward. Continually it has known how to find the place circumstances demanded. The various aspects of the class struggle have been melted together into one solid and unbreakable whole. Its progress has been even and sure. Every step has had solid ground under its feet. Even the most bitter opponents now declare publicly that it is apparently hopeless to dam up the socialist wave in Denmark.

(Translated by Amanda Johnson.)

Dr. Gustav Bang.



HOMESICK

I am homesick,—
 Homesick for the home that I never have seen,—
 For the land where I shall look horizontally into the eyes of
 my fellows,—
 The land where men rise only to lift,—
 The land where equality leaves men free to differ as they will,—
 The land where freedom is breathed in with the air and courses
 in the blood,—
 Where there is nothing over a man between him and the sky,—
 Where the obligations of love are sought for as prizes and
 where they vary with the moon.
 That land is my true country.
 I am here by some sad cosmic mistake,—and I am homesick.
 Rhinebeck, N. Y. *Ernest Crosby,*
 Author of Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.

The Unity Convention at Indianapolis

(A SYMPOSIUM)



HE watchword of this convention should be, Get together and get to work. As related to getting together there is the platform and the organization to be considered. These attended to, the most important work of the convention will be reached in devising and adopting a simple, easily understood and thoroughly workable plan of work, by which this organization and every man and woman in it, as well as its boys and girls, may be enlisted and enthused to go to work and keep to work pushing things and be able to do so without a break until this party shall capture the government and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth.

AS TO THE PLATFORM.

The united socialists of the country made a good campaign last year on a long platform, and if a platform equally lengthy is to be kept before the people a quick and probably satisfactory disposal of the platform would be to make the present platform the declaration of the new party. But a short platform, short enough so it could be printed on the corner of an envelope, short enough so that a speaker could repeat it at the beginning, the middle and at the end of his address, short enough to go on the back of a membership application, short enough so that it could be printed on small cards and scattered everywhere, and plain enough so that it would be easy to understand and hard to misunderstand,—if any revision of the platform is to be made it should be made for the purpose of securing such brevity in order to make the platform itself more available for every-day use in pushing the party work.

If something more at length should seem desirable, a supplementary address could be added and all the advantages of both a short platform and of a more extended statement could in that way be secured.

AS TO ORGANIZATION.

No action should be taken by this convention on the subject of organization subject to any further referendum votes by the old organizations before the new organization is to go to work. All necessary referendums should be provided for within the new organization, but the new organization should go to work

the hour it is created, and whenever it has reported on credentials and elected its officers it should be understood to be in existence and ready for business.

The time is over-ripe for a new political force in American politics. The socialists can be this force if they will get together and get to work. But they must occupy the field and satisfy the demand for a new movement by engaging in such activity as will demonstrate their ability to occupy the field by actually occupying it.

As to the details of the organization, it should provide for a small national committee, say one member for each state organized and represented in the convention.

It should limit the duties of this national committee to the calling of national conventions and to the carrying on of the propaganda work in territory where there are no state organizations and to acting as a bureau of information in making dates for speakers, distributing literature, reporting the progress of the party's work, but should have no authority to act in any matters of local administration within the organized states, nor share in the propaganda work in any such state contrary to the wishes of the party within that state. Additional members would be admitted to this committee as additional states should be organized and elect their members of this national committee.

The national committee should elect a small executive committee, say five members, and there ought not to be more than one member to this committee from the same state.

All official proceedings intended for publication should be furnished to all the papers applying for the same, but neither the national committee nor its executive committee should publish or in any way be connected with any official organ.

The representatives of the various states to this convention should each name a member of this national committee, whose duty it should be to perform the duties of his office until he or his successor shall be elected by a referendum vote of the members of all the branches paying dues to the new party in his own state.

The endorsement of the national platform and the tender of dues to the national party by any comrade or branch shall determine his standing or the standing of the branch as a member of the party in any state. But with this condition that no branch nor any individual member shall be admitted or shall remain in good standing should the branch or member affiliate with or give support to any other political party.

All questions of dispute in the party management for the several states must be settled by the comrades in each state and by a referendum vote of all the members within the state.

Any small number of states, say five, should have the author-

ity at any time to nominate by referendum vote a successor for any member or officer of the national executive committee, and it should be the duty of the national executive committee to at once call for a referendum vote from all members paying dues to the national organization. The referendum vote should give the name of the officer or member whom it is proposed shall be displaced, and the name of the person proposed as his successor. The vote should be closed within thirty days, the result declared at once and the person elected become or remain an officer or member, at once, on the completion of the vote.

THE PLAN OF WORK.

There are two things which need most to be accomplished; they are the circulation of literature and bringing into the party organization the great company of unorganized socialists and others as fast as they shall be converted to the doctrines of the socialist party.

In order to accomplish large results in either of these lines, a great company of special workers must be found, their enthusiasm enlisted, their work encouraged and their achievements so reported that each month in the year, or at least each quarter, it would be possible to make definite reports of large gains in both particulars.

Certain items should be agreed upon as essential matters in the party work and then a system of weekly, monthly and quarterly reports provided, extending all the way from the local workers through the branch to the state and national organizations. And the summary of these reports showing the growth of the party and its increasing activity in the circulation of socialist literature and the extension of its organization should be kept constantly before the whole country.

THE REASON WHY.

Under such a plan of organization there could be no rings, no local control of national matters, no personal favoritism, no grounds for personal jealousy, but, on the contrary, whoever would be able to publish what the local workers would think to be the best paper may count on the widest circulation, and whoever is able to produce the best results as a worker for the party would be sure of the recognition and influence to which his activity and effectiveness in the work would naturally entitle him. All officers being subject to recall would seek to do the will of the whole body of the socialist voters and in all questions of doubt would seek to be guided by a direct referendum to all of the members of the party rather than by the personal influence or personal interests of any one.

Such a plan of work, with a continuous, systematic, house-to-house canvass for new subscribers for socialist papers and new members for the socialist party, will have the effect on the party's growth of a continuous election showing at all times a continuous increase of the party's vote. Nothing could equal such a program as a means of stimulating and extending the activity of all the socialists and so continuously enlarging the power of the socialist party.

Get together and get to work.

Walter Thomas Mills.



OF all the forms of organizations that exist to-day it would seem that the one that is founded upon widely known and accepted economic truths, and based upon the historical development of the past, should be the most stable and permanent, the one least subject to the changes and transmutations of transient public or personal opinion.

Only a partial or one-sided appreciation of the knowledge at our disposal, or a lack of application of the system to the life, may upset this perfectly logical reasoning. While the first of these reasons will bear searching analysis from those engaged in the cause of economic liberty and may be the subject of a future paper, the latter reason, namely, the lack of true socialistic conditions in the Socialist party administration, seems worthy of attention just now.

The condition forced upon us by the surrounding capitalistic regime need not to be considered here, nor is the statement that party exigencies in some cases are responsible for agencies that promote discord any excuse for their future existence. A continuance in the methods augers ill for future peace. Party exigencies or crises like boils have their genesis in a disordered state of the interior. The ruling or governing idea must be eliminated. In its place must come the idea of service, of administration.

We need a more thorough system of representation, a more complete control of the situation by the membership. Each state should be represented, not only by a majority representative, but where any minority is strong enough to stand the expense, it should also be represented. The state should control its members or delegation on the national committee, paying all personal expenses whenever it is deemed necessary for its member or members to attend. Annual or semi-annual meetings should be held at some regular time and place where a full delegation would be required. Special meetings might be called naming time and place of meeting, by a quorum of

states in the interests of particular sections of the country where other sections not interested need no representation.

The chief work of a national party committee is to unify party action; to promote party coherence. Outside of the general work of a national campaign, with which we are tolerably familiar, its chief function is to enter an unoccupied state and gather together the fragments of sympathetic nature and organize there a state committee to carry on the work. This is to promote party coherence. Another phase of the same work is to promote the tours of national speakers and propagandists and to furnish literature for use by the committee's agents. This concludes its legitimate work.

The national committee should not have the power to call a convention other than the national nominating convention for national candidates, nor to submit a referendum without directions from a convention or one initiated by a quorum of states. It should not arrogate to itself the powers of national conventions for discipline or declaration and interpretation of party faith or practice. It should not waste its energies in the publishing business or in keeping a roll of members or branches except in the course of its work in unorganized fields.

Besides the per capita dues collected through the state committees, which should not amount to more than 10 cents per quarter and might be less, the committee should be allowed to receive subscriptions from individuals for the propaganda fund.

There should be two salaried officials of the committee, not necessarily chosen members of the committee, but appointed by convention or by the committee if the convention does not act. The first should be chairman or organizer, the other the secretary. The work of the committee as outlined makes it absolutely necessary that both should be speakers of ability. We have many comrades fully capable of filling the first position, but the peculiar combination of ability required by the secretary makes the choice more difficult. There are very few men in our ranks who have the necessary ability at present. He should be a speaker conversant with traveling conditions and line of routes. He should be a money-getter, and book-keeper, able to conduct business in modern fashion. The secretaryship is the more important position and requires the very life of its unfortunate holder.

An adequate stated salary should be paid to both, part of which would certainly come back to the national treasury by fixing a price for their services as speakers, or by their skill in raising subscriptions and collections taken at meetings held by them, all of which should be accounted for. A monthly account of the finances should be transmitted to all party papers.

It is to be hoped that we shall not come to Indianapolis as factionists. Let us for once stop confounding principle with opinion. While we should always hold fast to principles of socialism, yet within those lines there should be freedom of mind, of expression, and of action. The numbness, inertness and immobility of a mind which has mastered some written creed and holds fast to it as to a life preserver in mid-ocean is awful. It has ceased to think, and lack of thought is fatal to life and action.

If there has come to humanity any lesson out of the past, it is that theories and personal opinions subside before actual realities, for actual situations usually present one predominant plan of action. Therefore it is foolish to found upon theories and opinions organic differences; despite them, if organically united, we will no doubt meet each development of the future together. Let us only allow for every possible divergence as legitimate and part of our already achieved socialistic inheritance.

What strange unreason that we, who have studied the past cycles by which man has developed and which foreshadows the coming of socialism, should tear passion to tatters over the presence or absence of a comrade in the French cabinet a year or two.

What disbelief in our accumulation of socialist experience is shown when we, who are sure that the development of capitalism in this country is hastening the inevitable revolt, are at swords point over the question as to whether the present trade unions are to be replaced by those of socialist proclivities, or that the present ones are to be converted to socialism.

That a division along these petty lines is inevitable by lack of true socialistic charity and breadth of view seems to cause an added vigor and bitterness, as if to hide the shame of it, for it does seem certain that if we allowed ourselves to cool down, the puerility would become apparent and the whole matter causing disturbance would be dropped.

With liberty of opinion and freedom of discussion in the party given free vent and voice by minority representation, good sound common sense will assert itself and the evil will die the sooner a natural death. Better, in that case, action that may prove wrong than inaction. Better a shrewd faith in an inevitable tendency eliminating the unfit by natural progress than highly-spiced billingsgate and antagonisms. Better the good-humored "We shall see" than the epithets "Traitor, fakir."

"Greater love hath no man than this, that he will lay down his life for his friends." Nowhere in the world to-day, and I read the annals of missionary and scientific self-sacrifice for humanity's sake, do we see such absolute giving up of self, such

a heroic determination to die if need be for our heaven on earth, than in the socialist ranks; but our sublime indifference to a possible death or other great evil has not as yet extended to little things, has not as yet caused us to adopt that part of the socialist life that is possible here now. But I feel that it is coming.

Newark, N. J.

G. H. Strobell.

The following is the report of the committee of the Chicago convention unanimously recommended to the consideration of the unity convention. This report embodies Comrade Strobell's plan:

THE NEW JERSEY PLAN FOR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

We, the Social Democratic Party, in convention assembled, in order to secure harmonious and united effort among the socialists of the United States, submit plans to all national socialist organizations, independent socialist state organizations, and unaffiliated socialist bodies.

First—That the respective socialist organizations elect a national committee, said national committee to consist of one member from each state and territory, except as hereinafter provided.

Second—Where in any given state there shall be two or more independent socialist parties, they shall be entitled to one member each upon said national committee.

Third—Each state shall have one vote.

Fourth—Where there is more than one representative from any given state, the one vote of that state shall be cast in a fractional part by each representative, based upon the number of members in the organization represented by him.

Fifth—Upon the election of such representatives, their names and addresses shall be forwarded to the secretary of this convention, and upon twenty or more states complying herewith, a meeting of the said national committee shall be called at such time and place as the committee may determine.

Sixth—The said socialist parties so represented shall cease to exist as independent national organizations, and become merged into this organization, representing the socialist Social Democratic movement in the United States.

Seventh—Complete state autonomy is hereby guaranteed.

The duties of the national committee shall be to call national conventions and fix basis of representatives; to maintain national headquarters, exercise general supervision over the national movement and conduct a general propaganda. The expense of national headquarters to be met by per capita tax of

25 cents per year from each member of the organization represented. The term of office of the members of the national committee to be determined, and the expense incurred by them in attending meetings of the national committee to be met by their constituents in the state represented. Special meetings of the committee may be held upon a call of five states, in which the place of meeting shall be named. A quorum to consist of states represented, not members present. This call is issued to all organizations who definitely subscribe to Social Democratic principles.



My impression is that the coming Unity Convention at Indianapolis, in which both factions of the Social Democratic party and various state and independent branches will participate, will mark a distinct epoch in the history of the socialist movement of America. The past year has been one of experience none too pleasant to desire a repetition, and it is hardly probable that any person will be bold enough to attempt to thwart complete and final organic unity on July 29.

However, the mistakes that have been made should not afford any one reasons for unduly criticizing some one else, and encourage the party of the first part to pose as a paragon of virtue; but, on the contrary, every delegate should come to the convention with the requisite amount of charity in his heart for his neighbor and imbued with the one motive of tolerantly and enthusiastically laboring for the solidifying and upbuilding of the movement that is dear to us all.

No doubt some important questions will come up for consideration, among them the permanent selection of a party name and choosing of headquarters satisfactory to all sections of the country. There are good arguments for and against changing the present party name, with which we are all familiar, and I am satisfied that after a full, fair and calm discussion, the country will accept the decision of the convention on this proposition.

Regarding the seat of the national committee, it is my impression, since there seems to be some feeling of a sectional nature, which ought not to be, a compromise ought to be made. The city in which the headquarters are located could easily be empowered by the convention or the national committee to select a resident committee, with limited powers, and the same to be controlled by the national committee. Expense must be kept in mind when considering this question, and also the fact that the national secretary transacts much of the party's business and is given considerable discretionary power.

The method of organization ought to be agreed upon with little if any friction. I cannot see how the present plan of the Springfield faction could be bettered. Still, if any delegate has any improvements to suggest they will no doubt receive a hearing. One thing is certain—a dues-paying membership is absolutely necessary. Depending upon donations alone won't run a campaign smoothly.

Cut out the "immediate demands." The S. D. P. is not a "reform" party. Popularizing palliatives at the expense of principles brings water to the mills of the bourgeoisie parties. Here, in Ohio, we have found years of agitation hatch out "me too" socialists of the Jones and Johnson stripe, and even Mark Hanna's sub-boss, Secretary Dick, informs us that the g. o. p. will declare for nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, etc., in 1904.

Official organs—nit. All socialist papers that champion our principles and party look alike to me.

Max S. Hayes.



FIRST and foremost the national convention should forever rid the socialist movement of red tape—national ex-boards. They are undemocratic, a source of factional strife, a huge waste of money and time, and contrary to the spirit and custom of American politics. Charters and constitutions should likewise go; both are the product of boys, not men. What we need is a broad, tolerant, sensible and human socialist movement. A national committee of one or more members from each organized state will do. This committee could fix dates for a national convention every four years, take charge of the national campaign in presidential elections and act as a connection between the states.

The state organizations will conduct the propaganda more economically and with more intelligence and success and vastly more harmony than any N. E. B. has ever done or ever will do.

Having progressed so far the convention should learn that the wage-working class is only a minority of the voters, and, too, that they are concentrated in a dozen states; that they will not in fifty years have the political power to elect a president.

The convention should get down out of the clouds and adopt a true scientific platform which shall appeal to the most intelligent and the most powerful class politically—the farmers—as well as to the wage-workers. And, too, if we can get rid of a large surplus amount of class-hatred, rank partisanship, abusiveness, we will have done vastly more than any convention has yet accomplished.

F. G. R. Gordon.

Socialism and the Capitalist Press



HE story is told of the manner in which an amateur musician, in the strenuous and unconventional West, was protected from exasperated worshippers by the sign on a church organ: "Don't shoot the organist. He's doing the best he knows how." With possible propriety the same degree of tolerance might be requested from justly exasperated socialists for the benefit of some of the editors and other writers for the capitalist newspapers. An extensive acquaintance with newspaper men constrains me to believe that the majority are honorably disposed men. Few, however, are of that scientific bent of mind which leads men to fearlessly follow a new line of reasoning and promulgate a conclusion regardless of consequences. For this reason, and others which will become apparent further on, it is rare that an editor ever becomes known for his championship of any new theory in art, science or religion. The majority of newspaper men are the veriest intellectual chameleons who accommodate their mental processes and conclusions to the color of their environment with a facility quite often characterized by a word indicating a greater degree of turpitude than the term "adaptability." As an instance of this chameleon-like quality it may be observed that the newspaper man employed to keep up with the news of "business interests" will be found writing from the "business interests" standpoint. To get news he goes to the bankers, to the manufacturers, to the investors and to the other people included in the term "business interests" and by absorption, probably, he becomes soaked with "business interests," i. e., capitalist ideas. To him a day of big bank clearings is the occasion for an editorial paean, the rate of interest a subject for prayerful consideration, an extensive order for goods a sign of "our" unprecedented prosperity, and the security market the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple of industry. To him there is no labor problem except the capitalist labor problem—how to buy labor power at the cheapest possible price.

An appreciation by socialists of this influence of environment on the newspaper man may soften the wrath of the revolutionaries and restrain them from condignly punishing the journalist who, like the organist, is "doing the best he knows how." Just follow a reporter on a strike "assignment" before condemning him for his capitalistically colored report as it appears in the paper. The reporter—he will probably be a young man—is sent out by his city editor to "do" a street railway strike. To get his news "straight" and "official" he goes to the office of the manager and introduces himself.

"Charmed to see you, Mr. Pencilpusher," says the affable manager, "pray come into my private office and have a chair. Do you smoke? Yes? Well, here's one I can recommend. About the strike? Oh, yes. I imagined you would be around and I drew up a little statement for you to save you the trouble."

Then our reporter is handed a neatly typewritten interview beginning: "Manager Goodman, on being approached by a reporter for *The Patriot*, was disinclined to discuss the matter, but said finally that the trouble was due to agitators, etc., etc." (The *et ceteras* stand for the usual managerial statements about the company not being willing to accept "dictation from employes," "men well treated" and "business won't stand higher wages.") When the reporter is bowed out smoking his perfect and full of proud gratification at the distinguished consideration and courteous attention paid him, he heads for strike headquarters "to get both sides of the question." Imagine the contrast! Instead of being obsequiously ushered into a luxuriously appointed office and given a fragrant cigar, he probably is compelled to climb two or three flights of rickety stairs to see the strike leaders. The chances are that they are suspicious of the well-dressed stranger at first sight and when they learn he is a reporter, the distrust—based on previous press misrepresentation—increases. The young man conscientiously asks questions and likely gets sullen answers and then withdraws in relief. When he writes his "story," can we blame him for seeing the situation through the spectacles of the suave man who treated him like a prince, rather than from the viewpoint of the sullen strikers who didn't have any upholstered chair to offer him, no honeyed phrases to tickle his reportorial vanity, and no fat, fragrant perfect to regale his connoisseur nicotine appetite? Consider that the reporter is young and devoted to the things of the flesh before condemning him.

As it is with the young reporter so is it with the other and older ones, the men entrusted with the work of gathering news from other fields. Consider the position of a Washington correspondent, for instance. The enterprising chronicler of events at the national capitol must have officials "on the staff" who, in return for his reference to them in terms of praise, are depended on to provide him with "tips" on official acts and the various sorts of information embraced in the term news. The Associated Press for this reason is always an administration partisan. Otherwise it would get no news beyond the mere routine. However, by "crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee" before the great men of the cabinet and at the heads of departments great benefits to the correspondents follow in the way of early and sometimes exclusive news of important dispatches and "official statements" about the progress of diplomatic negotiations.

In short the whole modern system of news gathering is based on the agreement, "You tickle me and I'll tickle you," entered into between official and reporter. The reporter who is not in position or disinclined to favor the official who has news to give out gets no news. This being true it is readily apparent that practically everything the newspapers print about current events must of necessity be influenced in tone by the source from which it comes. Of course there are some newspaper men who will promulgate, for a material consideration, certain information calculated to advance corrupt interests, but these men have no standing in the news-gathering fraternity—a fraternity, generally speaking, of happy-go-lucky, generous fellows who sail along writing of current events as gracefully as the swan on the bosom of a lake and as unconscious, as a critic said of Senator Jo Blackburn, of the depths beneath.

There is nothing admirable in the ignorance of the men of the press, to be sure, but it is natural. According to their lights they are fair in presenting the merits of any particular controversy. It never occurs to them that they have anything in common with the working class. Their environment is almost wholly capitalistic, and being great human chameleons their methods of thought—when they think—are capitalistic. Well paid, as a rule, they are enabled to live as the rich live. They are admitted to the rich man's club, invited to the rich man's home, given the rich man's daughter in marriage, sometimes, and are generally made to feel so much at home in plutocratic surroundings that it would be a marvel if they failed to invariably speak of capitalistic interests as "our" interests. The world for them is the little world in which they move and have their being, and the great world outside in which the "great unwashed" live and die like beasts is to them a world unknown except by report from their woman friends, who peer at the poor through lorgnettes, or from others who "go in" for charity or "sociology."

The ordinary editorial writer for American newspapers is so grossly ignorant of the great international working class movement—so entirely oblivious, even, of the struggles and the nebulous hopes and aims of the trade union movement in this country—that the editorial discussions of the conflicts between "labor and capital" would be amusing if they were not as pernicious as the consequences that follow when the fool who "didn't know it was loaded" gets hold of a gun. Even the most radical of the editorial writers who feel a sympathy for the working class base all their efforts to improve the workers' condition on the fatal hypothesis that "the interests of capital and labor are identical." Naturally, starting from this premise, they become involved in a labyrinth of sentimentality and Utopianism which should make the workingman, like the astute

politician, pray to be delivered from his fool friends. Particularly in the discussion of socialism does the ordinary honest editorial writer say fearful and wonderful things. As an instance a case may be cited of an editorial in one of the best-known of American daily newspapers. The writer of the editorial, personally known to me as a lovable and honorable man who has a considerable reputation for a highly developed logical faculty, wrote an editorial on "Socialist Slavery," developing the Herbert Spencer idea. A socialist, after much trouble, succeeded in having a reply printed. The editorial writer, in rebuttal, proceeded to demolish the luckless socialist who had employed the adjective "capitalistic" in describing the present method of production and distribution. Upon this the editorial writer seized and rolled it as a sweet morsel under his tongue as follows:

"The plants now existing will wear out, and must be replaced, otherwise production will be enormously reduced, and with this will come a reduction of each man's share, whether equal or unequal. If it be said that socialism will take from each man's product enough to replace the machinery, that is, to preserve the capital intact, THEN SOCIALISM ABDICATES AND BECOMES CAPITALISTIC!"

Such amazing ignorance, considering the source, seems impossible in this day of easily accessible information, but it is an old story how Babinet, the eminent authority in physics, as late as 1855, "proved" the impossibility of a trans-Atlantic cable; how the wisdom of one day is the folly of another.

As a rule the newspaper editorials on the subject of socialism may be attributed to ignorance rather than to deliberate misrepresentation, but occasionally a misrepresentation of the socialist position is due to conscious villainy. The power of editorial writers guilty of this infamy is unfortunately far reaching, for, recognizing the class struggle and the impregnability of the socialist position in relation thereto, they are better able to effectively misrepresent it. It is from such sources that the honest but ill-informed editors generally derive their arguments. I say "generally" for the reason that out of a thousand editorial writers for the capitalist press who discuss socialism one may possibly be found who has read a standard work on the subject and argues from opinions derived from original investigation. In the editorials of the daily newspaper press of the United States I believe there is little of this conscious misrepresentation, but a most sinister state of affairs is disclosed by a study of the foreign dispatches, especially those from France and Germany. In both countries officialdom is keenly alive to the ominous imminence of a proletarian victory and the Berlin and Paris correspondents who get their news from officialdom are pliant tools of the "authorities" of the two capitals. No opportunity

is lost to create the impression in the minds of the American newspaper readers that socialism in Europe, instead of representing all that is vital in democracy, is a long-haired, bomb-throwing ism. Recognizing the steady growth of socialism in this country the evident and in fact the only plan left, when deliberate slander fails, is to create dissensions in the rapidly increasing ranks of the socialists or hold up the glittering beauty of a monarchy against the theory of a democracy. As a result of this latter it is not hard to discover even in this country the evidences of a subtle growth of the opinion that democracy is a failure. In pursuance of the "divide and conquer" policy much is being made of the return of Bernstein to Berlin, as this Associated Press dispatch shows:

"Berlin, May 20.—Herr Eduard Bernstein, the well-known socialist writer, who recently returned to Germany after many years of banishment, the greater part of which he passed in London, to-day addressed the Social Science Society of the University of Berlin. Discussing scientific socialism he said that the principles of Karl Marx were not convincing. The socialist creed, he declared, had hitherto rested upon half truths, truths partly contradicting science, and being therefore Utopian. He denied that there could be scientific socialism. His address attracts much attention and, as Herr Bernstein is an acknowledged leader in the socialist ranks, *his utterances will probably cause a split in the Social Democratic party.*"

The Associated Press does not waste cable tolls in telegraphing foreign matter of purely local interest to the United States and it is clear that the Bernstein revival is intended to sow seeds of discord not alone among the socialists of Germany but of the United States as well.

This anti-socialist tone in the foreign dispatches may naturally be expected to characterize more and more the press utterances in the United States as the evidences of the socialist movement's growth become more apparent. Bearing in mind the intimate relation between newsgatherer and official and the fact that the official is a part of that state, which is the instrument of the capitalist class, it is not difficult to see how the alarm of the capitalists will be communicated to the press. Socialists cannot too soon realize that they will not receive any aid from the press as it exists at present, and this fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. In some socialist quarters there has been a disposition to put some store by "socialistic" utterances in certain papers, but it is worse than folly to expect any permanent and unequivocal championship of the working class cause from this section of the press which entices the workers only to betray them. The newspapers are mere parasites of the capitalist order, strong as the capitalist order is strong and weak as that order is weak, and they may be depended on not

to assist in killing the goose which lays for them the golden egg. While editorial writers are allowed wide discretion in their discussions, the counting room idea of "a free press" is the idea that prevails when there is a conflict between counting room and editorial room. Let the counting room see the revenue decreasing as a result of editorial assaults on "business interests" and those assaults will cease instanter. If the editorial writers cannot harmonize their opinions with counting room opinions other editorial writers not so stiff necked will be found. The only hope of an adequate representation of the socialist movement in the field of journalism is the establishment of a socialist press, frankly revolutionary, giving daily the news of the working-class movement in all its phases, exposing the shams and strategems of the enemy, exchanging blow for blow and standing ever as the unpurchasable and unterrified champion of an Industrial Democracy, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Charles Dobbs.



TYRANTS

It was all so simple in the old days, when people saw, or thought they saw, tyranny and oppression centered in one person, and in attacking and destroying that person were sure that they were saving mankind.

How easy it is to treat a boil just as a boil and to forget the corrupt blood that produced it, running into every nook and cranny of the body!

To-day, alas, the tyrant spreads like a vicious kind of nervous system throughout the entire frame of society.

I am part tyrant, part slave, as we all are in varying degree, and there seems to be no other alternative possible.

We are caught in the meshes of our own web.

We must disentangle the tyrant from us, and this new Gordian knot will not yield its secret to the sword.

We must thresh the chaff from the corn, and each grain has its separate outworn casing waiting to be winnowed away.

Alas, it is no simple rebellion on the old lines that calls for our adhesion and support;

It is rather a complicated labour of unraveling and extricating and liberating from the network of poisonous creepers of the ages, whose roots are in our own hearts.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

Ernest Crosby,
Author of Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable.

The Charity Girl

By Caroline H. Pemberton, Author of "Stephen the Black," "Your Little Brother James," Etc.

CHAPTER VIII.



WHEN Julian returned to the city he was inexorably determined to break away from the enchanting comradeship which he now saw was fatal to his peace of mind. But his resolution was soon modified by a subtle change in their relationship. Marian was beginning to look to him for advice and sympathy, the dependence of her attitude placing him in the position of intending to remove a support from a beloved object in a selfish desire to save himself future suffering. The brutality of this thought smote him deeply. It was not so much that Marian desired his companionship as that she seemed to stand in positive need of help that he alone could give. Her intense spiritual isolation was indicated by her silence concerning her married life, and by her averted looks when forced to mention him whose name she bore.

"My husband thinks differently," she would sometimes say with a tremor in her voice; and Julian knew then that he was touching the edge of a tragedy, the pages of which he was forbidden to read. But they both knew well that they were themselves the leading characters in the tragedy which was hastening day by day toward its sorrowful climax.

Autumn came, but the breath of summer still lingered. Julian was spending what would probably be his last evening in the garden of her country home, for it would soon be too cold to sit out of doors.

"Come, my shepherd, play me a merry tune," Marian had said as they seated themselves. Julian forced a gay tune from his flute, but stopped in the middle of it.

"It's not in this flute to be merry to-night. It must be the moonlight that affects its temper. It's ridiculous for an instrument to be so sensitive to light and sound, isn't it?"

It was one of their little affectations to ascribe variations of feeling to their instruments instead of to themselves—a hidden way of communicating the secrets of their own souls.

"Let me try it," said Marian, taking the flute in her hands. She began to blow through it, but succeeded in producing only a few discordant notes.

"Surely it is unhappy; speak out, you poor wooden thing! Oh, make it speak and tell its miseries!"

"That's just what ails it," replied Julian, taking it from her—"that it cannot speak out—and you force it to be merry when it is heavy hearted; its thoughts are too sad for speech often enough."

"But not for music—it is the language God has left us," Marian answered in a low voice as she picked up a guitar which she had bought for an out-of-door accompaniment, and began a song in a minor key. It swelled into a passionate appeal as her voice rose toward a clear, high note.

Julian had started to accompany her, but he soon stopped. He sat motionless during her singing with his head bent low. Whatever his thoughts were he did not intend to communicate them. He had made up his mind that a lifetime of anguish was before him, but at that moment duty seemed to be demanding a sacrifice greater than that of life itself.

When Marian stopped singing, her hands dropped to her side with the air of exhaustion that betokens a broken spirit.

"I am not like you—I cannot live down my own thoughts! Oh, my friend—Julian—are we placed in this world only to test our power of suffering? Is life to go on like this forever?"

The young man started to his feet at the sound of his Christian name from her lips; his emotion was so great that he could hardly speak.

"Don't—don't!" he stammered, his self-accusing spirit wringing the words from him in defiance of his longing to hear her say more.

"You think it wrong for me even to *think* these thoughts that are killing me? What would you have me do?"

She spoke not bitterly, but with an appealing mournfulness that went straight to his heart. Her white-robed figure drooped toward him as if it were too frail to brave alone the blows that fate had in store for her. His longing to comfort her became suddenly the overwhelming command of a duty unperformed—the duty that the strong owe to the weak; surely it transcends all earthly conventionalities!

"It grieves my very soul to see you suffer," he whispered, taking her hand. Tears were shining in his eyes; she saw them as she looked into his face.

"We must be brave—we must pray for strength to do what is right," he faltered, still holding her hand.

"How can I tell what is right? I am in darkness!" came from her lips in a quiver of pain, as if it were the cry of her soul. She moved a step forward and swayed as if about to fall. Julian caught her in his arms. He turned his face to the sky.

"Marian, there is a God in heaven—beloved—look up!" He hardly knew what he said.

The stars were shining down upon them with a peculiarly solemn light. Julian drew a long breath, and put the clinging

form gently from him, although her hand still remained within his. He began to speak with a strange, quiet eloquence.

"In the fulfillment of God's mysterious purpose, we have been brought together—like two children—living in paradise—thinking no evil, created to love one another, but condemned to live apart! Marian, our love according to the laws of man is a sin—but in the sight of God it is—it must be—a sanctification, or else why should He have put it into our hearts?"

"A sanctification?" she repeated softly.

"Yes, for are we not spirits? And is not love immortal? It will lift us above earthly temptation; surely it will give us patience to wait until our souls can come together—sometime—somewhere."

"When, Julian?"

"When the stars lose their light, dearest, for us—I suppose—when the morning of another world dawns."

"Then the light will have gone out of your eyes, too," she whispered.

"Never while you live," he answered, quietly. "I do not ask much, Marian; the earth seems small to me because you are on it and I share it with you. I ask only to see your face sometimes—to know that you are here."

"And you will be—where?" she asked dejectedly.

"What does it matter where? You know what is in my heart. I can see the future stretching out before us—my own life as sad and lonely as that star up there—the symbol of self-abnegation—but Oh, my God—why was it made like this?" He had begun with the ecstasy of a poet, but the grief and passion of the lover suddenly overcame him and he covered his face with his hands.

In a moment, however, Julian steadied himself and went on. The poet had surely triumphed. His young soul believed itself to be trampling temptation under foot. He spoke with rapture; he held a mystic ideal before her; their love was to be the very spirit of renunciation; only dimly was she able to perceive through it all, the suppressed passion of the man.

"Perhaps God will deal mercifully with us—pray to Him, Marian, to heal our pain," he concluded brokenly.

"I will," she answered faintly, and turned to clasp his hand as she withdrew into the deep recess of the low bay window.

"Is it to be good-bye—like this? Come nearer, Julian!" He stepped close to the window and knelt at her feet. She kissed him on the forehead and disappeared. The kiss seemed to seal up his happiness and his youth, and to dedicate him to a future of eternal loneliness and sorrow.

The exaltation of the moment vanished with the withdrawal of Marian. The night grew chilly; the stars began to fail in their inspiration. What nonsense had he been uttering in the

face of this tragedy that was breaking their hearts and wrecking their lives?

As he reached the station and waited for the train which was to bear him to the city, he found to his surprise that it was still early in the evening. The last two hours had compassed an eternity of feeling, but life was carrying forward its burden of monotonous detail with the same punctilious care of the minutes and seconds as before—as if it mattered, as if life could ever be measured by the sun-dial again! “Ah, not when the sun eternally sets upon the horizon of one’s hopes—as it has set upon mine,” thought Julian.

As the train drew up, a tall dark form issued from it and passed Julian swiftly on the platform. He caught a glimpse of the man’s face. It was that of the moody stranger whom Marian had once described as her evil genius.

CHAPTER IX.

Julian spent the next three days in alternate moods of delirious happiness because he knew now that Marian loved him, and sickening depression over the ruin which this fact seemed to make of his life, his aspirations—his obligations to the moral law.

He was then astonished to receive a note from Gertrude Vaughn asking him to call upon her at her sister’s home in the city, the house being open. The request was so urgent that Julian felt a vague alarm. In his haste to obey Gertrude’s summons he swallowed only a mouthful of lunch and hurried up-town that he might find Gertrude at home shortly after the mid-day meal.

As he reached the steps, the door opened for Dr. Starling to pass out and enter his carriage, which stood by the curbstone. Julian bowed without looking at him, but he was aware of a haggard, downcast face passing by, and some strange instinct told him in that brief second of the presence of mental suffering.

He did not wait long in the darkened parlor to which the summer outfit of linen covering gave a curiously unfamiliar look. The piano was closed and the music folios put away. The curtains had been taken down and the room was bare and cheerless.

Gertrude entered quickly. Her face was pale and showed traces of recent tears.

“I sent for you,” she began hastily, omitting all formal greeting, “because you saw my sister Monday night and I wanted to ask you if—if she said anything about her plans—about what she was going to do.”

Julian blushed deeply. The question seemed to refer to

sacredly cherished memories locked securely within his breast and which he felt must be as carefully guarded within Marian's.

"Your sister is surely able to inform you herself in regard to her plans," he answered coldly. "She did not mention them to me. Why do you question me about her? Is she ill?" His voice became suddenly sharp with anxiety.

"*Ill!*" repeated Gertrude, looking at him in amazement. "Don't you know what has happened—has no one told you? It is in the papers this morning!" She clasped her hands tightly across her eyes as if to shut out a terrible picture.

Julian crossed the floor and stood in front of her.

"Is she *dead?*" he asked quietly.

"Worse—far worse than dead!" Gertrude screamed. "Read this!" She put into his hands a scrap cut from a morning newspaper.

It was a cold-blooded statement of what appeared to be the most damnable calumny he had ever read in his life. In the language of the scandal-loving press, Mrs. Starling had left her husband's home on Tuesday morning to "elope with the son of a well-known millionaire." Her husband would undoubtedly begin proceedings for a divorce.

Julian sank into a chair. Of the brief interview that followed he retained afterwards only a confused recollection. Gertrude's reply to his passionate questions and denunciations was a rambling, incoherent lament over the wreck that her sister had made of both their lives.

They had been looking forward to a happy winter; there were to have been dinners and receptions for her benefit; "Victor" was to have given them a box at the opera, and a supper on the opening night—but now everything was in chaos. They could never appear together again in public, although Julian had written a letter (which she handed Julian to read) intimating that all the conventionalities had been observed in her flight; she was merely visiting a friend until the divorce should be obtained, and meanwhile "Victor" was calling upon her only in a formal way. She begged Gertrude to use her influence with her husband to secure the divorce speedily.

"As if I could influence him!" moaned Gertrude. "As if all the servants did not know that Victor had seen Marian Monday evening and that he met her the next morning at the station. As if all the world did not know every circumstance already!"

"And here I am," she sobbed, "left in her deserted husband's house with nowhere to go and nothing before me—absolutely nothing!"

Julian, staring distractedly at the limp figure in the arm-chair, listened with agonized attention. When would she begin

to clear up the mystery of that lying attack on the fair name of her sister?

What was she saying? Her selfish reproaches were the blackest accusations; she admitted everything that could condemn her sister's conduct. Julian in a frenzy demanded to know who "Victor" was.

He was the dark stranger whom Julian had passed on the platform of the station on Monday night, and whose "evil genius" had been shadowing Marian's path for many months.

In the eyes of the world it was a frightful picture of ruin, deception and callousness to duty. But Julian saw only that influences which he could not understand but which seemed allied to demoniacal possession had caught up the fair form of Marian and flung her into a whirlpool of evil. Had she then lost her reason? What was the nature of that "influence" which had done such terrible work? He was dazed as he recalled her words and actions on the fateful evening in the garden. It was impossible to reconcile them with what had happened since—nay, with what must have happened later that same evening.

Good God! Could he believe that Marian, after kissing him on the forehead, had received half an hour later another visitor at whose bidding she had made arrangements to forsake home and honor the following morning? It was impossible—yet it was true. He was unable to condemn; he sat stunned before the facts presented to him.

A maddening desire to escape from the sounds of Gertrude's thin, complaining murmur of talk seized him. He staggered to the door without looking at her, and fled from the house as from a tomb.

The September sunlight was very bright on the street, but it cast at his feet black shadows that looked like demons and vampires in his path. Before his eyes a beautiful world had been given over to the devil. Goodness and purity were words without sense; the powers of darkness had proven themselves victorious over the children of light; the fairest of the daughters of light had thrown herself to the lions in the amphitheatre of the social world!

(To be continued.)



❁ SOCIALISM ABROAD ❁

Professor E. Untermann

FRANCE.

Socialist unity, the aim of the Lyons congress, was wrecked on the "cas Millerand." The "Guesdists" did not attend at all, and for the "Blanquists" who demanded the immediate resignation of Millerand, the main question was simply to bolt or not to bolt. And bolt they did, when the following resolution of Comrade Briand, amending the words "outside of the party" in the resolution of Comrade Delaporte, into "outside of the control of the party," was carried by 904 against 42 votes:

"Whereas the essential task of the congress consists in removing the obstacles that at present obstruct the unification of the revolutionary forces in France; whereas the ministry of a deputy who once belonged to the socialist fraction of the Chamber creates an ambiguity favorable to schisms in the movement; whereas the question of taking part in the government was decided for the past and the future, but not for the present;

Resolved, That Millerand, in accepting on his own responsibility and private initiative a position placing him outside of the control of the socialist party, could not engage this party in participating in the government, cannot consequently represent the party in the government, and has not done so at any time. Resolved, furthermore, that the attitude of the party and of the fraction in the Chamber against the ministry must be the same as against any other bourgeois ministry, i. e., exclusively dictated by the interests of the socialist proletariat."

After the exit of the bolting minority, Comrade Révellin's unity program, Comrade Miss Renaud's motion to insert the words "proletarians of both sexes" in the party program, and Comrade Renaudel's motion to charge the general committee with ascertaining under what conditions a party paper could be established, were unanimously adopted.

The immediate result of the congress is the formation of a separate "revolutionary" socialist fraction by 12 (including the Guesdists) of the 42 socialist deputies in the Chamber. Some of these revolutionaries, however, join the new fraction only "because it contains older friends" and with the understanding "that unity shall be the goal."

The spirit of the different fractions is reflected in their manifestos, published after the congress. The victorious majority regrets the action of the bolters and is "convinced that these factional schisms will not last." The Blanquists emphasize their intention to maintain an autonomous organization and to fight ministerialism. The Guesdists, "in waiting and preparing for unity," are willing to be represented in a committee for the purpose of bringing about an understanding comprising all groups endorsing the class struggle without compromising with bourgeois parties.

The strong influence of our comrades in spite of their inner dissensions is apparent from the wailing of the capitalist press. The "Figaro" warns the socialists that they have become "intolerable," because—they are driving capital out of the country. "Three billion francs (\$579,000,000) have already been placed abroad," and the presidents of the national banks have appealed to the Cabinet for assistance in stopping this gloomy condition.

Unfortunately, the "Figaro" omits to mention the country where capital can be secure from interference by wicked socialists. Neither does he mention that of the working people, whose hard labor earned this enormous wealth for others to invest abroad, 2,228 men and 78 women were killed, 1,790 partially and 58 totally disabled in the performance of their duty during the short time from October 1 to December 31, 1900.

ITALY.

The working women are threatening the safety of sacred property in Italy. The strike of the farm hands, declared about the middle of May, has spread like wildfire among the women on the rice, corn, and hay fields, in the vineyards and on the embankments in the hunger districts around Bologna. Molinella is the storm center. Here the hunger rages most fiercely, and the strikers are determined upon war to the knife. According to the bourgeois press, the agitation assumes a "dangerous" character for property holders. The danger of the masses facing starvation gives these worthies much less concern.

The strikers give the following evidence of savage ferocity: the women of Romagna share their scanty food with their comrades in Molinella, where the small shopkeepers also side with the unemployed. Seven thousand surface laborers in Mantua refrain from striking in order to earn money for assisting their comrades. The small landowners in Rovigo mortgage their little lots for the same purpose. The co-operative in Budrio loaned 15,000 lire (\$3,000) to the strikers.

Such vandalism demands the sharpest measures. The lower part of the province is practically under martial law. Carabinieri, policemen and soldiers are ready to exert their gentle and persuasive influence, when the hunger should produce too "dangerous" symptoms in the strikers.

In Rome, 4,000 masons are on strike and 70 shops are closed.

"Le Peuple" sees in the epidemic strikes of Italy an "awakening of the proletarian mind . . . symptoms, not of a revolution by force of arms, but of a veritable revolution that begins in the spirit before taking form in deeds."

If we are correctly informed, this awakening is not confined to proletarian minds. King Victor Emanuel himself is reported as saying: "I have arrived at the conclusion that socialists would do good work for the country, if they were entrusted with the government."

SPAIN.

The inertia and indolence of the majority of the Spanish population resulting from ignorance and superstition are mainly to blame for the unsatisfactory result of the elections. "Few nations," says the

"Nueva Era," "have such democratic laws as Spain, and still we are an oppressed and uncultured nation ruled by arbitrary and tyrannical elements. . . . Fortunately the socialists do not lose their courage. . . . They have shown that, although slowly, they are continually gaining ground. . . . They know that in the end the day will be theirs."

Purely political questions are forced to the background and the social problem claims paramount attention. In all parts of the country the laborers work in harmony. Strikes are on throughout the land.

One thousand laborers are out in Carmona; the weavers in Andoain (Guipuzcoa), have struck for shorter hours; the bricklayers of Torre de San Miguel, Sesmero and Almendral (Bajadoz), the shoemakers in Zaragoza, and the day laborers in Tudela Veguin, have demanded higher wages; the cabinet makers, chairmakers, paperhangers and wood carvers of Valladolid resent the too oppressive regulations of the bosses; the sandal makers of Murcia, the carpenters of La Linea, the woodworkers of Medina del Campo, the tanners of Leon, the paperhangers of Bilbao, the soap makers in Lugo, the carpenters and bakers of Gibraltar want the eight hour day.

Strikes were won by the longshoremen in Barcelona; the marble cutters and carriage builders of Santander, the candle makers in Zargüeta, the shoemakers in La Coruña, the leatherbag makers in Calatayud, the silkmakers in Murcia, the iron workers in Avilés, the gardeners in Sevilla, the miners in El Pedroso, the stone carvers in San Sebastian and the employees of the naval stores in El Ferrol.

Trade unions in Sevilla struck in sympathy with their comrades in Barcelona; the field laborers in Xeres stopped work for the same reason. In Coruña, the trade unions laid off for a day in order to demonstrate in favor of the Barcelonians. Riots and demonstrations were suppressed by force of arms with fatal results for many. After the Barcelonians had won their strike, celebration meetings were held in Madrid, Zaragoza and Valencia. In Coruña the laborers honored their murdered comrades by decorating their balconies and doors with black crape bearing the inscription, "To Yesterday's Martyrs!"

The solidarity of the masses took the authorities by surprise. The military governor of Catalonia declared that he was unable to check the strikers in spite of all the troops in the province. The strikes in the marine shops of Cadiz and Caraca became so grave that the captain general demanded credit from the government for the employment of all who were willing to work. Non-compliance of the government means closing of the shops.

RUSSIA.

Grave labor troubles have taken place in several parts of the empire. The government suppressed all information and issued a very unsatisfactory report, which is absolutely incorrect according to private information.

A bloody revolt occurred in the marine arsenal at Oubkoff. Laborers in the iron works of Alexandria, near St. Petersburg, struck and fought, with fatal results, the soldiers sent to pacify them. Strikers attempted to destroy the factory of Lesner and had a fatal collision with the *gend'armes*. Six government spies were killed before the police could come to their assistance. The starved population in southern Russia is suffering from scurvy. The "Novoye Vremya" was suspended a week for criticising the inactivity of the Russian

government in regard to the labor question and stating that the present condition of the laborers in Russian factories offered a very favorable soil for revolutionary propaganda.

Socialist activity outwits the authorities in spite of all oppression. "On the morning of April 28," relates "Vorwärts," in a recent dispatch, "the police and the respectable" bourgeoisie in Dwinsk (Dunaburg), were greatly astonished to see May day proclamations pasted on the garden fences, telegraph poles and street corners, and scattered in the courts of the peaceful synagogues. Work was stopped nearly everywhere on May 1st. . . . In spite of all efforts of police, infantry and cavalry, about 4,000 laborers thronged Newskaja street in the afternoon. . . . Suddenly a ringing "Hurrah" and the Jewish workmen's Marsellaise sung by a thousand throats! . . . A revolutionary speech was held on the open street and a red flag flouted in front of the house of the chief of gend'armes."

The conservative revue, "Rouski Vestnik," declares that the Vatican is favoring the union of the Polish nationalists with the socialists in his own interest.

GERMANY.

Trade union week in Germany shows an encouraging emancipation of catholic trade unions from the influence of the clergy and a growing tendency to proceed along independent economic lines. The protestant trade unions are ridding themselves more and more of "christian" elements, and the Hirsch Duncker benefit clubs are permeated with socialists. The growing influence of trade unionism is clearly apparent.

The Reichstag passed a law establishing a nine-hour day for miners, defeating the socialist eight-hour bill by the help of the clergy.

At the sixth general meeting of the Polish socialists in Berlin resolutions were adopted favoring an independent Polish organization and agitation, in co-operation with the German social democratic party. The "Gazetta Robotnicza" will be published beginning with July 1st in Kattowitz.

With the help of a detachment of policemen and detectives, the German National Mercantile Employees' Association hoped to keep the socialists out of a meeting held in Berlin for the purpose of discussing whether mercantile employees should be nationalists or socialists. Imagine the feelings of the chairman, when his "Hurrah for the emperor" was answered by a vigorous "Hurrah for socialism!"

BELGIUM.

The liberal groups of Senate and Chamber supporting universal suffrage with proportional representation resolved to introduce a motion demanding that the government should ascertain by referendum whether the people are for or against universal suffrage.

A farmers' congress will be held in the beginning of this month in the Maison du Peuple in Brussels for the purpose of organizing the farm hands and founding an agricultural propaganda paper.

The Belgian glass workers' union is on strike for the purpose of forcing the owners of the glass works to recognize the unions and stop blacklisting; 6,000 of the 8,000 workers in the Charleroi district belong to the union.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes

The first five months of the present year, according to New York financial organs, more than \$2,000,000,000 of capital was combined. Now all the Western railways are to be brought into a "community of interests" representing \$2,000,000,000 capital, and those controlling the Western roads are also supreme in Eastern and part of the Southern systems, and thus more than \$6,000,000,000 of capital will be combined.—An international bank, with \$1,000,000,000 capital, is to be established by the Morgan-Rockefeller-Rothschild interests.—The movement to form a \$300,000,000 bituminous coal trust is going forward, the Northern Ohio mines having been gobbled up by Senator Hanna's branch of the present combine, and options on the mines of Southern Ohio have been secured by Morgan, while the Rockefeller and Morgan interests have secured the choice properties in West Virginia. Nearly everything in Pennsylvania is already monopolized, and Indiana mines are being brought into a \$20,000,000 trust, and a strong combine is forming in Illinois.—Eight tobacco combines are uniting and reaching out for enough independent concerns to form an international trust with \$500,000,000 capital.—Southern cotton manufacturers are forming a huge combine.—Glucose trust absorbed its strongest independent competitor and then combined with the starch trust, capital \$55,225,000.—Copper trust swallowed more independents and capitalized at \$155,000,000.—Standard oil people combined linseed oil and lead trusts, capital \$35,000,000.—Plow trust formed with \$75,000,000 capital.—Linen shirt, collar and cuff trust formed with \$20,000,000 capital.—Red wood trust formed on Pacific coast, capital \$15,000,000.—Another street railway and lighting combine, \$50,000,000.—Cotton duck goods, \$26,000,000.—Cincinnati lighting and power combine, \$28,000,000.—Locomotive trust, \$50,000,000.—Cigar store trust, \$2,000,000.—Maine fire extinguisher combine, \$2,000,000.—Manilla trust, \$8,000,000.—Humming bird trust, \$3,000,000.—Watch case trust, capital undetermined.—Independent copper interests, \$80,000,000.—Yellow pine industry in Texas, \$20,000,000.—Zinc trust in Missouri, \$8,000,000.—Another theatrical trust, \$3,000,000.—Acetylene trust, \$1,000,000.—Tea importers and dealers are combining.—Trustification in newspapers beginning.—So we, the American people, are being forced into the co-operative commonwealth "step at a time," no matter what reactionists or ignoramuses may think, say or do.

The national unity convention to combine the Socialist organizations will meet in Indianapolis, July 29. Both national branches of the Social Democratic party, as well as the independent state organizations of Texas, New Hampshire, Iowa, Nebraska and Oklahoma, have signified their intention of taking part in the convention, and it is probable that other bodies will also be represented.—Western Labor Union, in national convention in Denver, adopted a resolution congratulating the S. D. P. and decided to circulate Socialist litera-

ture and organize the workmen of various states to take independent political action.—In the state election in Michigan the S. D. P. polled 7,504 votes in 45 out of 82 counties, an increase of 50 per cent, and the De Leon party remained almost stationary. A foothold was gained in South Carolina, where an election took place in Asheville.—In Clay county, Ind., vote increased from one per cent last fall to 10 per cent last month.—In Spring Valley, Ill., the vote was doubled and two Councilmen elected.—In Decatur, Ala., a councilman was elected, also candidate for city clerk, who received a majority greater than the votes of both old parties combined.—In Fort Wayne, Ind., the vote shot up from 160 last fall to 716, and in Irvington 20 per cent of the vote cast was for the S. D. P.—St. Louis Trade and Labor Council refused to parade with local patriots on Fourth of July, but decided to participate in a demonstration under the auspices of the S. D. P.—In Georgia a state union has been formed to assist the Social Democratic propaganda, and in Texas and Alabama the industrial centers are organizing.—S. D. P. has four national organizers in the field, eight or ten are working in states, and a number of independents are doing service.—Ohio S. D. P.'s held their state convention on May 30 and nominated a complete ticket. The party in Oregon met May 31; Marylanders, July 1, and S. D.'s of Indiana assemble on July 4.—H. Gaylord Wilshire, of Los Angeles, Cal., has offered W. J. Bryan \$5,000 to debate the trust question, the former to speak in favor of Socialization and the latter in favor of disruption, and an additional \$5,000 if the audience votes that Bryan has the best of the argument. The Nebraskan refused to accept, as did also Tom Johnson.—The Guertle News is the name of a new S. D. P. paper printed in the Indian Territory.

The announcement that the various national unions of textile workers are combining is followed by dispatches stating that the bosses are closing some of the mills.—Garment workers of New York were restrained by the courts from interfering with non-unionists.—Grain workers at Ogdensburg, N. Y., went on strike against the introduction of a patent shovel which enables five men to do the work of twenty. The strikers are still out, but the shovel is working. Metal trades in the various industrial centres are combining.—Some of the latest workers to catch the organization fever are dressmakers, servant girls, stenographers, typewriters, school teachers, bookkeepers, janitors and bank clerks.—Electrical workers have been waging a hard fight in New England with telephone combines.—In Saginaw Valley, Mich., iron manufacturers combined to fight demands of employes.—Chicago bosses combined against machinists, and now the latter demand that the bosses quit their organization or union men won't work for them.—Boston C. L. U. denounced the militia and calls upon all workmen to withdraw from the same.—Chicago central bodies are said to be trying to amalgamate.—Reformed Presbyterian Synod of America, in session in Pittsburg, declared that most trade unions are dangerous and members are forbidden to join the same.—William F. Sherlock, editor of New York Unionist, who was driven into jail by the New York Sun for boycotting, contracted pneumonia while imprisoned and died shortly after being released.—In San Francisco the waiters are being fought by a combine having \$500,000 behind it, and which was formed to disrupt unions in all trades; and in New York one hundred leading hotels and restaurants united to fight the union, and boldly announce that they have a blacklist.—The class struggle is daily being waged more fiercely, and it is to be hoped that it will not be forgotten on election day.

A \$25,000,000 combine is having new breadmaking machines manufactured in Schenectady, N. Y., which, it is claimed, will almost completely destroy the skill of the baker and throw hundreds out of employment.—Edison's new electrical batteries for automobiles are being turned out at two factories, and are said to be working so satisfactorily that they are to be manufactured on a large scale for heavy trucks and wagons. The accumulators can be operated at a saving of twice to three times over the old batteries.—An Englishman announces the discovery of a method to manufacture unbreakable and fireproof glass, and a test of 2,300 degrees of heat leaves it unaffected.—Dr. Mund, a German scientist, has perfected a process to manufacture gas which can be sold at a profit at 4 cents per thousand cubic feet.—A Cincinnati man claims to have discovered a method of treating the toughest beef by electricity and turning it into a tender steak.—Another rotary engine has been invented at Mattoon, Ill., which will revolutionize steam power.—An inventor in Europe has perfected a method of manufacturing copper bars, sheets and tubes at the mine's mouth, from raw material, without going through the present costly processes. The saving is said to be \$100 a ton.—Dr. Gatling, of gun fame, has invented an automobile plow, which is said to work without human guidance. It removes stumps and boulders and turns the earth with exact precision when started on its course.—An automatic shoe cleaner and shiner is being introduced.—A machine has been invented that delivers a newspaper and makes change for a nickel.—A new brickmaking machine does the work of five men.

Edison's new discovery of a cement that can be utilized in building houses is causing widespread discussion, especially in technical journals. The "Wizard of Menlo Park" believes he will accomplish a revolution in housebuilding, and that to a large extent he will drive out stone and brick and other building material. The houses of the new era will be of cement, in the form of concrete, and of steel, and, besides being fireproof and thus working a great economy so far as destruction by conflagration is concerned, the edifices will require much less skilled labor in their erection. Rents, of course, will also be forced downward, according to the inventor. "My impression is that the time will come when each contractor will have standard forms or patterns of houses," says Edison, in discussing his new discovery. "The forms will be made of wood and a contractor using one of the standard shapes will simply go out and 'pour' a house. The intending customer can pick out a house from the wooden forms and from pictures. He can choose whatever size he may want and whatever style of architecture. There will probably be hundreds of designs. The contractors will put up their concrete mixers and have their beams and forms ready. They will pour the form for the first story and so on. To do that all they will require will be common labor—a few men and one boss. That is what I think will be done eventually. And such a house can be made cheaply. It seems to me there will not be much use for carpenters then. There will be cabinet-makers, to be sure. Why, even the floors and stairs will be made of concrete. When the price of cement is \$1 per barrel or \$5.50 per ton it is bound to drive out other building material. The houses will be built on skeletons of steel beams. The building mixture will be extremely cheap, for it will be composed of one part cement, three parts sand and five parts crushed stone. Put the wooden forms around the steel frames, pour in the concrete mixture and let it 'set.' Remove the ordinary mold or form and then you have a solid house. In an ordinary residence the walls would be about twelve inches

thick up to the first story and eight inches thick above the first story. The roofs would be of cement, too."

In Hopkins county, Ky., three mining companies secured a blanket injunction in the Circuit Court that goes beyond anything that has ever been attempted in the judicial line so far as labor unions are concerned. The court restrained the miners from collecting union dues, assessments for strike purposes, distributing food to miners on strike, or from urging other workers to go on strike. The court held that to organize the miners "would be injurious to the business of the plaintiffs."—In Dayton, O., a court granted a perpetual injunction against metal polishers, the latter being restrained from picketing a struck shop or boycotting the firm's products.—The laundry workers and other unionists of Dayton have also had a permanent injunction plastered on them.—A Jersey City judge has capped the climax by injunctioning girl strikers from "making faces" at those who have taken their jobs.—Supreme Court of New York issued an order restraining brewers from boycotting a non-union brewery in Croker's town.—Clerks of Canandaigua, N. Y., were sued for conspiracy for boycotting a non-union establishment.—Miners' officials at Scranton, Pa., were sued for conspiracy for boycotting a newspaper. These are some of the things that are the direct outcome of workingmen "throwing away" their votes by casting them for the capitalist class parties.

The tobacco trust is waging a fierce war on independent concerns and jobbers are being notified that if they handle anti-trust goods their profits on trust products will be reduced. The trust seems to need greater profits, as it is contemplated to unite the three branches—the American, Continental and Cigar trusts—and form an international combine. It is also reported that the cigar branch is ambitious to turn out a billion non-union cigars this year, and, as its present capacity is but one-quarter that number, more factories will have to be acquired. Meanwhile 2,000 cigarmakers are on strike or waiting to go out. The union spent over \$300,000 in its fight in New York and officers declare that no backward step will be taken in working conditions despite all odds. Sympathizers are urged to purchase no cigars except those which are in boxes that bear the blue label of the union.

The United States Steel Corporation has gone on strike for \$80,000,000 more a year, to be "earned by new methods to be introduced." Price of rails have also gone up \$2 per ton. The anthracite coal combine has, according to a New York dispatch, notified the people that \$75,000,000 more a year is needed (probably to perfect the bituminous trust), and coal will be gradually advanced one dollar per ton. The meat combine is on strike for more money, also, prices having gone up at some Eastern points one to three cents per pound.—Southern newspapers are complaining that the railways have gone out for higher rates.—Starch trust has also announced that more money is needed in their business.—California fruit growers are also sorrowful because the fruit trust and railways want higher prices and more prosperity.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

Professor George D. Herron

SOCIALISM AND SACRIFICE

I.

Though a socialist give all that he has, and with it all that he is, perhaps to be neglected and forgotten and to starve, yet he never thinks of himself as sacrificing anything for his cause; he would resent your sympathizing with him as one who had sacrificed something—indeed, you would be to him as a man speaking an unknown tongue, a faithless language of the dead.

But in history and religion there is no such heroism of sacrifice as his; no such strength of soul and elemental spiritual beauty, as that which I see in the working-class socialist.

The socialist revolution is fed by a common quality of life as much greater than the renunciation of Jesus as he was greater than the teachers before him.

Here in the socialist struggle, I find the wondrously lived yet unspoken gospel of a renunciation that is real, infinitely surpassing the sacrifice of patriots or of Christians.

The early Christian gloried in his sacrifice and martyrdom, but the socialist is unconscious of his; the early Christian died with his eyes on the nearing gates of his heavenly home, but the socialist lives and suffers and dies in the thought of the noble and happy earth to be enjoyed by those who come after his work is done, when he sleeps.

II.

It is not sacrifice, but the opportunity to sacrifice, that creates obligation.

No man really sacrifices himself for a great truth, or for a good cause; for a cause good enough to absorb our utmost output of life, a truth so great that it can afford to have us destroyed in its service, places all the obligations on our side; its own obligations are discharged in advance.

It is by a brave cause that life is invested with its value, and the living or losing of it made worth while.

The cause cannot possibly owe us anything; for it has given to us in a moment more than we could give to it in a million years, and we can pay our debt to it only by giving all and asking nothing.

The greater the demands of the cause upon us, the greater is our debt to it; and if it should call us to ruin and infamy, we should owe it still the more.

A truth that will let me die or go to shame for it becomes a father and provider to my soul, giving me all I can ever know of the sweetness of death, or of the joy that brings forth life.

No one ever did so much for a cause or for humanity, but what the cause and humanity did more for him; for the prophet or the leader stands on the shoulders of other men, and still others give him their flesh to eat and their blood to drink.

III.

It will be long before Jesus can pay his debt to the world, and that only when his friends cease to make any demands upon the world in his name.

He will be received as a friend when he forgets his cross, and makes no claims because of it.

He will become a world-teacher when he ceases to be an authority, a brother when he is no more a master, a comrade when he is no longer a god.

IV.

We may sacrifice everything for truth, but we must not sacrifice truth for anything.

We have a right to throw away our lives for a truth, but we have no right to throw away a truth to save our lives.





BOOK REVIEWS



The Crime of Credulity. Herbert N. Casson. Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton St., New York. Cloth, 254 pp., 75 cents. Paper, 25 cents.

One of the most striking phenomena of the present age is the sudden recrudescence of mysticism under a great variety of forms, including Christian Science, Theosophy, Mental Healing, Spiritualism, etc. This book is the most cutting criticism of these cults that has yet appeared in the English language. The author maintains that they are by no means indicative of a progressive or revolutionary spirit but are akin to witchcraft, the "dancing mania" and other delusions of the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century. He asserts the existence of the following points of identity between these modern doctrines and their ancient prototypes: (1) Both produced phenomena that mystified scientists and thinkers. (2) Both accumulated a vast mass of direct evidence to substantiate their claims. (3) Both are based upon mystical power which some are said to possess for good and evil over the persons and destinies of others. (4) Both numbered among their members men and women of undoubted intelligence in other directions. (5) Both professedly antagonized the conclusions of secular common sense and medical science. (6) Both appeal to that suspicious sense of wonder and credulity which is strongest in the most undeveloped minds. (7) Both can be traced back to the monasticism which sprang from Plato's idealism and doctrine of demons. (8) The form in which the superstition appears fluctuates from witch-burning to Mental Science in accordance with the intellectual development of the nation. (9) A spasm of religious terrorism at the present day would revive among Christian Science societies the phenomena of witchcraft. (10) Witchcraft having now been universally acknowledged to be religious mania and "the blackest of superstitions" it is probable that a more enlightened age than ours will classify all modern similar beliefs as religious manias in a milder form. (11) Any belief, however absurd and pernicious, may obtain large numbers of adherents providing it appeals to the religious emotions. (12) The best preventives of all such superstitions are the increase of the skeptical and scientific spirit and the promotion of every form of secular and practical education. He shows how this degeneracy of thought may act as a means of attracting attention from existing abuses and thus prove a bulwark to oppression. In choosing mysticism they are deserting the materialism which is the basis of the social revolution. "Every logical mind is today being forced to abandon dualism. Those who are governed by reason are accepting material monism; and those who are governed by imagination are accepting spiritual monism." The author has a wealth of figures and epigrams with which to give point to his positions, and whatever one may think of the argument he will find the book intensely interesting. Speaking of the tendency of mystics to exag-

gerate the importance of whatever cannot be at once fully understood, he says: "They mistake every muddy pool for the ocean, and fancy it is infinitely deep because they cannot see the bottom. As soon as a level-headed man comes along with a yard stick, their ocean is shown to be a mud-puddle and no more." Whoever is interested in these subjects will find this work intensely suggestive and worthy of careful consideration.

Labor. Emile Zola. Harpers. Cloth, 604 pp. \$1.50.

This is the second book in the great tetralogy, of which "Fruitfulness" was the first, and of which "Truth" and "Justice" are still to follow, and is the most powerful and constructive thing Zola has yet written on the social question. Not only are social conditions portrayed with a master hand, but an attempt is made to offer a solution. The book opens with a description of the conditions surrounding a modern blast furnace and steel mill. The employes are just going back to work after a long strike. With that power of describing horrors which is peculiarly the characteristic of Zola, a terrible picture of misery, degradation, suffering, depravity and blind resentment is drawn with a fidelity of detail only attainable by this master of the realists. "All along the filthy, muddy street, and along the greasy sidewalks, all the poison and degradation of labor, the labor of the many used iniquitously for the advantage of a few, streamed onward—labor dishonored, hateful and accursed, the labor that entails terrible suffering, besides theft and prostitution, which are its neighboring excrescences." Luc, the hero of the book, passes through the village and is deeply impressed. He has just come into control of a neighboring iron works and discovers that notwithstanding all the victories of man over nature, "Yet nothing was changed; the conquered fire still had its victims and its slaves who labored for it, who spent their lives in keeping it under subjection, while the privileged of the world lived in idleness in healthy and luxurious dwellings." He dreams of "another kind of labor, unlike that brutally imposed on human victims, on ignoble mercenaries, who could be crushed at their masters' pleasure, and treated like hungry beasts of burden; it would be work freely accepted by all men, divided according to natural tastes and capacities, employing the laborer for the few hours that were indispensable—labor varied according to the free choice of voluntary workers." He transforms the works into a sort of co-operative, or rather profit-sharing institution, and the struggle begins between this industry and the competitive world. This long drawn out Titanic combat is the central theme of the book around which all else is made to revolve. Of course co-operation is made to win in the end and the new works absorb the old ones and become the center from which the whole social system is transformed. Jean Jaures, in his review of the book in the Belgian socialist daily "Le Peuple," sums up by saying that it is a beautiful socialist poem, but that its socialism is the socialism of Fourier and not of the modern international movement. Hence the book fails to fill the place that it might have filled in socialist literature. The more the pity that it comes so close and falls so short. Only once does he state his position toward the political movement, for while one character, who plays a very prominent part in the book, is supposed to be a political socialist, he at no time presents anything more than a caricature of the philosophy he is supposed to represent. But as the book is about to close, and while Luc is sitting in the midst of a revolutionized society, one of his friends says to him: "A traveler has told me that in a great republic the

collectivists have become the masters of power. They have for years been fighting bloody political battles to gain possession of the legislative assembly and of the government. Legally, they could not succeed, but had to make a coup de etat after they felt that they were strong enough and were certain of a strong support with the people. As soon as the revolution succeeded they made laws according to their own theoretical program, or put forth decrees. All private property was confiscated. All the wealth of individuals became the property of the nation, and all tools and machinery were given over to the laborers. There were no more land owners, no capitalists, no owners of factories. The state reigned master of all, and sole owner and capitalist. It regulated all social life and distributed benefits to whom it would. But this immense revolution, this universal overthrow, these sudden radical changes did not, of course, take place without a dreadful struggle. Classes do not let themselves be despoiled even though their wealth may have been ill-gotten. Dreadful outbreaks took place all over the country. Land owners preferred to be killed on their own doorstep rather than surrender their land. Some destroyed their own wealth, flooded their mines, broke up the railroads, blew up their factories; while investors burned up their bonds and certificates and flung their gold and silver into the sea. Some houses had to be besieged. Whole cities had to be taken by storm. There was for years a frightful civil war during which the streets were red with blood and corpses were carried off by the rivers. After that the sovereign state encountered all kinds of difficulties before it could set the new state of things on foot. Values were regulated by the worth of each hour of man's labor and the system of *bons de travail* was adopted. At first they appointed a committee to superintend production and to divide its profits *pro rata* according to the work of each man. Afterwards they found that they must have other bureaus of control, and a complicated organization was created which impeded the wheels of the new system. They fell back on the old plan of quartering men in barracks and no system ever bore more hard on men or left them less freedom. And yet the end was in the end accomplished; it was one step onward on the way to justice. Labor had become honorable and wealth daily increased and was more equitably distributed. So at last the wage-earning system violently disappeared, together with capital, money and commerce."

This reads like some lurid nightmare and has no particular relation to the remainder of the book. The political socialism which is attacked exists only in Zola's imagination, and hence his alleged argument falls with it. This fact is so palpable that socialists can well afford to circulate the work as means of propaganda, trusting to the good sense of the reader or subsequent investigation to remove any false impression that might be left from a reading of this passage. Considered aside from its sociological value the book will stand as one of the greatest of the novels that have sprung from the troubled depths of capitalism, and will live long years after the "latest successes" have been lost to all save the catalogues of public libraries.

Tenement Conditions in Chicago. Report by the Investigating Committee of the City Home Association. Text by Robert Hunter. Cloth, 208 pp. Fifty cents.

This book might well have had for a sub-title "Some Glimpses Into Inferno," so horrible are the conditions described under which a very large percentage of the working population of Chicago are forced to

live. This work is, and will always remain a mine of information on the slave-pens of the wage-worker under capitalism. No effort was made to select the worst districts of the city. "Forty-five thousand people live in these districts, and the insanitary conditions which surround them are typical of the conditions in which from three to four hundred thousand people in many parts of Chicago are now living." The report recognizes at the very beginning that private ownership is the root of the whole trouble. "The most important obstacle to reform is the slum landlord. He will vigorously protect his property interests. Indeed, this whole question resolves itself into a long struggle between the interests of the individual on the one hand and the larger interests of the commonweal on the other." The fact of class government is admitted. "In Chicago the interests of the slum landlords have been thus far protected and promoted by the municipality itself." Again we are told that "Pressure for the economical use of land has established within certain limits a new and vicious kind of private property. It is private ownership in the rays of the sun and the health-giving properties of the air." Naturally the report reveals some horrible instances of overcrowding. "The density of population per acre in the Polish quarter of Chicago is three times that of the most crowded portions of Tokio, Calcutta and many other Asiatic cities. * * * It is very probable, if we could compare the height of the dwelling and its density of population in the Jewish, Italian, Polish and Bohemian districts, with the like in districts elsewhere, the real density would equal the worst in the world." At the average rate of density that prevails over the territory investigated the whole population of England could be housed within the present city limits of Chicago. Within the houses 41 per cent of the families have between 80 and 300 square feet of floor space. "Eating, sleeping, giving birth to children, the nursing and rearing of children, the care for the sick and the care for the dying are all managed after some painful fashion in these cramped quarters. * * * One day the writer visited the family of a man who had been prostrated with heat while at work with the street-paving gang. They were a family of seven, living in a two-room apartment of a rear tenement. The day was in August, and the sun beat down upon one uninterruptedly and without mercy. The husband had been brought home a few hours before, and the wife in a distracted but skillful way, found pathways among the clamoring children. The air was steamy with a half-finished washing and remnants of the last meal were still on the table. A crying baby and the sick husband occupied the only bed. The writer had known before of five people sleeping in one bed, so he supposed the father and oldest child usually slept on the floor. As he watched the woman on that day he understood a little of what it meant to live in such contracted quarters. To cook and wash for seven, to nurse a crying baby broken out with the heat, and to care for a delirious husband, to arrange a possible sleeping place for seven, to do all these things in two rooms which open upon an alley, tremulous with heated odors and swarming with flies from the garbage and manure boxes, was something to tax the patience and strength of a Titan."

Prof. Huxley declared that 800 cubic feet of air space per person was the minimum for healthy conditions. In over 94 per cent of the sleeping rooms there was less than 700 cubic feet of air space per person. "The very poorest, who cannot afford the cost of well-lighted rooms, accept, at a money saving, the dark insanitary ones. Wretchedly clad and poorly nourished, fortunate if they have a basket of slate coal, they crowd together to economize the warmth their bodies give out. They dare not open a window for ventilation, and conse-

quently they breathe again and again into their sickly bodies the poisoned air and filthy emanations which nature tries to throw off." Out of the total population of about 45,000 in the districts investigated nearly 5,000 were living in cellars or basements. The houses themselves are often as a whole unfit for habitation. "The roofs are leaky and the spouting defective. The interiors of the houses become damp and the paper hangs loosely from the crumbling and rotting walls. The staircases, the window-sashes and the floors are rotten, and many injuries result from their feeble condition. * * * Fifty-five per cent of all sinks were in a dangerous and unlawful condition. * * * About 960,000 people in Chicago are without bathing facilities." Streets, alleys and sidewalks are neglected and dangerous. "The fumes rise from fermenting manure and enter the rooms of the rear tenements. Rats, insects and flies swarm about the accumulations of filth and become a source of great offense to tenants in the neighborhood." Of the sidewalk garbage box: "Its offensive odor, its ugliness and filthiness, may be only momentarily disgusting to the passerby, but the residents must suffer it every hour in the day. If it has a top the children sometimes use it for a play-house by day. On hot nights it is common to see parents escape from their stifling houses and seek slumber and fresh air (!) stretched out over its festering contents." As might be expected the death rate is high and sickness great in these districts. The report makes it plain who it is that is here suffering a torture which no Oriental despotism would dare to inflict upon hardened criminals. "The men who live in the poorest tenements are usually the ones who do the hardest and most disagreeable kind of work." In the meantime "the evil does not stand still or abate; it is steadily growing and today is worse than yesterday. * * * If landlords for greed and profits and economy of ground space, continue to erect such tenements, the city man will soon have new conditions to confront. The factory by day, the tenement by night will be his environment. * * * He must now live in rooms where the sun never enters. The air he breathes must reach him through dark passages and foul courts. He must be content with about two yards square of earth's space for himself, for each one of his children, for each one of his thousand close neighbors, and for each one of their children. * * * It is a fact that the mass of the people in tenements have not what people commonly call a home. It is a place of shelter for the sleeping hours of the night, and in the hot weather it is often abandoned even for that purpose."

These extracts from the book itself speak louder than any words of praise we could give it. There is a profusion of illustrations taken from photographs of the conditions described that make the facts it presents still more vivid and startling. The spreading of such facts, even if accompanied with some rather weak proposals for reform, cannot but help to arouse the laborers to action. This work should be in the hands of every socialist in the country, but more especially of all those in Chicago, for it is a perfect arsenal of facts, presented in a masterly manner and it is easy for any socialist to point the moral.

The Anatomy of Misery. John Coleman Kenworthy. Small, Maynard & Co. Cloth, 111 pp. \$1.00.

As the title indicates this is rather an examination into present economic and social relations than any attempt at constructive work. The nature of exploitation is very well set forth, although hardly with that scientific accuracy which might be desired. The whole work is written in a very clear and simple style, making it easily understood.

It is intended primarily as a text-book on Political Economy for the opponents of the present system. As such it could be used to considerable advantage by socialist organizations. The natural logic of the book is toward Tolstoyan non-resistance and isolation and the introduction is written by Tolstoy. But the dedication is to Keir Hardie and the last chapter is a denial of the position of social quietism and a practical endorsement of the socialist position. Scattered in between the chapters are some verses that are far above the ordinary poetry of the radical movement.

Karl Marx, Biographical Memoirs. Wilhelm Liebknecht, translated by E. Untermann. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 181 pp., 50 cents.

Capitalist writers have pictured Marx as a virulent, blatant agitator, and socialists have ordinarily looked upon him as a sort of incarnated intellect, dwelling in scholastic seclusion and speaking only in abstruse economic formulas. Liebknecht shows him to us as he was, an intellectual marvel to be sure (master of a half-dozen languages and learning Russian only to the better understand the Eastern question), but nevertheless intensely human. We learn of his intense love for children that made him give away his last penny to childish street beggars, even though he knew he was being deceived. We see him the loving father and husband, as well as the sometimes quarrelsome chess player and the boisterous comrade in holiday excursions and midnight escapades. Liebknecht also shows us Marx as the most painstaking of teachers as well as the most tireless of workers, and he even lifts the veil that covered the terrible poverty of the darkest days of the exile period, when the dead child of Marx lay unburied until friends came to his assistance. And through all this most intensely interesting and often thrilling tale of the adventure, pathos and humor of the little group of London exiles, there runs a wide and deep vein of interesting and instructive information concerning the origin and character of the fundamental principles of international socialism.

The Republic of Plato. Book I. Translated by Alexander Kerr, Professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin. Paper, 60 pp., 15 cts.

Plato's Republic is one of the few great books of the world to which can be traced back many of the "latest ideas" of the present time. Yet it has always been a book which most people generally read about but of which they never saw the actual pages. This has been partly because it has been concealed from the ordinary reader either within the original Greek or in such costly editions as to be beyond the reach of any save the few. The present edition, both in language and price, is attainable to everyone who wishes to read it. These facts should give it a wide circulation, for no one can claim to an understanding of the origins of the philosophies that lie back of socialism without a reading of Plato.

Poems of the New Time. Miles Menander Dawson. Alliance Publishing Co. Cloth, 169 pp., \$1.25.

This is a little volume that breathes the spirit of its title on almost every page. The dominant thought is rather Whitmanism than socialism. Many of the poems show much strength and beauty and there are others that perhaps it might have been as well to have left unwritten. On the whole the book is one that offers a pleasant relief

to the reader who, while interested in the great social revolt, has somewhat tired of the dry prosaic form in which its doctrines are usually presented.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Industrial Reform. T. J. McBride. Peacock Bros., Melbourne, Victoria. Paper, 28 pp.

The Red Light, Handbook of the Queensland Social-Democracy.

The Bible Plan for the Abolition of Poverty. Rev. Jesse H. Jones. Social Gospel Co., South Jamesport, N. Y. Paper, 69 pp, 25 cents.

Social Control. Edward A. Ross. Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology. Macmillan Co. Half leather, 463 pp., \$1.25. (Will be reviewed in August number.)

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

"An increase of 300 per cent in deposits in all the great banks of the world since 1875, of 100 per cent in commercial loans, and nearly 400 per cent in advances, show that the people of our generation are living in a financial world unlike that of a generation ago." This is one of the conclusions drawn by Charles A. Conant in his article on "The Recent Growth of Wealth," in the June number of "The World's Work." The whole article is the most elaborate summing up of the immense amount of surplus value created by the workers of the world that has ever been compiled. "The Wonderful Northwest" is a discussion of the resources that are shifting the seat of industry in America towards the Pacific. Other articles of special interest to the social student are "The Negro As He Really Is" and "An Ideal School-house."





EDITORIAL



THE INDIANAPOLIS CONVENTION

In the first place it is of the greatest importance that arrangements are so made that whatever is to be done can be done promptly. As Comrade E. V. Debs has well said, "the sooner it settles the questions and adjourns the better." This point is of infinitely more importance with a socialist convention than with the gatherings of one of the old parties or any of the various reform bodies. These latter have no very important work to perform and have well-nigh unlimited wealth and time in which to perform. But the socialists have a work to do that is pressing and their time and resources are extremely limited. Every day that the convention lasts means an expenditure of not less than \$500 in cash, besides the time of between two and three hundred of the ablest and hardest workers in the country. No opportunity should therefore be overlooked for saving such valuable time. At the very first session of the convention, before credentials are examined or organization is perfected, at least two temporary committees should be appointed—one on platform and the other on constitution. These committees should have no power to act, aside from receiving suggestions and arranging them in shape for the consideration of the convention. Such a committee, if appointed at a morning session, should be able to hand in a printed summary of the various plans submitted to it, together with any suggestions it might desire to offer, to the convention in time for discussion at the evening session. By this time the organization of the convention would be completed and a regular platform and constitution committee could be appointed who would be able to at once proceed to work and the whole matter should thus be settled inside of two days. It should be made a fixed rule of the convention that any matter relating to the platform or permanent party organization should be submitted in printing with sufficient copies to supply each of the delegates. The cost of such printing would be very much less than the expenses of the delegates for a single extra hour and at the same time will enable the discussion of all such propositions to be much more intelligently as well as expeditiously carried on.

After the "how" comes the "what" to do. Without a doubt the convention to be held at Indianapolis on July 29th will be the most im-

portant gathering ever held of American socialists. The time is especially critical. Economic evolution has made useless and hopeless any political action in this country except along the lines of revolutionary socialism. In the economic field the line between capitalism and socialism is clear and distinct. Whether that line shall be blurred and confused in the political field depends upon the actions of the socialists themselves. It depends upon whether the socialists of this country have brains enough and energy enough to form a sufficiently coherent and comprehensive organization to meet and fill the pressing need which now exists for a central body and a rallying point around which the great army of discontented and disinherited can crystallize. If our deliberations are marked by petty exhibitions of jealousy, narrow partizanship, and ignorant insularity, then we shall have failed to meet the demand and we must stand aside until we shall have learned our lesson.

There seems to be a general agreement on many things in the form of organization. There should be a general executive committee composed of one member from each state, with very limited powers save as to propaganda work in unorganized states. The national secretary should have sufficient assistance and be a man of sufficient ability to act as a central point of information and communication between the various state organizations and to assist them in all possible ways in their work of organization and propaganda. He should furnish a weekly or monthly bulletin to all papers applying for the same, but should have no official connection with any publication.

The convention is a unity convention and unless it arranges for a complete union of all bodies represented it will have failed to justify its existence. When the chairman's gavel falls on the first session all organizations participating in the convention must forever cease to exist as having any political significance, and any attempt to revive them is the worst of treason to the proletariat of America. The outcome of the conference should be an entirely new organization having nothing in common with the previous organizations save the same component elements of membership, principles and experience. Any provision for the further existence, either state or national, of separate political parties, would be a fatal, yes, almost a criminal error and could but sow seeds of further dissension for the reaping of future generations.

We cannot conquer the future by taking any backward steps. The platform to be adopted at Indianapolis must be an expression of those principles which time and experience have shown to be the only safe and true basis for a socialist movement. It should be a short, compact statement, with no shadow of compromise, no concession to capitalism in any form, and sufficiently condensed to form a solid shot of argument rather than the scattering broadside of former platforms. It should constitute a basic statement of socialist principles and should be supplemented by an official suggested program for state and muni-

municipal elections. The time is now at hand and this convention should hasten its coming, when socialists will begin to appear upon state and municipal bodies. Many of these will be in isolated places where there has been little opportunity to know the details of socialist philosophy. Unless some action is taken the work of these socialist representatives will be contradictory, and perhaps even compromising. A committee should be appointed at the convention to draw up a complete program for the guidance of socialists in municipal affairs. This committee might well be a permanent one, having only consulting powers, and composed of those socialists who are most interested and best informed in the work of socialist municipalities of other countries. It should be their duty, through the general secretary of the party, to keep in touch with all socialists elected to municipal offices and to assist them whenever necessary in procuring information concerning any problems that might arise, and to promote uniformity of action throughout the country. The publication from time to time of the reports of such a committee would prove a valuable addition to socialist literature and assist greatly in the propaganda in cities.

The time is now ripe for socialism. If there is anything in the doctrine of economic determinism then the United States is ready at this moment, so far as industrial development is concerned, to enter upon the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth. The great work to be done now is in preparation of socialists. To a great degree this convention is a test of the fitness of the socialists there assembled for the work that is before them. If that convention shall look upon itself as a gathering whose main purpose is the formation of a socialist church with a host of guards whose business it is to prevent the defilement of the organization by the unconverted, if it shall seek to found an organization as an end instead of a means, if it shall seek to build a machine merely for the love of political and mechanical craftsmanship, then it will have failed of its purpose and will deserve to fail. But if it shall meet with a determination to extend its influence, its political machinery and fraternal organization until it reaches and includes all those whom economic development or intellectual comprehension have made ready for the socialist thought and the socialist program, then it will have constituted itself a landmark from which will be reckoned the period of great and rapid growth of socialism in America.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The International Socialist Review is not owned by any one individual or small group of individuals. It is owned by an increasing number of socialists, already over 250, each of whom has invested ten dollars or more, in most cases just ten dollars, for the purpose of extending the circulation of socialist literature. These stockholders are located at 193 different cities and towns in the United States and Canada. None of them subscribed for stock in the expectation of dividends. The only personal inducement offered to those subscribing for stock has been the privilege of buying socialist literature at cost. The following letters, taken at random from a large number, will indicate what our stockholders think of the work we have been able to do thus far:

"In response to your inquiry as to my being satisfied with the results of your efforts to carry on a business of publishing and selling socialistic literature at a nominal price, will say that since I became a stockholder in your company have been very much pleased with the prices of your various books and pamphlets and especially with the character of the literature. I hope to be able to take another share of stock in the company if you conclude to enlarge your capacity for work, which I hope you will decide to do."—Dr. A. J. Stevens, 233 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.

"I was six months considering the matter before I became a member, and since then I have never regretted for a moment that I became identified with the brethren in our noble work. Of

course I did not expect to make money by the operation other than by the purchasing of socialistic literature at reduced rates. Even in this respect I have not availed myself of my privilege from the simple fact that I am already pretty well supplied for personal use and only require for propaganda, and I am prepared in but a limited way at present to go into such work. I hope soon, however, to avail myself of my privilege."—A. T. Cuzner, M.D., Gilmore, Fla.

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"I wish that every comrade would spread the gospel of socialism by subscribing for the magazine and buying literature with their spare money which otherwise goes for that which is not bread. And better still to those that can purchase a share of stock I would say that \$10.00 was never better invested; in fact it is the only way that socialists can co-operate to do the most good and do it effectively with the least expense. I hope that the comrades all over the country will consider it their duty to assist the co-operative printing establishment by purchasing one or more shares of stock and thus help to bring about the Co-operative Commonwealth more speedily."—E. Nicholl, 20½ Market Square, Lynn, Mass.

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owing to the drawbacks attendant to new movements, but it speaks well of the business ability of Charles H. Kerr & Company that I always promptly received what I ordered from them. If every one who intends to convert his or her neighborhood to socialism will get a friend in each precinct in the town and vicinity where he lives to join in subscribing for a share in Charles H. Kerr & Company, they can have a circulating library to pass from friend to friend and loan out to others at a bargain."—Peter J. Holt, Murray, Utah.

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