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The International Socialist Review

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

Edited by CHARLES H. KERR

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Contributions from both European and American writers are solicited, and while editorially the Review stands for the principles of Marxian Socialism and the tactics of the Socialist Party of America, it offers a free forum for writers of all shades of thought. The editor reserves the right to criticise the views of contributors, but the absence of criticism is not necessarily to be taken as an endorsement.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. IX JULY, 1908 No. 1

The Labor Movement and Socialism.

HE relation of labor unions to the Socialist movement is in many countries the subject of sharp differences of opinion, even of bitter strife. The situation is by no means everywhere the same. In England, for example, after the break-up of the Chartist political movement in 1848 the union movement increased greatly and became a mighty organization of the masses of the workingmen. But this great body of workers remained indifferent to Socialism, or even inimical to it, and the Socialist party remained a small sect. In America the labor movement developed according to the English pattern. In Germany and Belgium, on the contrary, the situation is exactly reversed. There the Socialist party grew mightily in the first place; then the workers, who had learned how to conduct the fight on the political field, began the struggle for better conditions against individual employers. On this account the unions remained in these countries closely connected with the Socialist party; in Belgium, in fact, they are an organic part of the Socialist movement. Here they are, however, comparatively weak, and it is to be expected that as they increase in strength they will make themselves more independent.

This division is imposed by the different objects of the political and labor union struggles. The Socialist party holds to a great and far-reaching purpose; a purpose not immediately understood by everyone; a purpose which, in fact, is often mis-

understood and therefore has to meet opposition, prejudice and hatred which can be overcome only through extended educational propaganda. The objective of the unions, on the other hand, is an immediate one, the securing of higher wages and shorter hours. This is instantly intelligible to everyone; does not demand deep convictions, but appeals rather to immediate interest. On this account quite undeveloped workers must not be hindered from joining the unions because of their prejudice against a world-overturning force like Socialism. As soon as the unions attempt to take in the great mass of the workers they must be absolutely independent. Of course a friendly relation to the Socialist party can still be maintained.

This is the situation in Germany. The unions are independent organizations; they are "neutral," i. e., they ask no questions as to the religious or political opinions of their members. They remain, however, constantly in friendly touch with the Socialist party, even if now and then a little friction does occur. "Party and union are one," is the oft quoted expression of a prominent union leader; this is taken for granted because of the fact that the party members and the great body of union adherents are the same persons, the same workingmen.

The need of having unions to improve the immediate situation of the workers and the advantages which grow out of these need not be examined. But the goal of the working class is the complete extermination of capitalism. Have the unions any part in this struggle for the complete liberation of the proletariat? Before this question can be answered we must make a closer investigation into the general conditions of the struggle for the freedom of the workers.

* * * *

Why does the great body of workingmen still permit itself to be ruled and exploited by the capitalists? Why are they not in a position to drive the minority of exploiters from power? Because they are an unorganized, undisciplined, individualistic and ignorant mass. The majority is impotent because it consists of a divided crowd of individuals each one of whom wishes to act according to his own impulse, regard his own interests, and in addition has no understanding of our social system. It lacks organization and knowledge. The minority, the ruling class, on the contrary, is strong because it possesses both organization and knowledge. Not only does it have in its service scholars and men of learning; it controls also a strong organization, the state administration. The army of officials, government underlings, law-givers, judges, representatives, politicians and soldiers works like a gigantic machine which instantly suppresses any attack on the existing order; a machine against which every individual is

powerless and by which, if he opposes it, he is crushed like a troublesome insect; a machine which, indeed, can easily shatter in a struggle even a great organization of workers. In this machine each works as a part of the whole: in the working class each man acts for himself or a small group. No wonder that the few, through their superior strength, rule the majority with ease.

But things are already changing. Economic development is always producing greater machines, more gigantic factories, more colossal capitalizations. It gathers ever greater bodies of laborers about these machines, forces them into organized trade under the command of capital, robs them of their personal and national distinctions and takes from them the possibility of personal success. But incidentally it suggests to them the thought of organization, of union of their forces, as the only means of improving their position and opposing the overpowering might of capital. Economic development thus brings forth the labor movement, which begins the class-struggle against capital.

The object of the labor movement is to increase the strength of the proletariat to the point at which it can conquer the organized force of the bourgeoisie and thus establish its own supremacy. The power of the working class rests, in the first place, upon its members and upon the important rôle which it plays in the process of production. It constitutes an increasingly large majority of the population. Production proceeds upon a constantly increasing scale, and so is carried on more and more by wage-workers; and the relations of its branches grows constantly more complex. Under these circumstances workingmen find it possible through the strike to bring our whole social life to a standstill. In order that they may be in a position to use this great power in the right way the workers must come to a consciousness of their situation and master an understanding of, and insight into, our social system. They must be class-conscious, i. e., clearly recognize the clash of interests between themselves and the capitalists. And they must have sufficient intelligence to find the right methods of prosecuting the class-struggle and reject the wrong ones. Enlightenment, the spreading of knowledge, is therefore one of the mightiest and most important weapons of the labor movement; this is the immediate purpose of the Socialist propaganda. In the third place, means must be found to turn knowledge into deeds, to apply intelligence in action. To do this we need an organization in which the powers of the individual are joined in a single will and thereby fused into a common social force. The outer form of organization is not the main thing, but the spirit which holds the organization together. Just as the grains of sand are held together by a cement and thus the mass of them becomes a heavy stone, so

must the individuals be cemented together so that the organization will not fly asunder at the first opposition, but rather will conquer all opposition like a mighty mass. This immaterial, spiritual cement is the discipline which leads the individual to subordinate his own will to that of the whole and to place his entire strength at the disposal of the community. It is not the giving up of one's own views, but the recognition of the fact that united action is necessary and that the minority cannot expect the majority to conform to its notions—a recognition which has become a powerful motive for action.

The first of the three factors which constitute the strength of the working class will be increasingly developed by economic evolution independently of our will. The further development of the other two is the task of the labor movement. All our working and striving is devoted to this purpose: to improve the knowledge, the class-consciousness, the organization, the discipline, of the working class. Only when these are sufficiently developed can we conquer the most powerful organization of the ruling class, the state.

* * * *

Now what are the respective parts played in this development of working class power by the political party and the labor union? Through sermons, speeches and theoretic instruction we can never call into being organization and discipline—no, not even social intelligence and class-consciousness. The worth of theoretic instruction lies in the fact that it explains and illuminates practical experience, brings it to clear consciousness; but it cannot serve as a substitute for this experience. Only through practice, practice in the struggle, can the workers acquire that understanding of theoretic teaching and those intellectual and moral qualities which will make their power great.

It is generally known that in western Europe it has been the politico-parliamentary activity which has chiefly contributed to the tremendous increase of the Socialist movement and everywhere given strength to the Social Democratic parties. What is the meaning of this? That the political struggle has given a mighty impetus to the class-consciousness, the insight, the group-feeling, of the hitherto unconscious, unrelated workers. The representatives of the workers took a stand in parliament against the government and the bourgeois parties, tore from their faces the masks of guardians of "the general welfare," revealed them as expressions of bourgeois interests inimical to the workers, and through suggestions for the improvement of the conditions of the laborers forced them to show their true characters; by these means they enlightened the people as to the class character of the state and the rulers. The critique which they carried on in

debate with the mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system penetrated through the papers to the uttermost corners of the land and roused to reflection those who otherwise remain untouched by public gatherings. The careful following of parliamentary struggles, of the speeches of their own representatives and of their opponents, developed to a high degree the political intelligence of the workers and increased their understanding of social phenomena. Herein lies the significance of the political struggle for the increase of the power of the working class: the totally unconscious are shaken up and induced to think; their class-consciousness awakes and they join the class organizations of the proletariat; the already class-conscious workingmen become better and better instructed and their knowledge becomes more thorough.

Just as important is the activity connected with labor union struggle. The effect of this conflict is to build up and strengthen the workingmen's organizations. Through the efforts of the union to improve the conditions of labor increasing numbers of workers who before kept themselves at a distance are aroused and brought into the organization. The most effective recruiting force, it is generally known, is not the designed propaganda carried on through meetings and tracts, but the influence of strikes and lock-outs. The chief significance of these struggles, however, lies in the development of discipline and mutual fidelity. This becomes tough as steel only when it has been tempered in the fire of conflict. The suppression of egotism, the surrender of the individual to the whole, the sacrifice of the individual interest for the organization, can be learned and thoroughly ingrained only in struggle. Experience of the fact that all together suffer defeat if the individual lacks the necessary feeling of solidarity, that on the other hand victory is the reward of unwavering co-operation, beats into everyone this necessary discipline. It is thus the labor unions which weld the scattered individualistic workers into powerful units, teach them to act unitedly as a body, and produce among them the highest working class virtue, solidarity.

In addition the labor union struggle contributes to the knowledge of the workers. It is in this conflict that most of them learn the A B C of Socialism, the opposition of interests between workingmen and employers. Here they can get hold of this fundamental fact of capitalistic society, which appears much less clearly in the political fight. On this account the unions have often been called the preparatory schools of Socialism; they might better be called elementary schools, for it is the real elementary principles that one learns in the labor struggle. Of course this elementary knowledge of the opposition of interests between employes and employers is not adequate to an under-

standing of our social system; one who knows nothing more will be nonplussed and without resource when he confronts the more complex relations, the rôle of the other classes, of the office-holders, of the state, for example, and other political and ideological phenomena.

On the other hand, the political struggle has an essential significance for the organizations of the working class. The union organizations always have their limitations; they include only members of a particular craft, and so develop with the strong solidarity of the fellow craftsmen their guild spirit, their isolation, yes, often an unfriendly jealousy of other crafts. This narrowness is swept away by the political struggle. In politics class stands against class. There the delegates of labor speak not as the representatives of the carpenters or the miners; they do not even represent the wage-workers exclusively, but the whole body of those exploited by capital. Their opponents are not representatives of definite groups of employers, but of the whole owning class; they fight in parliament against bank capital, colonial capital, land capital, just as much as against industrial capital; their struggle is against all exploiters. Therefore the political conflict extends the view, the intelligence and also the sympathies beyond the narrow circle of the craft interests of the labor union. Where the political party is strong all workers of the most varied trades feel themselves brothers; their solidarity is no longer limited by the boundaries of their crafts, and their labor organizations appear to them as parts, as branches, as batallions in a single great labor army. In Germany, where the political organization preceded the labor union, the guild spirit was unable to develop itself so strongly as, e. g., in England.

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The relation between political party and union is often represented as though the political movement were to bring about the destruction of capitalism, and the union to effect the improvement of the laborer's condition within the capitalist system; as though the political party were naturally revolutionary and the union naturally reformatory. This may be in harmony with the apparent practice in many lands; but in France, on the contrary, the unions regard themselves as the revolutionary organizations and the political party as a bourgeois creation with merely temporary reformatory functions. In reality the truth is that both are at once revolutionary and reformatory: that is to say, they both carry on the present struggle for direct improvement and both have great significance in relation to the revolutionary transformation of society.

In the class-struggle the conflict must always concern itself with immediate, practical objects. What are the bones of con-

tention in parliament? The introduction of Socialism? One may agitate for a purpose lying far in the future, but cannot carry on an immediate fight for it. The actual fight turns about definite legislative proposals; about social reforms, laws for the protection of laborers, contraction or expansion of the rights of labor, laws in the interest of particular capitalist groups, or measures of taxation in regard to which there is a collision of class interests. Every article of a law becomes the crux of a struggle between the representatives of labor and the bourgeoisie. Labor gains only now and then a direct advantage, a favorable legal enactment; but always an indirect one, the enlightment of the masses as to the nature of society and the state.

The difference between this and the union struggle for direct improvement—of the conditions of labor—lies in the fact that in the political fight more general interests and considerations come into question. Therefore the arguments brought to bear reach a higher level. From momentary questions the opponents reach out to remote purposes; eventually their deepest, most general convictions, their world-views, come into conflict. Socialist speakers utilize every particular case to make an attack on the whole capitalist system; their opponents answer with attempts at criticism of Socialist teaching. So the ultimate objective of the proletarian struggle always appears behind the momentary clash, and we always emphasize the fact that this clash gains its significance from its relation to this ultimate objective. So it comes about that apparently the political struggle is carried on in the interests of Socialism, and the union struggle in the interests of reform. And yet both are for reform, for the improvement of the condition and status of labor and against their deterioration. Both of them effect, as we showed above, a steady increase in the power of the working class; pave the way, therefore, for the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

In both there comes about in an analogous manner a limited conception of their function, in that all remote purposes and general interests are sacrificed to the achievement of an immediate reform. On the political field this conception takes the form of a neglect of the class-struggle, a political alliance with the bourgeois parties in a *bloc,* a strife for votes as a main object: this constitutes the tendency within the Socialist movement which is called reformist, or revisionist. The belief that through it we can accomplish more reforms usually proves fallacious, and in addition the revolutionary result of political activity, the enlightenment and organization of labor, usually fails of accomplishment. This tendency can prosper only under undeveloped conditions such as obtain among small capitalists or land-holders, conditions under which the opposition of classes

is not sharply defined—and even there not for any great length of time.

The reformist tendency is much more persistent among the unions. Where on account of particular circumstances the unions have been successful in improving the labor conditions there may easily develop in their ranks a self-satisfied, bigoted conservatism; they give up the thought of a vigorous campaign against capitalism and surrender themselves to the stupor of the "community of interests between capital and labor"; they neglect further enlightenment, isolate their organizations like guilds, look with scorn on the miserable, unorganized mass of sacrifices to capitalism, and become small bourgeois, lacking anything like revolutionary feeling. The classical examples of this are furnished by the English and American trades-unions. In such a labor movement, in distinction from a reformist political movement, the very name of the Socialist enlightenment is proscribed. Under such circumstances a better view of things becomes effective only with great difficulty and as the result of the most painful lessons of experience. In most countries, naturally, the conservative, reformist tendencies are most powerful in the unions; while the political party, on the contrary, represents more energetically the revolutionary standpoint. But the opposite is also possible. Where the Socialist party loses itself too deep in the quagmire of bourgeois parliamentarianism there awakes in the workers a native, primitive class feeling, a disgust at the coquetting with the representatives of the bourgeoisie. Then they repudiate the whole fight on the political field as a quarrel of ambitious politicians which can only compromise the class-struggle; and they come to place their only trust in the natural organizations of the working class, the unions. So in France, chiefly as a result of the *bloc* policy and Millerandism, there has arisen a revolutionary unionism which advocates the general strike as the only weapon whereby labor can accomplish the overthrow of capitalism.

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The goal of the labor movement, the conquest of the political power, indicates in itself that its attainment can be accomplished only by the working class organized as a political party. Repeatedly has the idea been presented, especially by the revisionists, that this conquest can be brought about in a simple, peaceful, parliamentary manner. In every election we poll an increased number of votes, a constantly increasing number of voters is being converted to our views; and when at last we have won the majority of the people we shall have—universal, equal suffrage being taken for granted—the majority in parliament and will make laws according to our principles. But this beautiful idyll goes to smash the moment we take into account the restric-

tions upon suffrage which the bourgeois parties are in a position to put through so long as they are still in control of the majority. It goes without saying that the ruling class will not allow itself to be so easily discarded. It will attempt to assert itself against us with all the weapons at its command; its wealth, and above all its actual control of the political administration, the bureaucracy, the army and the newspapers, give it a tremendous power; so long as it has a majority in the law-giving bodies it can by legal methods do away with the popular rights which are dangerous to it. Experience has shown that in defense of its privileges it is not inclined either in Europe or America to respect recognized rights. In the face of these facts the workers will be forced to call into the field every power which they possess.

In this final struggle for the mastery—which will not be a single battle, but a long war with many ups and downs of victory and defeat—the unions will play a part not inferior to that of the Socialist party. Or, to put it more clearly, the political and the union movement will come together in this conflict. The workers must present themselves as a single, strongly united class with a definite political purpose—that is, as a political party. They must at the same time come into action as a mass organization, i. e., lead into the field their unions and make use of their union weapon, the strike, for political purposes; they must act as a body against the power of the state. In the mass strike the two proletarian methods become one; political understanding and union discipline are here like the thinking head and the strong arm of an individual combatant.

The more the great body of the workers take part in the war on capitalism, the more will labor union conflicts become social cataclysms, great political events; and thus the unions will be forced to take more active part in the political struggle. In these great struggles the old methods of parliamentary and labor union diplomacy will be found inadequate; the cleverness of sharp leaders and versatile spokesmen will be overshadowed by the power of the masses themselves. In the persons of the leaders, who develop according to the particular demands of each form of action, the political and union movements are different; in the persons who constitute the masses behind the leaders they are identical. Thus where the mass of the workers themselves come into action the dividing line between the two methods of struggle disappears; they march upon the field of battle to a single, undivided warfare against capitalism, armed with the class-consciousness, the discipline, the intelligence and the power of action gained in all previous conflicts; the union constitutes their organization; Socialism, their political intelligence.

DR. ANTON PANNEKOEK, *Berlin.*

Written for the REVIEW, *and translated by William E. Bohn.*

Nietzsche: Iconoclast and Prophet.

"Oxen that rattle the yoke or halt in the shade! what is that you express in your eyes?
"It seems to me more than all the print I have read in my life."

Walt. Whitman.

HILE all thought is the product and reflex of economic conditions, past and present, it is likewise true that thought has a history of its own, and the fully developed theory of one thinker can often be traced back to the almost amorphous idea of a predecessor. If we retrace the broad stream of the purposeful, constructive, effective thought of to-day, we shall surely be led to the three great names of Hegel, Darwin and Marx. Just as surely, if we seek for the most potent influences that have moulded contemporary literature, especially drama and fiction, we shall be led irresistibly to Ibsen and Nietzsche. Ibsen, the dramatist, unerringly seized upon the dramatic conflict between the ideals of romantic love professed by the bourgeoisie and the hideous facts of bourgeois marriage and prostitution. The degradation of woman implied by bourgeois monogamy and its invariable corollary, prostitution, only became apparent after the requirements of growing capitalist industry and commerce had made it necessary to educate and give mercantile training to hosts of women. So that Ibsen was a true child of his age. Nietzsche, who was far more a literary artist than he was a thinker, for his chief theme seized upon the violent contradiction between the ruthless self-seeking of Capitalism in an age when the cash nexus had become the only tie between man and man and no mercy was shown, no quarter given upon the fields of industrial and commercial warfare, and the religion of love, sympathy and self-sacrifice professed in all capitalist countries. This contradiction only became glaringly apparent with the disappearance of the last relics of that kindly human relation between master and serf characteristic of feudalism. So that Nietzsche as truly as Ibsen was a child of the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

Though most of us have long been dimly aware that Nietzsche's influence was a potent force in Europe and had tremendously affected our comrade, Bernard Shaw, it must be confessed

that few of us have known much that was definite about Nietzsche or what he wrote, and small blame to us, for hitherto little information has been available in English. The standard MacMillan translation of Nietzsche's works is not yet complete. But Charles H. Kerr & Company have recently placed within our reach one of Nietzche's earlier and saner books, *"Human, All-Too-Human,"* written in 1876-77; and Luce and Co. of Boston have issued a very useful and informing volume on *"The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche,"* by Henry L. Mencken, a brilliant Baltimore newspaper man. So that laziness is now the only valid excuse for ignorance about Nietzsche; but, let me hasten to add, my comrades, for most of you that is a sufficient excuse, and one you have no reason to be ashamed of. For we Socialists believe in the right to be lazy, and the comrade who has read what Marx, Kautsky and Lafargue have said about ethics and Christianity, need not feel compelled to puzzle his brain over the unrestrained ravings of the Nietzsche of 1880-89. As Battery Park Dan Finn would say, "Lave that to Sweeny!"

But I have been dabbling in Nietzsche for a couple of years, and want to give you, as briefly as I can, the import of his teachings to working class militants. Though Nietzsche had Polish blood in his veins, he was born in Saxony in 1844. His father and grandfather were clergymen, and as a boy Friedrich was exactly the horrible little prig one would expect. Red-blooded boys did not like him. He entered Bonn University in 1864, subsequently going to Leipsic. At the university for a time he conscientiously cultivated deviltry and did his best to be or seem a gay buck, but in this line he would seem to have been a dismal failure. At any rate he soon gave up the attempt, cut out beer and tobacco for good and all, and later in life he confided to his sister his conviction that no man who drank beer or smoked a pipe could understand his writings. I do not doubt this, and I suspect that most teetotalers find them equally difficult. In 1867 he had to do his turn at compulsory military service; he joined the artillery, but after a few months he was thrown from his horse. His breast muscles were wrenched so badly that he was condemned by a medical survey and discharged. In 1869, when he was only twenty-five, he became professor of philology at the University of Basel in Switzerland. He went to the front in the Franco-Prussian war as a hospital steward, but on the battle-fields of France he fell a victim to diphtheria and cholera morbus, which left him neurasthenic. To relieve his sufferings he resorted to a variegated assortment of narcotics, and continued to be a devotee of dope to the end of his days. From 1880 to the end—the period of his greatest literary productivity—he was a hypochondriac of the most confirmed type, and wandered up and down Europe taking all the cures, baths and massage treat-

ments that doctors and quacks offered him. In 1889 he became hopelessly insane, and died on the twenty-fifth of August, 1900. "Thus Spake Zarathustra," which was from the standpoint of literary art his masterpiece, was published in instalments from 1883 to 1885. Though he raved with frenetic fury against love, sacrifice and sympathy, his own life and work were only made possible by the love, self-sacrifice and sympathy of his devoted sister, Elisabeth.

To understand Nietzsche it is absolutely essential to bear in mind that during the period of his literary activity he was a hopelessly inefficient, hypochondriac invalid. His fiery spirit rebelled against his own impotency, and thus he became the passionate prophet and panegyrist of strength, efficiency and power. He was the true apostle of the life strenuous; by comparison our amusing President is a mere piker and burlesque imitator.

Nietzsche and his disciples are constantly using the terms "apollonian" and "dionysian." What do they mean by them? With Nietzsche they had a three-fold meaning. The first is the most constant and obvious. Where you or I would say conservative or reactionary, Nietzsche said "apollonian"; where we would say revolutionary or iconoclastic, he said "dionysian." To him not only old Greek life, but all life was a conflict between the forces symbolized by Apollo on the one hand, and Dionysos on the other. While in some passages he seems to regard the ideal condition of affairs to be one in which these two antagonistic groups of forces find themselves in a state of equilibrium, he never hesitates to declare himself a fierce dionysian. In this sense we Socialists must recognize him as a brother revolutionary. But it is a very limited brotherhood; for, while Nietzsche looked upon the making of dionysians or Immoralists as his life work, he always had the utmost contempt for the 'herd' or 'rabble' (by which pet names he meant you and me, dear reader) who, he thought, were utterly incapable of becoming dionysians. "The masses have no right to exist on their own account", he tells us, "their sole excuse for living lies in their usefulness as a sort of superstructure or scaffolding, upon which a more select race of beings may be elevated." How far removed is this from the spirit of the Titan dionysian, WHITMAN, with his imperious,

"I know perfectly well my own egotism,
"I know my omnivorous words, and cannot say any less,

"And would fetch you, whoever you are, flush with myself."

After reading Nietzsche, how comforting it is to hear old WALT roar out,

"By God! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms."

Had Nietzsche ever seen this noble line, he would have at once labelled Whitman a 'Tarantula'.

But 'dionysian' means more than radical or revolutionary. For Dionysos was the God of Life itself as opposed to Apollo the God of Art, or representations of life. From this point of view, the dionysian looks upon the humblest manifestation of real life as of infinitely more importance to living men and women than the noblest work of art. The quotation from Whitman at the head of this essay is a perfect presentation of this dionysian view of the relative importance of Life and Art.

Dionysian has still another meaning, for Dionysos was the Greek Bacchus, the God of wine and joy and sensuous pleasure. From this point of view, the dionysian is the sworn enemy of asceticism and self-denying stifling and starvation of the instincts and appetites. Nietzsche never wearies of repeating that his dionysian or immoralist is one who says "Yea" to Life in all its fullness, including so called evil as well as good. In this sense, Whitman was the King of dionysians; to all life he ever said "Yea":

"I make the poem of evil also—I commemmorate that part also,
"I am myself just as much evil as good—And I say there is in fact no evil,
"Or if there is, I say it is just as important to you, to the earth, or to me, as anything else."

Or again:

"What blurt is this about virtue and about vice?
"Evil propels me, and reform of evil propels me—I stand indifferent,
"My gait is no fault-finder's or rejecter's gait,
"I moisten the roots of all that has grown."

But what is the use of multiplying quotations? His "Children of Adam", from beginning to end, is one triumphal ode in honor of Dionysos, the God of Earthly Joy.

In all three senses the red-blooded Socialist Proletariat seems to me to be dionysian. I would find it difficult to define class-consciousness in terms that would not to a Nietzschean suggest the dionysian spirit. You and I would like to see the Proletariat aware of its own tremendous strength, glorying in it, and resolved to use it to emancipate themselves and humanity; we would like to see them living in the actual world of reality instead of dreaming in the fictitious world of apollonian or bourgeois art; and our highest and ultimate hope is to see them revelling in the joys of the Earthly Paradise, undeterred by any preacher or moralist. Only a dionysian working-class can accomplish the Social Revolution. The rank and file of the Socialist Party to-

day are undoubtedly dionysians; but, unless my eyesight has deceived me, I have surely full oft seen some of our middle-class Leaders, Intellectuals, Parlor Socialists and Christian Socialists ogling Apollo with amorous glances. To those comrades who have of late felt moved to "rebuke sternly" the proletarians who have been insisting on bossing the work of their own emancipation, I would suggest the possibility that the conflict between Intellectualettes and Proletarians that has broken out here and there may be only a new form of the age-long struggle between Apollo and Dionysos, even though some of the apollonian Intellectuals share the dionysian contempt for the rabble of "chumps", "yawpers" and "literary demagogues".

It was Nietzsche's misfortune to preach the Gospel of Dionysos to a bourgeoisie close upon senile decay and moral degeneracy and to live his whole life in utter ignorance of the only class which is in our day capable of breeding dionysians—the Proletariat.

In spite of the similarity between the intense individualism of Max Stirner and the philosophy of Nietzsche, and in spite of Nietzsche's keen consciousness of the relativity of ethics and their dependence upon economic conditions, I am not inclined to agree with Mr. Mencken when he tells us that "Nietzsche probably owed much to Max Stirner and not a little to Karl Marx." I do not believe he consciously drew from either of these sources. Nor am I able to agree with the reviewer in THE NATION (April 2, 1908) who tells us that "even German critics are beginning to recognize that the romantic movement (of which Socialism and Nietzscheanism are the two sociological poles) sprang almost full-grown from Rousseau's teeming head." Our conservative friends appear to me to have fallen into the habit of punishing Rousseau for his resolute refusal to father his own infants of flesh and blood by foisting upon him all the *enfants terribles* of modern thought.

But Nietzsche did consciously borrow the rudiments of his system ready-made from Arthur Schopenhauer, the philosopher of pessimism. From him he took the Will to Live and re-baptized it the Will to Power, which he looked upon as the one great force underlying all human life. To him Intellect or the Reason was secondary, having been brought into being by the Will to Power to effect its own purposes. And in this he was in complete harmony with Darwinian science. Schopenhauer held that this Will to Life produced more painful than pleasurable effects. In his own words, "Pleasure is never as pleasant as we expect it to be and pain is always more painful. The pain in the world always outweighs the pleasure. If you don't believe it, compare the respective feelings of two animals, one of which is eating the other." Schopenhauer held that since the Will to Live was

responsible for this terrible excess of pain, the only road to happiness was to will to kill the Will to Live, that is to stifle and destroy all one's natural appetites and become a sort of ascetic philosophic monk.

Nietzsche accepted all of this philosophy save the ultimate conclusion. He believed that life, as it is, is not worth while; that man, as he is, is fit only for contempt. But he escaped Schopenhauer's terrible conclusions by his audacious, optimistic prophecy of the Superman.*)

To Nietzsche, Man, as he is, is utterly without meaning or significance, but as the forerunner of Beyond-man he becomes of the utmost significance. Listen to his triumphant strains of prophecy:

"*I teach you beyond-man.* Man is a something that shall be surpassed. What have ye done to surpass him?

"All beings hitherto have created something beyond themselves: and are ye going to be the ebb of this great tide and rather revert to the animal than surpass man?

"What with man is the ape? A joke or a sore shame. Man shall be the same for beyond-man, a joke or a sore shame.

"Ye have made your way from worm to man, and much within you is still worm. Once ye were apes, even now man is ape in a higher degree than any ape.

"He who is the wisest among you is but a discord and hybrid of plant and ghost. But do I order you to become ghosts or plants?

"Behold, I teach you beyond-man!

'Beyond-man is the significance of earth. Your will shall say: beyond-man shall be the significance of earth.

"I conjure you, my brethren, *remain faithful to earth* and do not believe those who speak unto you of superterrestrial hopes! Poisoners they are whether they know it or not."

* * * *

"Man is a rope connecting animal and beyond-man,—a rope over a precipice.

Dangerous over, dangerous on-the-way, dangerous looking backward, dangerous shivering and making a stand.

What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not a goal: what can be loved in man is that he is a *transition* and a *destruction.*"

I do not see how any of us can help feeling that Nietzsche, the magnificently assured prophet of BEYOND-MAN, is *our* Comrade, though we cannot but grieve that his ideal included a vast

*) I have here used the term "Superman", because Bernard Shaw has familiarized it to the English-reading public. Alexander Tille, the translator of "Thus Spake Zarathustra", always uses "Beyond-Man", which seems to me the better translation of Nietzsche's thought.

mass of suffering and exploited humanity, a "herd" or "rabble" over which his Beyond-men were to reign in glory and dionysian joy.

Where Nietzsche approaches most nearly to Marx is in his description of the origin of Christian ideals and ethics. Here, though he doubtless knew nothing of the Materialist Conception of History, he accounts for the dominant characteristics of Christianity by the economic condition of the slaves and poverty-stricken wretches who were its first adherents. I wish that space would permit me to quote the fine passage from "A Genealogy of Morals" in which he describes how *"ideals are manufactured* on earth." He shows how the early Christians, being slaves and victims of oppression, could not have the manly virtue of freemen and warriors, and consequently made a virtue of necessity and glorified weakness, humility, submission and non-resistance, not to say cowardice. He depicts them as huddled cowering in a dark cellar where they falsify weakness into a merit, "impotence which requiteth not" into goodness, submission to those whom one hates into obedience "(namely to one whom they say commands this obedience; they call him God)". "Not-to-be-able-to-take-revenge they call not-to-will-revenge, perhaps even forgiveness."

Thus they developed a slave-religion and a slave-ethic. Here we are on solid Marxian ground. Marx too saw just as clearly that Christianity was essentially a slave-religion. But we Marxians, while recognizing this, see that during all the long 1900 years before Science and Capitalism had so multiplied man's productive powers as to make Plenty for All a possibility, a religion and ethic that tended to make slaves contented with their lot and to some slight extent to mollify the harshness and cruelty of the master-class, worked on the whole beneficially to human progress and happiness. But to-day, so far as the slave-ethic of Christianity has any influence on the working-class to make them contented with their slavery and keep them from rebelling under the Red Flag, that influence is wholly deadly and damnable. *To-day the World's workers need not Jesus, but Dionysos.*

But Nietzsche saw that the self-denial, self-sacrifice, and sympathy for the weak and suffering inculcated by Christianity were fatal to the healthy Will to Power he wished to inspire in the progenitors of his Supermen—his pet "immoralists" whom he never wearied of exhorting to be "brave, unconcerned, scornful, violent,—thus wisdom would have us to be: she is a woman and ever loveth the warrior only." His hatred for sympathy, as a symptom of weakness, led him to iterate and re-iterate his great commandment: "BE HARD!" In his eyes the influence of Christianity was wholly pernicious from the start, and his hatred for Christianity grew upon him until in the end it would scarcely be

going too far to say, it was an insane obsession. In 1872 when he published his first book, "The Birth of Tragedy", the great conflict that he depicted was between Apollo and Dionysos. But as his insanity developed in the latter eighties he seemed more and more to replace Apollo with Christ as the great antagonist of Dionysos; and by 1888 when he wrote *Der Anti-Christ*, he had reached a condition of mind where the mere thought or mention of Christianity produced the same effect upon him that a red flag has upon a bull or a capitalist police officer, or that an attempt to hold a meeting of the unemployed has upon Inspector Schmittberger of the New York police force, or that the sight of an educated man of wealth busying himself with Socialist propaganda has upon Police Commissioner Bingham of New York, or that the sight of an inoffensive, consumptive foreign lad attempting to deliver a letter has upon Chief Shippy of Chicago. Nietzsche was not the last victim of insane hysteria.

The Superman is the crowning glory of Nietzsche, the prophet; but the Superman is likewise the fatal weakness of Nietzscheism as a philosophy. Supernatural religion has never recovered from the blow that Feuerbach dealt it when he showed that all the gods of all men, including Jehovah and the Christian God, were simply reflections and creations of the human mind. Nietzsche had digested this wisdom of Feuerbach's, for he puts into Zarathustra's mouth these words: "Alas! brethren, that God whom I created was man's work and man's madness, like all Gods!" But Nietzsche's Superman was just as much a subjective abstraction, a reflection and creation of man's mind as was the Triune God of Christian theology. And yet Nietzsche made of this subjective abstraction, without objective reality, about which there could in the nature of things be no certain knowledge, of which no two Nietzscheans would give the same description, the very centre and fundament of his system. Its relation to the Superman was the sole criterion by which any and everything was to be judged. And this criterion was vague, uncertain, indefinite, and as it passed from one Nietzschean to another changed color as readily as a chameleon. Compare Nietzsche's Beyond-man with Bernard Shaw's Superman: the former was a fierce and violent great blond beast, the inverted reflection of the hypochondriac invalid, Nietzsche; the latter was a sort of glorified Fabian Socialist Lecturer with a dionysian contempt for orthodox Marxism. The latter would run screaming with fright, should he ever chance to meet the former.

Nietzsche had in "Human, All-Too-Human", in "A Genealogy of Morals" and in "Beyond Good and Evil", abundantly proved the relative and transitory character of all former ethical codes and standards. It was in this field that he had done his most effective iconoclastic work; he had tried to show that

conscience as a pain-giving agency was an effect of the perishing doctrine of Free Will, and that the healthy immoralist of the near future would be able to digest his own conduct of whatever sort without any conscience pains, just as the healthy man to-day digests his dinner without any stomach pains. Seeing as he did the relativity and consequent falsity of all those 'values' by which men in the past had judged of life and conduct, he had set himself the task, as the crowning of his life-work, of revaluing or transvaluing all values. Insanity overtook him before he had begun this, which he meant to be the crown and apex of his philosophy. But no Nietzschean need regret that this work was never done, as the criterion he proposed to use in revaluing all values was their relation to that last of all gods, that ever-varying phantasm and chimera, the Superman. Insanity came in time to save him from this *reductio ad absurdum.*

Does some comrade ask: do you advise us to read Nietzsche? By all means read HUMAN-ALL-TOO-HUMAN. It was Nietzsche's earliest attempt to investigate scientifically human conduct and ethics, and the conclusions he reached are for the most part in perfect accord with those of most Marxian writers on ethics. In fact the argument on pages 130-135 of HUMAN-ALL-TOO-HUMAN is identical with that on pages 65-67 of my own SOCIALISM: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE; although at the time I wrote those pages I had never read a line of NIETZSCHE. In HUMAN-ALL-TOO-HUMAN "Nietzsche challenged", Mr. Mencken tells us, "the whole of current morality. He showed that moral ideas were not divine, but human, and that, like all things human, they were subject to change. He showed that good and evil were but relative terms, and that it was impossible to say, finally and absolutely, that a certain action was right, another wrong. He applied the acid of critical analysis to a hundred and one specific ideas, and his general conclusion, to put it briefly, was that no human being had a right, in any way or form, to judge or direct the actions of any other human being." This is a very fair and intelligent summary of the teaching of Nietzsche in this book, but Mr. Mencken adds in a footnote a qualification of especial importance to Socialists. "It must be remembered," he tells us, "in considering all of Nietzsche's writings, that when he spoke of a human being, he meant a being of the higher sort—*i. e.* one capable of clear reasoning. He regarded the drudge class, which is obviously unable to think for itself, as unworthy of consideration. Its highest mission, he believed, was to serve and obey the master class. But he held that there should be no artificial barriers to the rise of an individual born to the drudge class who showed an accidental capacity for independent reasoning."

If reading this little volume gives you an appetite for more Nietzsche, and the Panic has provided you with the blessing or

curse of plenty of leisure, and you want to enjoy a series of strong mental stimuli, you cannot do better than to read *"Thus Spake Zarathustra"*. The stimuli will come from the great thoughts of a weak man, for no really strong man ever shrieked as wildly and incessantly as Nietzsche did. But when his frenetic fury has wearied you, as it surely will, you will unfailingly find calm and sanity, strength and refreshment in the ever-welcome wisdom of Walt Whitman and Joseph Dietzgen.

ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE.

New Canaan, Conn., April 5, 1908.

The Negation of Form.

ITH THE DEVELOPMENT and culmination of the capitalist system as an economic world process, there have appeared two distinct symptoms of mental degeneracy in the arts. The first and strangest of these symptoms, manifested in certain cults of painting, is a feebleness of the plastic instinct, an inability to discern form. This symptom is most plainly shown by the conventional representation of objects in a vague, indistinct manner; by a failure to clarify the outlines and planes of objects; and by a tendency to fall into negations of proportions and unbalanced masses, resulting in right and acute angles and the entire absence of rhythm of line.

The second symptom of degeneracy is evidenced in violent contrasts, harsh lines and discordant colors, vulgarizations of both color and form. The contrasts are exactly the reverse of those of the first type, but they involve the same negative forms and proportions — unbalanced masses and absence of harmonious lines. Both types are equally lacking in equilibrium of design.

These two manifestations, wherever found, are unmistakable signs of mental neurosis, a breaking down of the power to realize clearly defined mental concepts.

The salient features of the first symptom are unique and unprecedented in the history of the arts. The scope of this paper prevents any extensive collection of data of this essentially nineteenth and twentieth century type of degeneracy, but some of its principal features may be briefly pointed out.

The gradual development of the will toward the negation of form, or enfeebling of the plastic instinct in the arts, had its beginnings in the work of Manet. This type of decadence has steadily advanced from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the present time. This advance is evidenced in the decided trend, in Europe and America, toward landscape, especially those forms of landscape known as nocturnes, tone effects and impressionism. The Whistler vogue, so popular in the last dozen years, is a significant feature of the process toward a weakening of the sense of form. Whistler's own work in the later years of his life presents many evidences of

an inability to discern form, some of it indicating a complete lapse of the plastic instinct.

A distinctive characteristic of these neurotic cults in art is the tendency to eliminate all standards of technical discipline. This in itself attracts the inept, the mentally deficient, and the charlatans who, being incapable of the work demanded of a constructive intellect in the acquirement of technical discipline, follow the line of least resistance. The exaggerated ego, seeking expression without the necessary mental equipment for technical training, turns to the Whistler cult, or to some other form of so-called impressionism, and finds temporary satisfaction. But this fact applies not only to the art students and artists who are attracted to these neurotic tendencies in art; these cults could not exist if they were not supported and applauded by a considerable class of persons who are attracted by something in the work which strikes a responsive chord in their mentality. Of course, a certain percentage of this class follows merely to be in the fashion. Still, a large residue really sympathizes with the decadent tendencies in art. The rational conclusion in regard to this class of persons is that, as regards a sense of form, they are as degenerate as the products of the pictures,

The extent of the Whistler vogue in painting is one of the best proofs of the response of a degenerate public to the claims of this neurotic cult in art. Quite a considerable literature has sprung up around Whistler's work and personality. The reason is not far to seek. Whistler, in spite of his pose to the contrary, embodied in his personality the spirit of the advertiser—a combination of bluff or the arbitrary assumption of a position of authority without a basis of real ability or power, and of dishonest pretence that art can exist without either form or design. In short, he represents the negation of form and the discrediting of technical training.

It is interesting to observe that previous to fifty years ago the cult of vagueness had never appeared in the arts. One can search the galleries of Europe without finding a vestige of it from an earlier time.. Nations have became degenerate, and their art has become extinct, but at no stage of their degeneracy did they lapse into a semi-stupor and record that stupor in their art. It is evident, therefore, that the origin of this unique form of neurosis must logically be rooted in conditions never existing before, and which are especially detrimental to evolution. This being true, it follows that capitalism has created an environment totally unlike any that has heretofore appeared on this planet, and one entirely destructive to creative mental processes.

The cult of vagueness, then, is essentially a product of

capitalist environment. It is a deeper form of negation than its opposite of violent contrasts. One can believe that the creator of the most strident poster or the painter of the vulgarest portrait might be redeemed, but the evidence of a failing sense of form gives the impression of a consciousness sinking into the insane, and is considered by alienists as one of the most fatal and hopeless symptoms of insanity.

A distinction must be made between the work of a degenerate, with its lack of clearly defined form, and the archaic art of primitive races, with its partly developed form. The first may be likened to a man whose body, atrophied and bloodless, is passing to decay; the other to a youth whose figure, though undeveloped, gives promise of future perfection.

The swollen, dropsical forms of degeneracy have reached their most extreme manifestation in the present cult of the advertising poster, and in its reflection in the paintings seen at the exhibitions. A precedent to this is to be found in the basest work of the Italian renaissance and it reflected influence in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the decadent periods of Greek art, one can also detect the same lack of articulation and the tendency to dropsical forms.

The neurotic cult of vagueness, however, having no precedent in past art epochs, and being distinctively the product of capitalist environment, presents an interesting field of study to the sociologist and alienist. It has its counterpart in poetry, in literature, the drama and politics. In all these departments of mental activity at the present time, one can trace the will toward the negation of form. Never before were there so many political parties. Like in painting, there are two tendencies—the swollen, flamboyant lying and braggadocio of the two dominant parties, blotting out the true forms of economic justice, raising sham issues and obscuring the outlines of constructive government. Then there are the vague, anaemic political cults of Prohibition, Single Tax, Municipal Ownership, "Good Government," and the like. In former revolutionary epochs, as at the present time, there appeared compromisers, men of half measures who could not discern clear cut issues nor see beyond temporary makeshifts. But their influence was ephemeral. In the time of Cromwell such men were soon eliminated. In the French and American Revolutions they were quickly swept aside. In the War of the Rebellion the issue was soon drawn, clear cut and visible to all. But to-day there is much vagueness and confusion.

The neurotic cult of vagueness in politics is symbolized chiefly by Bryan; its opposite of the violent contrasts and flamboyant vulgarity, by Roosevelt and Hearst; while as

teachers of economics and religion we have W. H. Mallock and Bishop Potter. All are equally incapable of clear discernment of economic forms. One may even grant the sincerity and honesty of purpose of these men, which makes the situation only the more sinister. Before the economic Sphinx, with its riddle of the labor question, the two neurotic cults in politics pass in endless discord, one sinking in atrophy and inaction, going down in a fog of altruistic platitudes; the other flamboyant and delirious, keeping time to the thwacking of big sticks and blaring sensational headlines.

Amid all this din and stupor, there are two classes who are definite in their aims—the Capitalists and the Socialists. The capitalist class—like its prototype among the fishes of the elemental drift, with only a stomach and an instinct for prey—feels nothing but the devouring instinct, which for the capitalist is the supreme life and motive power of the universe. In eliminating every other possible motive or impulse to action, the capitalist thereby lays the foundation for the wide spread sentiment of pessimistic negation which, issuing from capitalism as a world movement, is enveloping the races of man.

The Socialist, on the other hand, with a clear plastic instinct or sense of form, as relates to economics, perceives clearly the aim and ultimate catastrophe of the ideals of capitalism.. He sees the irrepressible conflict of two cosmic forces in which there can be no compromise until one or the other is destroyed. Consequently, with his clearness of vision, the true Socialist will understand that in viewing the conflict of these forces every manifestation, either material or esthetic, must have a direct connection with this cosmic struggle. But even the Socialists, while having a clear perception of the economic conflict and being under no delusions as to the inevitable outcome, are still to some extent enveloped in the vast hypnotic atmosphere of negation thrown out by capitalism, from which issue the neurotic cults in art.

The Socialist sets himself squarely against all forms of adulteration in economics—of food, clothing and the material utilities of life—and in a large measure guards himself against the hypnotic trickery of cheats and humbugs produced by capitalism for the purpose of imposing their adulterations upon him. But in the arts he is less successful. The forms of hypnotism which make for the corruption of esthetics are more subtle. Even the antagonisms between these neurotic cults are misleading. For example, the Socialist observes the conflict between the old established Academies, with their forms of dry-rot neurosis, and the manifestations of various phenomena as **l'art nouveau,** or the German Secession, Salon

des Independents, and so on, which from their very strangeness arouse the opposition of the older cults. The Socialist, with the instinct of opposition to old forms, true to his role of revolutionist, and, with few exceptions, being without esthetic culture, supports the newer cult. He unconsciously inherits from capitalist environments a sub-conscious negation of beauty, and, in obedience to that instinct, upholds some of the most deadly and pernicious forms of negation cast out by the evil mentality of capitalism.

Thus, for example, Gorky — who has a clear cut plastic instinct in the execution of his literary work, both in poetry and prose — applauded the abominations of the German Secession at Munich, clearly proving that while he is free from the hypnotic trance of negation in literature, his plastic instinct as regards painting is still beclouded. Bernard Shaw, too, allines himself with the degenerates by eulogizing the later work of Rodin. Maeterlinck, also, has raised his voice in praise of works of esthetic neurosis.

Suppose Bernard Shaw or Gorky were to put forth a play so wanting in the simplest elements of construction and form as may be found in the paintings of the Munich Secession, or the average work of an American art exhibition. Such a play would fall to pieces from its lack of cohesion; it would be incoherent and impossible. Yet both these men applaud paintings and sculpture the defects of which, if incorporated into their own work, would at once eliminate their dramas and literary productions from the plane of art.

The revolutionary aspect of the neurotic cults in art is false and misleading. These cults are purely the sub-conscious negation of beauty, induced by an approach to the absolute materialism of capitalist economics. In resisting this hypnotic power of negation, the effects of environment must be overcome. As before noted, the environments imposed by capitalism are the most destructive to esthetics that ever existed. The repudiation of the ideal of justice by capitalism is brought home to the working class by their suffering. The existing conditions carry with them their own indictment so far as relates to the utilities of life. In short, the negation of the ethical ideal develops self-evident proofs of its falsity which are easily detected. The material environments as relating to esthetics also manifest proofs of their being equally false to the esthetic ideal. But these proofs are impossible of discernment to minds wherein the esthetic instinct has been deadened. Conseqeuntly, there are many well-meaning Socialists who, helpless before the problem herein presented, alline themselves as reactionaries when it comes to the question of art. Others believe, as did the fanatics of the

French Revolution, that painting and sculpture are only diversions of the idle class, and therefore wholly useless. This belief, allied to a total elimination from the minds of such people of the element of imagination, places the person so affected in the position of depending wholly upon the mere animal functions for the ideals of existence—precisely the position occupied by the present trading class.

JOHN H. FRY.

Capitalistic Control of Education.

UNDREDS OF THOUSANDS of pages have been written to record and explain the changes that have taken place since the revival of learning, and especially since the introduction of modern economic methods. As a result of this movement, religious foundations, with their buildings, libraries, teachers and preachers, are becoming less and less available, and support of educational institutions must be obtained from other sources. Elementary education, often facetiously called the "three R's", is now largely dependent on state aid, but higher education, whether in the "humanities" of the old university course or in the practical fields of science and technology, has depended principally upon private endowment. In older communities it has been possible now and then to divert part of an ecclesiastic foundation to secular education, but this change is usually associated with some change in religious doctrine. Hume says that in the year 1344 thousands of students attended the University of Oxford, but that they studied little else than very bad Latin and still worse logic. This is too severe a criticism, but it cannot be doubted that the educational work of that period would be almost uncomparable with the course now given, for Oxford, although still known as the "home of lost causes," has an extensive and comprehensive curriculum of modern type. Some of this change has been caused by the change of church discipline that England underwent in the 16th and 17th centuries. When the lord of the manor

> ".....came in his might.
> With King Henry's right
> To turn church lands to lay,"

many ecclesiastic endowments were made available for secular uses.

In a new country, such as the United States, which has grown up under the disintegrating theology of Protestantism, and with a government possessing no official relation to dogma or ceremonial, the establishment of schools and colleges will be chiefly secular. A few of the powerful cults will be able to maintain education under their own auspices,

as is done by Roman Catholics and, to a very limited extent, by Jews, but state appropriations and private bequests will form the bulk of the sources for carrying on education.

State appropriations for educational purposes will not extend rapidly. The United States being a federated republic, in which domestic affairs are delegated to the states, and by them, more or less, to the cities, appropriations for schools must be drawn from funds raised from the tax-levy; indirect means of raising revenue, such as customs and the issue of fiat money (whether paper or metal) are not available to the states. The history of the free-school movement is one of continual struggle; in Pennsylvania it gave rise to bitter political feeling.

The cost of equipment for all forms of higher education has increased enormously in the last quarter-century. This is not due to increase in the cost of individual pieces of apparatus. In fact, in many lines the price has fallen. It is the much greater extent of equipment that has made the trouble. The department of electrical engineering, for instance, is a growth of very recent times. In many departments instruments of precision are required, and whereas in former times it was customary to show the students the experiments, it is now necessary that each student should be equipped with apparatus for the work. In some institutions it is recognized that each student costs more than he pays, so that the larger the class the greater the burden.

Even the operation of the modern dormitory, with its central heating and lighting plant and its elaborate indoor plumbing, is much more costly than the old-fashioned college residence.

Under these conditions, the call for endowments has been heard all over the land and has been answered with liberality. In ancient times, men and women gave money to save their souls. The gift might be specific—so many masses for so much money, or indirect, by endowment of a church, or educational work under church auspices. Altho the intensity of faith has diminished considerably in most Christian countries, yet the fear of the future life is still an important factor in human affairs, and large endowments are constantly going into the hands of the dominant religions.

Another motive, however, has been developed, and it seems to be already of much greater force than the older one. It presents two phases. The increasing economic stress has produced a widespread protest against the existing economic system. An active and wide-spread propaganda against the competitive system is being waged in all Christian countries.

The thoughts of the exploiting class are turned away from the dangers to which the mass of mankind may be exposed in the future life, to the dangers to which the exploiters may be exposed in the present. One of the principal functions of religion is to give comfort, and one phase of this function is to teach the downtrodden to bear their burdens. Even the southern slaves, who were denied opportunity to learn to read or to keep their families together, were permitted to have a sort of religion. The capitalist class finds Christianity, in its present form, a means of preventing the expression of discontent. "Fear God; Honor the King" are the twin maxims of despotism. It is a common assertion in scientific and capitalistic circles that religion is necessary to maintain order and obedience among the masses of mankind. For this reason we find a general support of church systems among the well-to-do. To many, especially to the men, the duty is irksome, and is discharged to the minimum extent. It is the fashion for the masculine portion of the household to rely largely upon the feminine for routine religious work.

"Nymph: in thy orisons be all my sins remembered."

Pecuniary support comes, as a rule, from the men, and money has always been very efficient in a vicarious function.

In this connection it will be interesting to quote a paragraph from Ure's "Philosophy of Manufacturers," a work written over fifty years ago, and representing very clearly the spirit which has antagonized all efforts for freeing the proletariat from its bonds. The extract is from a chapter on religious training in its relation to the working people.

"It is, therefore, excessively the interest of every mill-owner to organize his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical, for otherwise he will never command the steady hands, the watchful eyes and prompt co-operation essential to excellence of product. Improvident work-people are apt to be reckless, and dissolute ones diseased; thus both are ill-qualified to discharge the delicate labors of automatic industry, which is susceptible of many grades of imperfection without becoming so obviously defective as to render the work liable to a fine. There is, in fact, no case to which the Gospel truth "Godliness is great gain" is more applicable than in the administration of an extensive factory."

This almost seems to be irony, but it is an artless and sincere expression by an English scientist of considerable eminence in his day. It is not often we see so frankly expressed the view that under the modern capitalistic system it is possible to serve both God and Mammon, but the fact is now well known. It, however, now usually takes the im-

proved form of organizing a corporation in which some members serve God and others Mammon; the results are pooled and divided, as in the case of the undertaker who married the midwife and thus made profit out of humanity coming and going.

The second phase of the new motive is to use the endowment to secure the teaching of science in accordance with the interest of the giver. This may, and does at times, extend to every department of science, but some of these are so distantly connected with economic or religious questions as to excite little interest from such points of view. Biology and geology are, however, liable to develop states of mind antagonistic to religious faith; political economy and sociology are liable to develop states of mind antagonistic to the present economic system; and therefore the latter studies are the object of special anxiety on the part of the exploiting class. Hence the very abundant diversion of funds to the establishment of educational institutions for the purpose of teaching the principles of capitalistic political economy. We have abundant instances of this in the United States. One example is to be found in Philadelphia. The Wharton School of Finance and Economy was founded by Joseph Wharton, and attached to the University of Pennsylvania. The original endowment was about $100,000. The donor had acquired a considerable part of his fortune in the manufacture of metallic nickel under a protective duty. He was and is a profound believer in a protective tariff, and although the school is nominally intended to teach the sciences of economics and finance, yet he has bound its teachers for all time to specific doctrines, not passively but actively, as is shown by the following extracts from the letter accompanying the offer of funds for the endowment. After enumerating the advantages and scope of a school of this type, the founder gives certain general principles that should be followed in its teachings, comparable to articles in a creed. Among these are (quoting the exact language):—

"The immorality and practical inexpediency of seeking to acquire wealth by winning it from another, rather than by earning it by some sort of service to one's fellow men."

"The necessity for each nation to care for its own, and to maintain by all suitable means its industrial and financial independence; no apologetic or merely defensive style of instruction must be tolerated on this point, but the right and duty of national self-protection must be firmly asserted and demonstrated."

"The necessity, for modern industry, of organizing under

single leaders or employers great amounts of capital and great numbers of laborers and maintaining discipline among the latter; the proper division of the fruits of organized labor among capitalist, leader and workman."

The last paragraph gives, at least, a frank acknowledgment of the effect of the modern system of industry in effacing the real opportunities of the workingman, and also that the fruits of labor are not shared by labor alone, but capitalist and leader are bidden to the division.

Mr. Wharton also suggests special departments of instruction and the character of the instruction to be given. One sees in his provisions little of the "freedom of teaching" which is the pride of the German universities. For instance—he advises the appointment of "one professor or instructor upon Money and Currency to teach the meaning and functions of money and currency, showing particularly the necessity of uniformity and integrity of the coin unit upon which the money system of the nation is based; how an essential attribute of money is that it should be hard to get."

All through the document the intention of the donor to establish a school to inculcate what he considered "orthodox economics" is plainly seen. At any time, a teacher who should break through these bonds would be liable to be disciplined, and, if recalcitrant, discharged. The thought of the effect of antagonism to the founder's views brings to my mind a story.

In the period immediately following the civil war, the newly liberated negroes were the objects of much exploitation, religious, social and economic, being a people that had long been withheld from contact with anything intellectual. Among these new influences were active religious revivals. In one place where "protracted" meetings were held nearly every night, with many conversions, a plantation owner said to one of his hands, formerly a slave, "Sambo, I think it would be a good time now for you to say something about the sin of chicken stealing." "Massa," said the darkey, "I would be glad to do it. I wish I could, but it would sure throw a coldness over the meeting."

The instances of the removal of the professors from the faculties of Chicago and Leland Stanford Junior universities, the enforced resignation of the president of Brown university in 1896 because he advocated the Bryan silver platform, are a few instances among many that might be cited showing that in proportion as an educational institution is looking to capitalists for funds, it must limit its teaching either to theories

that lead to no possible consequences or to theories that make for the safety of the rights and privileges of capital.

So complete is the absorption of the general mental condition into the capitalistic philosophy that many persons mistake their slavery for freedom. An interesting object lesson of the danger of singing

"to slaves the song of freemen"

is found in an incident recently (March, 1908) occurring in Philadelphia. The principal of the High School for Boys, Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, somewhat known for his active services in the capitalistic propaganda through his books and public lectures, was reported to have declared himself as opposed to local option, and as even favoring the sale of beer at certain hours on Sundays. The speech was made to the senior class of the School and was merely an incident during an instruction hour. The remarks got into the newspapers and objection was made immediately to his utterances. Several ministerial associations condemned him and the local option people attacked him with virulence. A flood of newspaper correspondence followed, in which several subjects of controversy appeared, such as the correctness of his views, the appropriateness of the utterances and the extent to which the "freedom of teaching" might be claimed by the teacher. The Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, a prominent Episcopalian minister, insisted that a teacher in a public school must teach as parents desire. Dr. Thompson was finally forced to make a formal statement and it is in this that the absurdity of his claim to be an untrammeled teacher appears. He states that he gives instruction in political economy and many questions are asked by his pupils. He asks if he should be restricted from "condemning free trade, which will reduce our workmen to the level of Europe, or socialism, which is intended to destroy free industry." The real issue is, of course, whether he would allow any other teacher in the school to antagonize this teaching. From what is known of his methods, it is clear he would not permit such action. Thus it is seen that what he claims as freedom of teaching is only capitalistic control of teaching.

This incident is purely local; the persons of the drama are scarcely known outside of Philadelphia, and the topic which gave rise to the dispute may be merely of passing interest, but with changes of name and place, and with a basis of any one of many other themes, the story will find counterparts in almost every other educational institution in the country, and indeed in the world. The corrupting influence of the existing economic system extends far beyond the walls

of schools. A very prominent agent in molding and controlling public opinion, especially in the field of higher education, is the scientific journal. This is almost wholly under capitalistic control, in consequence of the support that is derived through advertising. No serious opposition will be presented by a technical journal to the powerful interests that are represented in its advertising pages. A striking instance of this pliant mood is the recent issue of "The Chemical Engineer."

Great damage has been done of late years by smelter gases in some of the mining districts of the west. It does not need to be stated here that the operators of these smelters were deaf to any ordinary appeals for remedial measures presented by farmers, whose lands were being polluted by the materials emitted. The mine-owners of the far west are known for their arbitrary use of every power that the existing system has put into their hands. Bad as the administration of the eastern mines is, it is fairness compared to the methods of the western mine-operators. The farmers combined and entered suit. They have, after about two years' argument before a master in equity, obtained what would be described in the language of the vaudeville stage as "a lemon." They are awarded small damages and told that although there may be some objectionable ingredients in the emitted gases, yet to interfere with the smelters would be to injure a most important industry. Incidentally, we learn that the profits of these operations are so great that the companies are able to compensate for any damage that might be done. The point is, however, the submissive tone in which the "Chemical Engineer" regards the questions of injury to health and comfort.

These questions of pollution of air and streams by manufacturing and mining wastes are among the most important and difficult in modern sanitation. Ordinary sewage is in many cases more offensive to the senses and often more dangerous than some of the technical wastes, but the former can be easily disposed of by natural methods; the latter often render inoperative the processes of purification. In almost every case a manufacturer or miner throws out the waste in the most convenient and economical way and cares nothing for the effect upon others. Agitation against such practices is, according to this journal, merely a sort of hysteria. Listen to the oracle:

"The question of the destruction of crops by the fumes and dust given off by chemical and metallurgical plants and the pollution of streams by the effluents and waste liquors from pulp mills, dyehouses, syrup factories and the like is one which requires very delicate handling to work wrong to no one. A great deal of maudlin sentiment has been directed

against the destruction of a few fish by wood pulp mills, and, while the fish are no doubt less harmful and more useful than some of the newspapers which are printed on the product of these same mills, still the printing press has undoubtedly been the power behind both mental and material advancement, and in most localities where pulp mills are working it is only a question of time before the fish go anyway, sulphite or no sulphite."

Note the capitalistic shibboleth as to the "power of the press" and the pious comfort that the disappearance of the fish is "only a question of time" anyway. The wholesale and ruthless pollution of streams by the waste from sulphite pulp, one of the most offensive and destructive of manufacturing wastes, has naturally occasioned much condemnation, but this, according to the journal, is merely "maudlin sentiment."

The owners and editors of these scientific journals are in close touch with the managers and teachers in our institutions of higher learning; the intercommunication is sufficiently complete to make sure that the printed page will not disturb the orthodox views on economics that have been set forth in the lecture halls.

The principle of "enlightened self-interest" from which so much was expected in the early days of modern capitalistic development, has failed to secure any substantial reform; the hope of satisfactory laws from legislatures and courts controlled by the interests they are expected to reform is vain. Nothing but an entire change of method will accomplish the liberation of humanity from the thraldom of the Frankenstein monster which modern progress has called up. Small corrections will not aid. As Hamlet said to the players, when they said that they had indifferently reformed certain mannerisms: "O, reform it altogether."

HENRY LEFFMAN.

Tubal-Cain.

And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-Cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.—**Genesis, iv, 22.**

Of living Christian works, none is so perfect as the Campanile of Giotto. . . . The series of bas-reliefs which stud the base of this tower must be held certainly the chief in Europe. . . . Tubal-Cain, thought the old Florentines, invented harmony. Not Jabal, as you would expect. Jabal is the inventor of musical instruments. . . . They, the best smiths in the world, knew the differences in tones of hammer-strokes on anvil. . . . As sculptured by Giotto, Tubal-Cain's face is the best sermon on the dignity of labor yet spoken by thoughtful man. Liberal Parliaments and fraternal Reformers have nothing to say more.—**John Ruskin: "Mornings in Florence."**

I.

Reading Ruskin, and amused
By his critical abhorrence
Of the modern; yet enthused
By his word-enthralling power,
I was borne in spirit hence
To the heart of sunny Florence,
Where I gazed in reverence
On Giotto's gleaming tower,—
On its chiselled gems,—of old Italian
art the fairest flower.

II.

Many centuries have flown,
Many epochs, many ages,
Since this story-book in stone
Left its illustrator's hand;
Yet the elemental waste
Scarce has dimmed its marble pages;
They are legible and chaste,
They are marvelously grand
As their theme,—the scripture-sequence
by the shepherd-sculptor planned.

III.

Long and lovingly he wrought;
Gave his toil, his recreation,
Gave his reverential thought,
Gave his genius,—his all!
And, defying age and race,
His concept of Man's Creation
Had no credence and no place
For the fable of Man's Fall:
Man, thought he, was called to conquer,—
and would answer to the call.

IV.

Hence he shows, in Eden's toil,
Not a curse, but sweet enjoyment;
Adam hews the primal soil,
Eve the simple vesture spins.
Then their strong descendants come;
Each adopts his own employment—
Crude their ways, and cumbersome,—
Yet the conquest thus **begins.**
Man takes up the gage of Nature, labors,
struggles, plans,—and **wins!**

V.

Jabal from his shaggy tent
Guards his flocks serenely grazing;
Jubal on his instrument
Sounds a long, melodious blast;
Tubal-Cain intently bends
O'er his anvil, shaping, brazing;—
Thus Giotto's art amends
All traditions of the past.
"From this triune sprang all progress!"
claims the bold iconoclast.

VI.

Hence nor saints nor prophets are
Pictured in his allegory.
Knowledge makes her avatar
In habiliments profane.
All of science, craft, and art,
All of Wisdom's pride and glory

From this nomad trio start—
  From their **human** brawn and brain;
Thus Giotto; and his chief artificer is
    Tubal-Cain.

VII.

(We, of later days, who all
  Take for granted Darwin's thesis,
Or accept "Das Kapital"
  As our newer testament,—
Let us, pray, forbear to smile
  At Giotto's exegesis;
True, it does not reconcile
  With our simious descent,
But it illustrates superbly something—
    nobler—Man's **As**-cent!)

VIII.

Meagre store of bookish lore
  Or of worldly erudition
Had this artisan of yore;
  Yet his poet-soul divined
That the true millennium—
  Golden aim of Labor's mission—
Must inevitably come
To beatify and bind,
In a world-democracy, a liberated human-
    kind.

IX.

Labor!—Men have found in thee
  Inspiration omnipresent.
Source of poet's epopee,
  Statesman's theme and Freedom's hymn—
Earth's elect have called thee blest!
  Yet, because this artist-peasant
Understood and loved thee best,
  Lo, 'twas granted unto him
To erect, in Tubal-Cain, thy sempiternal
    paradigm!

X.

Labor!—They who praise thee most
  Oft are they who most despise thee.

Many a shrine of Mammon's host
  Thine ideal form adorns.
Aye, 'tis Mammon that betrays;
  That exalts—and crucifies thee;
That is loudest in thy praise;
  That denies thee as it fawns;—
Hails thee Lord of All,—and crowns
    thee with a coronal of thorns!

XI.

Kings and keepers of the bread!—
  Crowned by might of knout and sabre,
Think ye Liberty is dead
  That ye occupy her throne?
Nay, the thing ye spit upon—
  Labor—mocked and martyrd Labor!—
This shall be her champion—
  Unto **this** ye shall atone
When your swinish reign is ended and
    your temples overthrown!

XII.

For the "dignity" ye sing
  Shall be awfully asserted,
It shall overthrow and bring
  Your iniquities to naught.
Aye, your bloody reign shall cease,
  And your weapons be converted
Into implements of peace . . . .
  This was the embodied thought
That Giotto, in his Tubal-Cain, so elo-
    quently taught.

XIII.

Though abroad I may not fare,
  In my garret I can steal a
Vision of that image rare,
  Thanks to Ruskin's royal prose.
Tubal's smithy I can trace
  On the storied Campanilé,
Read the sermon in his face,
  Note his proud, puissant pose,
Hear the harmonies resurgent of his
    ringing hammer-blows.

XIV.

Oh, I am enamoured of
  The old Florentine tradition
That the art I mostly love
  At the grimy forge began.
'Tis in thee, primeval smith,—
  First mechanic, first musician—
Not in visionary myth
  Of Apollo, Orpheus, Pan—
'Tis in *thee* the god of music
  Lives, O primal Working Man!

XV.

For thy lyrics lilt and lurk,
  And thine halleluiah surges
In the souls of men whose work
  Is a joy forever green;
And thy melodies divine
  Sink to sympathetic dirges
Where thy children fret and pine
  In the sweating-hells obscene;
And thy psalm of triumph thunders
    from the operose Machine

XVI.

Aye, a triumph-song it is!—
  Chant it, comrades! It has taken
All the crowded centuries
  To perfect its consonance!
Oh, the glory of its theme! . . . .
  "Workers of the world, awaken!
Ye are paramount, supreme!
  Smash your shackles, and advance
To the fruitage of your labor,—to your
    full inheritance!"

TOM SELBY.

Socialism and Religion.

N THE ESSAY called "Socialism and Mysticism" in the June number of the Review some things seem to the present writer entirely just and true. The relativity and "changeability of all moral conceptions in space and time" may be accepted freely. The fact that economic situations have moulded all institutions including institutional or organized Christianity need not be disputed. And certainly it should be gladly conceded that for an intelligent socialism or indeed for any intelligent man there should be no "taboo", and that honest and fearless criticism of the churches and of organized Christianity can do no real and permanent injury to truth.

Space will not permit any elaborate apologetic for modern forms of Christianity, such as the author thinks can be made. All he hopes to do is to point out that it is a possibly disastrous diversion of the energy of Socialism to spend it on attacking religion, when so far a sit is a force, it can be harnessed to social advance, and tnat the real service a critic of the existing forms of religion may render is the showing up of the inconsistent character of temporary expressions with the professions these religions make.

The vast mass of mankind is at present, at least, "incurably religious". If before the world becomes socialized it must be dereligionized we may well despair. Religion, however it came into being, is evidently as old the oldest remains of buried humanity. It has functioned with tremendous power ever since. It is all pervading, and under a thousand forms has quickened every activity and impulse of man, good and bad, for the thousands upon thousands of years of man's progress. So it shows slight acquaintance with the literature of modern study of comparative religion to define it as "a theory of the universe at large, a cosmogony, and on the other hand, a system of conduct in every day life—ethics." From the works of Wundt, Höffding and even Herbert Spencer and Fiske, one may easily cull the evidence that religion cannot be confined either to a cosmogony or to an ethics. Religion has linked itself with all manner of cosmogonies, and given rise to a great many systems of ethics, but it cannot be completely defined in terms of cosmogony, and has indeed existed without any cosmogony (Confucianism), and

has even lasted when ethics had long outstripped her life (Roman paganism and philosophic ethics).

Nor is it scientific to ascribe religion and theocracy to the invention of a priest-caste. Religion produces often, though not always, priest-castes, but no modern historian of religions would now maintain that a priest-caste produced religion. And to assert that even the corrupt priest-castes have "produced nothing useful to the community," in the face of Egyptian history is to weaken greatly the appeal from priestly tyranny to real freedom of thought by careless overstatement. A really informed Marxian historian would readily admit on the basis of the economic interpretation of history that at given stages of human progress both priest states and military tyranny had to function and functioned beneficently in making ready for the coming larger life.

In the natural but unfortunate violence of a reaction against Roman Catholic and Protestant scholasticism the uninformed socialist is in grave danger of "throwing out the babe with the bath," and losing sight not only of the past function of religion and its possible future, but even of the main tenet of his own philosophy—the inevitable character of past stages in human thought!

Equally unhistorical and unphilosophical is it to say that religion "invented" a dualism of spirit and matter, of body and soul. However much in theory we may try to move in a monistic world, our knowledge is and must always remain in the subject-object relationsship, the self and the non-self, and at once a basis is given for all kinds of dualisms quite apart from all religion or even reflection. Nor have all religions been dualistic. Religious pantheisms of a thorough-going monistic kind are, in fact, quite as common as metaphysical dualisms.

When now the objection is raised that anthropomorphic religion has "falsified the motives of human conduct," by the introduction of future rewards and punishments, it must never be forgotten that Prophetic Judaism had no doctrine of a future life, and that Buddhism has no heaven. So that religion exists and flourishes without this motivation. At the same time surely Mr. Ladoff is out of his depth in deep water when at one place he asserts that ethics is "enlightened selfishness," and at another favors rewards and punishments as motives to conduct! If ethics is enlightened selfishness then it is only a question of presenting the right rewards and punishments, the extension to another world, or the distribution of the rewards and punishments by a supernatural being is immaterial. Now the present writer agrees with Mr. Ladoff in thinking that the really ethical life cannot be based upon rewards and punishments, and that so far as it is "the moral currency is debased"; and that the real reward of conduct for the moral man is the "beneficent effect directly on the welfare

of the social aggregate he belongs to, and (indirectly), on himself." Hence that ethics is categorical and immediate. But in that case "enlightened selfishness" is a misnomer. What possible rational ground is there for saying group motives are "higher" than "animal selfish motives." They are only forced on us by the group in its own interest! The moral man can only say that he knows as a judgment of value that the group has the higher claim; and at this point all the great religious teachers agree with us—Confucius, Buddha, Jesus. He who saveth his life shall lose it, and he who loseth his life shall save it.

To say that ethics precedes religion is pure dogmatism. We have no data to decide one way or other. All we can say is that religion has been a powerful motive in the ethical life.

That God should be thought of in terms of lawless tyranny was only too natural at a certain economic stage, but that right and wrong should be thought of as the expression of simple might is not peculiar to religion, nor always characteristic of it. Surely Mr. Ladoff has heard of Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbs, neither of whom are generally enrolled as religious saints.

That religion should teach rejoicing over a repentant sinner is neiher immoral nor unnatural. If Socialism gained Mr. Mallock's intelligent and disinterested support, it would and should rejoice in a special and particularly hearty way, for the significance of such a change of sentiment too far exceeds the support of the hundreds that are now being brought up as socialists.

If by mysticism is meant that religion deals with the domain of the unseen and hoped-for this need not be disputed. So also does Socialism. No man walks by sight. Each day is a new situation, each generation a new economic problem. We can in the last analysis only "believe," on the basis of evidence that appeals to us, in the coming triumph of justice and right. For all we "know" the world may end to-morrow in collision with another world, or if it goes on we who are in a confessed minority may be as hopelessly mistaken about our evidence as were the middle age scholastics. All that is relative, and absolute truth is impossible for any of us.

But if by mysticism is meant the metaphysical mysticism of the Orient, then it may at once be shown that modern criticism has proved that Prophetic Judaism and Early Christianity were free from it. As is also uncorrupted Confusianism to-day, and the most powerful sects of Mohametanism.

All this is only to clear the ground to make room for the one main question: is organized Christianity in its Roman and Protestant forms now in the way of militant organized class-conscious socialism? And to that question hardly any observing man can fail to say, at present, yes! For organized Christianity is institutional, and Marxian socialism knows better than any

other historical school that the function of an institution is to conserve acquired values. That as feudalism handed down values that capitalism is still using, so capitalism is doing for the coming collectivism things without which that collectivism would be unthinkable. But this same school of historical criticism must recognize the fact that both good and bad elements are likely to be conserved, so that scholastic Christianity must be critically and sharply examined, but if she has values which the coming social organization needs they are not to be lightly rejected.

And Christianity critically stripped of oriental, hellenistic and scholastic legal intrusions has such values. It would be a fatal blunder if Socialism did not use the tremendous leverage the words of Jesus give for moving men who profess to accept Jesus as an absolute authority. In scholastic Christianity there are ascetic other-worldly elements which are false colors in the modern view of the world, but these came in the second and third centuries after Jesus. In Jesus there is a strong, fresh virile faith in this world and in humanity. He knew not the times and seasons, but he knew a reign of righteousness, co-operation and peace was surely coming, with revolution if necessary, a complete and dramatic establishment of a human brotherhood, with service taking the place of competition, with love as its life not hate; a new society with neither temple nor sacrifice save the sacrifice of joyful loving fellowship.

It would be a stupid and costly blunder if the high ethical levels of Paul's letter to Rome, and I John and even the somewhat lower levels of James and Hebrews were not made the vantage ground for reaching men who profess to accept these things as the final word with the socialist message.

It must be remembered that the intelligent scientific socialist pretends to be dealing with facts, and one of the hardest facts in history is the tremendous allconquering power of religious faith. Few of us can hope to really see the socialist commonwealth, it is our—in its inner quality—religious faith in an unseen order, a Law moving beneficently through economic history that gives us strength and courage to say that though *our* eyes may never behold it, the least service we can render that coming order will be greater than all we may accomplish for self or the present age.

The present writer can appeal to hundreds who with him say of Jesus, "Lord and Master" to do then as Jesus did, and give their lives as intelligently as we know how to the estabishment on earth of a new social order; and a socialist who does not thus accept Jesus, can not make the same appeal to the thousands who do pretend to believe him.

It may be freely granted that some religious faiths picture most crudely that stately social Purpose moving through the

economic social order to a free and perfected humanity. But do we not all picture crudely our ideals? We are all, at best, but ignorant half-savages, living an unorganized hap-hazard life in an unorganized and but dimly understood and half-mastered world. But all really religious men and women have ideals, and it is to them and mainly to them that Socialism must appeal.

It is not with religion but with conventional caricatures of religion that Socialism has its quarrel. Jesus and all the great religious leaders have been dangerous, and effective foes to the social disorders of their day. Even granting the all too sweeping charges made by Mr. Blatchford and repeated by Mr. Ladoff against the organized church, it must yet be remembered that it has been out of the loins of institutional religion that practically all the great social prophets have come. That the names of such social prophets have been inrolled after they are dead, by those who would claim as vested rights old invested wrongs, is only repeating all history. So to-day the Republican party pretends to honor Lincoln amidst a carnival of graft, and Democracy has a tear in its eye for a Jefferson in whose name it organized Tammany Hall.

It were little less than madness if Socialism calling itself scientific were so disgusted with hypocrisy that it let the hypocrites run off with all the dear-bought religious memories of the ages. The world of thought-creation which is our common heritage, in which we all must live and move has, whether we like it or not, a great store-house of social values, and our world would be vastly poorer, meaner, more squalid if the strong religious memories, and splendid religious sacrifices of the past were not given place in the new forms of faith which must rise to voice and glorify the joy and thanksgiving of a recreated free humanity.

And within the organized church a vast movement is on foot. It cannot be stopped. The church that has prayed for two thousand years, "They kingdom come, Thy will be done *on earth,* as it is done in heaven" is at last moving slowly but directly upon the social situation. It is a wild mistake to suppose that either organized capitalism or middle-class industry completely controls either Roman Catholicism or Protesantism. They influence them both far too much. But in numbers and ultimate strength it is not the parasitic and predatory elements that are likely to finally control. To win organized religious feeling to an intellegent, sane and scientific reorganization of life on the basis of co-operation and communal ownership of the tools, would be worth almost any cost or sacrifice.

We fully understand the feelings of impatient disgust that take possession of men in the presence of the nauseous hypocrisy manifest in the churches. But we beg intelligent men with historic minds to have a great patience. Many of these so-

called hypocrites are the unconscious victims of our social anarchy. Many are really only conventional automatons. And among the churches there are thousands and thousands whose hearts are sick and weary for the coming day. They too are looking out eagerly for the dawn. It will not be by crude and crass misunderstanding of their noblest feelings and secretest dreams, it will not be by unsympathetic and unhistorical criticism of the forms of dearly loved faiths that they will be won to the light of the new society. They need to have their fondest hope and brightest faith reinterpreted to them in the terms of that coming reorganization of human life in which we can say then of humanity: these indeed are the sons of God!

THOMAS C. HALL.

Out of the Dump.

III.

HOPPED OFF THE CAR at Wilson street one very warm Saturday afternoon in June. In my hand I carried a bag of big purple plums for Sammie and the baby and in my pocket a pair of Mrs. Von Kleeck's cast-off side-combs for mother. I was very happy, for there had been great doings at the big house and mother was just the one to let me sit on the rocking-chair while she listened to everythnig I told, from the price Mollie, the china-closet maid, paid for her slippers, to the number of dishes Mrs. Van served at her last little dinner.

I believe mother sometimes fancied I stretched things, but I didn't. Children who grow up thinking in PENNIES are not likely to guess too high about people like the Van Kleecks.

As I turned the corner I saw Sally Higgens and all the other Higgenses and Mrs. Wineshevsky and the Schmidts holding a confab on the steps leading to "our basement". As I drew nearer I saw a big sign over the stairway. SMALL POX, it said. And Mrs. Wineshevsky came to meet me and told me all about it.

Mother had found a job at the Glue Works. Every morning she had left Sammie and the baby at the Day Nursery at 6:30 and had called for them at 7:00 in the evening. That morning six of the children at the Nursery were so ill that the Matron called in the City Physician. He pronounced the trouble to be small pox and by one o'clock the afflicted children were all removed to the Pest House. Sammie and the baby were among them.

The Glue Works close at one o'clock on Saturdays and a short time later mother discovered the children had been taken away. Mrs. Wineshevsky said mother didn't stop for anything but hurried out to the old hospital built way up in a bend in the river to keep the disease from spreading to "the better portion of the population." They were glad to have mother come to take care of the children, because the only attendants at the Pest House were a man and his wife, both too old and worn-out to be able to do much for anybdy except themselves.

Mrs. Wineshevsky said there seemed to be a regular epidemic of small pox at the Dump. I was very much disappointed. It

seemed too bad to carry the plums all the way from the boulevard for nothing. I was not much frightened, because people were always having small pox in the Alley or at the Dump. Daddy and mother had had it years before, so I went over to Schmidt's and took the plums to Mamie. I thought I'd have a little holiday anyway.

It happened to be the day of the meeting of the Trustees for the Society-for-Securing-Employment-for-Protestant-Women-With-Infants-Under-One-Year-of-Age. And the meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Van Kleeck, Jr. Holding meetings at Mrs. Van's was the only sure way of getting her to attend them. But when people want anybody badly enough, they are willing to go to them. They were always going to Mrs. Van Kleeck.

Mrs. Van had been made President of the Society-for-Securing-Employment-for-Protestant-Women-With-Infants-Under-one-Year-of-Age, because the Society needed the advertising. They told her she wouldn't need to do anything but be president.

Mrs. Kensington happened to inform Mrs. Van Kleeck about the epedemic at the Dump. And inside of an hour I was marched into our room in the basement by the Health Officer and told to stay there.

It seems Mrs. Van Kleeck was afraid of infection. The City Physician said there seemed to be nothing the matter with me, but I would have to stay away from Mrs. Van's for nine days till he could be sure, and then, after I was thoroughly fumigated, disinfected and sterilized, perhaps I should be allowed to return.

It seemed pretty hard lines for me, because after being shut up in the basement I was more than likely to contract the small pox myself. But as soon as the Health Officer had gone, I sneaked out and went over to tell Mrs. Wineshevsky about it. She took me in. She was the kind of a woman that always takes everybody in. It would have been fun being with her for a change if everybody hadn't been sick except Mrs. Wineshevsky. Zeb and Lucy were down with typhoid fever and little Anna was so ill she didn't know us. I helped with the work, as Mrs. Wineshevsky sorted rags all day at an old second-hand shop and Mr. Wineshevsky worked for a carpenter in the Alley, on his "good days". He had queer brown patches all over his face and neck and looked sick always.

Mrs. Wineshevsky was a very nice woman. She was always working as fast as she could make her fingers fly. It seemed to me that she just bustled through life and kept things moving somehow for the whole family.

There was great fear in her eyes when she came home from work in the evening, fear that the children would be worse. She would steal gently up to little Anna who lay most of the time in

a heavy sleep, and put her hand softly upon her head. Young as I was, it made my heart ache for I knew she was afraid that sometime her little one would not awake.

Miss Crane, who was one of the Nurses from the Visiting Nurses' Assn., came to see the children. She was a pleasant woman. She wanted to make everybody clean and well and to have happiness and the sun shining over everybody all the time. I think she believed that if poor people would only choose work in the fresh air, sanitary houses to live in, if they would eat pure wholesome food and wear healthful clothing, everything would be all right in the poor man's world. She found out what was the matter at the Wineshevskys very soon.

There was a queer smell about the house. Miss Crane began to poke her nose around to find out where it came from. By and by she pulled up a loose board in the kitchen floor and looked through. The whole cellar was filled with a dark and sickening fluid. There was no drainage, nor sewerage and never had been any.

She explained to them all about it.

"There's no sewerage here," she said; "and you will have to move out of this house at once, or the children will DIE. Before you know it, you will be ill yourself, Mr. Wineshevsky. Nobody can live among the germs that come from that poison without getting sick." Then she bathed the three children and went away.

Every time she came she told them the same thing and every time she spoke more strongly. She knew nobody could ever get well among the mob of microbes that inhabited that house. She said she could smell them coming through the floor in hordes.

Mr. Wineshevsky thought over Miss Crane's words every day. He had read in the papers that the Hon. D. C. Peters, who was trying to force the City Administration to give him a new street car franchise, owned many "death traps" and "undrained hovels" on Wilson Street. He had learned it from the papers, that were trving to beat Mr. Peters, and he thought he saw a way out of the difficulty.

He talked the matter over with Mrs. Wineshevsky and she agreed with him. It was impossible to move into another house while the children were sick. It seemed there was nothing else to be done and no time to lose, for Anna grew every day a little weaker.

And so, on his next "good day" Odin Wineshevsky, armed with his own despair, went to the city to find Mr. Peters. I am not sure that he knew just what he expected Mr. Peters to do.

"I'll make him put in a sewer or save the children in some

way. I will not come back till I find him and bring help," he told Mrs. Wineshevsky. He was gone three days.

It was a bad time for the family at home. Mrs. Wineshevsky worked and cried. Occasionally she hoped a little. I have seen that mothers (I mean those who are the wives of poor men) never despair as long as there is work to be done. But the children were slowly burning away with the terrible fever, and Mrs. Wineshevsky saw them fading before her eyes.

Perhaps it was almost as hard for Odin Wineshevsky away in the city seeking help. For an endless day he watched outside of the Peters palace on the boulevard, till the servants thought he was crazy and threatened to call the police. But he followed Peters to the Club. There he was refused admittance. It is surprising that he was not arrested and thrown into jail for he was pale and worn and badly dressed. And rich and happy folks are strangely fearful of the despairing and miserable poor.

But Odin Wineshevsky waited his time. He was not too insistent. From early in the evening till long past midnight he watched in the rain while the great man dined at a banquet. He grew faint from standing outside the great office building of the Peters Real Estate Company, scanning each face that emerged from the doors. By this time he would have been able to recognize Peters. He even fell asleep on the stairs of the office building. He had no money but someway he managed to live through.

Doubtless he begged a little, or they fed him at the saloons. On the third morning as he waited near the general office of the Telephone Company, Mr. Peters accompanied by a reporter on one of the opposition papers, came out of the door. And Odin Wineshevsky heard his Opportunity.

He told his story briefly in a voice that trembled with misery and despair and when he talked of the slime and sewerage running under the house, and the advice of the Visiting Nurse, his tones grew bolder and his words rang through the hall of the great building. Immediately a little crowd began to gather around the elevator.

Mr. Peters seemed touched by the story. He said he had no interests whatever in the stockyards district, but that it would give him a great deal of pleasure to see that the little ones were cared for.

And while Odin Wineshevsky leaned weakly and tearfully against the wall (now that the crisis was past) Mr. Peters returned to his office where he called up the B— Hospital asking them to "fix it up and send down for the little Wineshevsky girl" as soon as it was possible to do so.

Mr. Wineshevsky wept when he tried to thank Mr. Peters before he went back to the Dump, and there were real tears in

Mr. Peters' eyes. If there was one thing Mr. Peters hated above all others, it was folks blessed with wealth who have no time to extend the hand of sympathy to men like poor Wineshevsky.

He said this to the reporter (for the opposition paper). Besides he had promised to pay for the support of a charity bed at the B— Hospital for one year and he thought he might as well make use of it.

* * * * *

Mrs. Wineshevsky was having a bad time of it. Zeb and Lucy were worse and Miss Crane said Anna's fever was higher. I helped all I could, bathing the children aud using the ice Miss Crane had sent. Most of the time they lay in a heavy stupor. It was almost like a funeral.

Mrs. Wineshevsky was ill too, but on the third day, she also went to the city—this time to see the City Physician. He promised to come in the afternoon to see what could be done for the children.

At four o'clock that day little Anna died. A little later the ambulance from the B— Hospital arrived and Mrs. Wineshevsky persuaded them to take Lucy away instead. It seemed doubtful if she could live.

Two days later the City Physician called. He left some medicine and told Mrs. Wineshevsky there was no use doing anything till the family got out of that house. A day or two later Zeb died and Lucy never recovered in spite of the care that was spent upon her at the hospital.

The family—what there was left of it—never rallied from the blow of the death of the three children. Odin dribbled along more painfully and aimlessly than he had ever done on his "worst days". And Mrs. Wineshevsky turned into a bundle of hate that seemed to include even her old friends and neighbors at the Dump.

One day Mr. Wineshevsky wandered away in one of his foolish spells and Mrs. Wineshevsky grew more bitter than before.

When I went to work in the office of one of the Charity Bureaus, I happened to run across the record of the Wineshevsky family. It reads something like this:

WINESHEVSKY, Odin and Annie (Polish) aged 32 and 27 years. Three children, Zeb 8, Lucy 6, Anna 3. (Three children dead). Living at 326 Wilson street; 3 rooms; rent $10.00; say they wish to rent front room. Mrs. W. working at 54 Arch street, sorting rags; wages $7.00. Mr. W. works little; claims he is sick; believe he is lazy. Family ought not need help. House untidy. Seem to be shiftless and poor managers. Visiting Nurse found three children sick; typhoid fever; told family to

move, but seemed too ignorant and stubborn; no sewerage in house.

Mr. D. C. Peters, President of the B— Hospital and the ——— Street Railway Co., became interested in case and had Lucy sent to hospital. June 4, Anna died; found Mr. and Mrs. both home. Neither working. Advised Mr. W. to go to work. June 10th. Zeb died. June 15th. Mrs. W. ordered Friendly Visitor out of house. Has a violent temper. June 21st. Lucy died at B— Hospital. Dec 27th. Odin W. was sent to Hospital for the Insane.

All this happened seven years ago. Families have continued to live and to die in the Wineshevsky house at 236 Wilson street. There's a new family there now of the name of Friedman. The sewerage continues to slumber as peacefully as of old under the bed room and the kitchen and I suppose the microbes continue to riot and to romp in the same old way, for little children continue to droop and to die there. The Hon. D. C. Peters still owns the place and still sheds the halo of his prestige around the B— Hospital. His name graces the stationery of that institution as of old. He has not ceased to dispense charity with his right hand (from the spoils he has taken with his left). And it is all a very terrible farce.

My brother Bob says we can't expecet him to be any different. He says we can't expect ANYBODY to be different, but he's hoping some day the working people WILL. He says if they owned the factories collectively and paid themselves the value of the things they make, instead of giving the profit or rake-off to the boss, they'd be able to have beautiful homes themselves, wholesome places to live in, where the little children would have the best chance in the world for their lives.

It makes Bob hot when people who WORK have to go around ASKING for favors. He says they ought to stop "dividing up" the wealth they produce. He wants them to be the rulers of the world and keep it themselves. He says, if he had half a chance, he'd go to work himself, but he can't bear to plug along just to enable the boss's wife and daughters to wear diamonds.

MARY E. MARCY.

The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD OF NEGRO SUPREMACY.

LL ARGUMENTS in favor of granting the negro any degree of participation in the political life of the nation, are met by the typical southerner, socialists often not excluded, by pointing at the period of reconstruction; that is claimed to be the dreadful example, which has for all times settled the problem of negro franchise in the negative. And it must at once be admitted, that the period of reconstruction represents quite a dark page in the history of American selfgovernment. To be frank, the instantaneous grant of that supreme power of political life, without the slightest preparatory stage, to several millions of slaves of but yesterday, was a very daring undertaking. As one northern writer remarked as early as 1865, "to say, that men just emerged from slavery are qualified for the exercise of political power, is to make the strongest pro-slavery argument I ever heard. It is to pay the highest compliment to the institution of slavery."

There were two additional factors which served to aggravate the situation. On one hand the great majority of the white southerners were for the time being deprived of their right to vote. On the other, the stream of adventurers from the north, who felt a chance for a good catch in the dirty waters of the southern political situation, introduced an entirely new element which even Schurtz did not calculate on. Of course, these new comers were all republicans: politicians, office holders, ex-army men, and disreputable characters in general, all those carpet-baggers, who have attached their name to this interesting though distressing period of American history.

The degree of negro domination varied in different states. The length of the period varied as well. though in general it began with the granting of the franchise to the negroes and ended with the recall of the northern troops from the south in 1876.

Formally, it was a period of negro domination. Not only did the negroes refrain from electing their old masters, as Carl Schurtz feared they might do, but they systematically voted for negro candidates for offices. Thus in 1873, for instance, there

were in the State legislature of South Carolina 94 negroes as against 30 white men. In the State of Mississippi there were in the same year 55 negroes and 60 white men, of whom a great many were carpet baggers and in alliance with the negroes.

The same condition of affairs prevailed in almost all southern states. It was natural for these legislatures to nominate negroes officials for all positions open to them. The selection of negroes was not limited to the local legislative assemblies. Very soon there appeared negro judges, negro lieutenant governors, (though there was no case of a selection of a negro governor) members of congress, and even United States Sentators.

Most of these negro statesmen had been slaves up to two or three years before their political career began, and were not overburdened with education. "A goodly number were unable", says Garner, the author of a very painstaking investigation of reconstruction in Mississippi, "to write and were compelled to attach their signatures to the legislative pay-rolls in the form of a mark", There were illiterate sheriffs, judges, even state senators.

The appearance of a southern legislative assembly during that period was not very attractive from the point of view of any white man, and of a southern white man in particular. "Yesterday," writes a contemporaneous southern investigator of the problem, "the assembled wisdom of the state.... issued forth from the State House. About three quarters of the crowd belonged to the African race. They were of every hue, from the light octoroon to the deep black. They were such a looking body of men as might pour out of a market house or a court house at random in any southern state. Every negro type and physiognomy was here to be seen, from the genteel serving man to the rough hewn customer from the rice or cotton field. Their dress was as varied as their countenaces.. There was the second-hand black frock coat, glossy and threadbare. There was the stove pipe hat of many ironings and departed styles. There was also to be seen a total disregard of the proporieties of custom in the coarse and dirty garments of the field, the stub jackets and slouch hats of soiling labor. In some instances rough woolen comforters embraced the neck and hid the absence of linen. Heavy brogans and short torn trousers it was impossible to hide."

To appreciate fully the nature of the change which had taken place it must be remembered that notwithstanding its adherence to the democratic party, the south before the war was very much opposed to any democratic principles. The south was an aristocracy, almost an oligarchy, into which every society based upon slavery must eventually develop. The pride of the planter was deeply wounded at the sight of the negro, the slave of yesterday, whom so recently he could severely chastise, and abuse

in any way he saw fit,—in the position of the master of the political machine. What have we come to? and What will become of us? Those were the questions which the southern planter asked himself, and to which he could find no answer.

The behaviour of these legislators disgusted the old southern aristocrat no less than their appearance. The ex-slave was anxious to show his independence the best way he knew how. He spat to his right and to his left, chewed tobacco during the sessions, put his large feet on his desk in the official chamber, laughed aloud, cracked jokes as well as peanuts, and enjoyed his newly acquired freedom and political influence as best he could.

All this was very hard to bear. But still more serious were the actual results of the legislative work of these black legislators, which struck at the pockets of the impoverished planter, a more sensitive place even than his pride.

It is not so easy as it might seem to obtain an unprejudiced picture of there results. The majority of the contemporaneous writers, as well as of the subsequent investigators were southerners with great prejudices against the negroes, and the results of mismanagement under negro domination are frequently greatly exaggerated. While some forty years have passed since these events, the animus has by far not yet died out. And even technically, the efforts to follow the details of local government of fifteen states present a great many difficulties. It may be stated with a reasonable degree of accuracy, that the years of negro domination had a decidedly detrimental influence upon the financial condition of the southern states. The negro legislators and administrators, who had almost no property of their own, had no moral scruples against increasing the taxes upon the land property of their old masters. The rapidity with which the negroes have learned all tricks of the white man's corrupt politics should go a long way to prove the racial equality of the negro as far as mental qualities are concerned. They voted themselves extravagant salaries, they increased the salaries of all the officials, who were mostly negroes. Negro sheriffs frequently earned as much as 15-20 thousand dollars a year. On the other hand the childlike character of the new legislators often showed itself in ridiculous extravangances in appropriating money for decoration of the assembly or committee roomms. On the desk of every member of the Mississippi legislature there appeared each morning five daily papers, though the majority of the legislators were unable to read or write, and the bill for newspapers for one year loomed up to $3,670. In the same state the colored lieutenant governor paid the expenses of his household by draft upon the state funds. In the state of South Carolina the printing bill for one year reached the enormous sum of $600,000; and about half a million dollars were expended for the refurnishing of the

assembly. Perhaps the record for curious forms of extravagance is held by the same State, whose negro legislators ordered the purchase of 200 french China spittoons at $8 a piece for the use of the 124 members of the legislative assembly.

Where was the money forthcoming for such extravagance? Though direct taxation upon property was increased in all the southern states, in some of them as much as ten or fifteen times, nevertheless the South was too much impoverished by the destructive war to be able to raise all this necessary and unnecessary money by taxation alone. The sum of state, county and municipal taxes often reached as much as five per cent of the valuation of the property, yet the income from taxation did not cover even one half of the total expenses of the carpet baggers government. Loans soon became necessary, and in the realization of these even greater corruption was practised. The financial ventures were of so complicated a nature that the ignorant negroes, or the majority of them, were utterly unable to understand them, and so they were acting entirely under orders of the white men.

The indebtedness of South Carolina in 1861 was $5,400,000; by 1872, it had increased to $29,000,000. This gigantic sum, for a poverty stricken state, was not all spent upon furniture or salaries. The white leaders of the ignorant black folks soon evolved various schemes much more ambitious. They started with various schemes for construction, which always were the mainstay of the big boodler, while the small fry may be satisfied with signing for a petty sum on a fraudulent pay roll. The impoverished southern state governments liberally subsidized railroads, guaranteed the bonds of private railroad companies, and for such consideration towards the railroads the legislators received handsome compensation, the greater portion of which surely reached the white man's pocket; to say nothing of the white railroad man and the white New York banker, to whom went the lion's share of the spoils. In this process of grafting the interests of the black man were as brutally sacrificed as those of the white man. Thus the legislature of South Carolina had appropriated $700,000 for purchase of land for distribution among the negroes. Under this law land was bought which was absolutely unfit for agricultural purposes, and frequently paid for at ten or twenty times its market value.

South Carolina was no exception among the southern states. In Alabama the state debt increased from eight to 25 million dollars. In North Carolina the valuation of taxable property decreased from $292,000,000 in 1860 to $130,000,0000. in 1870: nevertheless the sum of taxes levied increased from $540,000 to $1,160,000. In addition $14,000,000 worth of railroads bonds were issued, and an issue of $11,000,000 was authorized, but not a mile of railroads was built with that money. Georgia owned

a railroad which it cost less than a million dollars to run, and which brought a net income of about $400,000 per annum. With the establishment of the carpet bag regime the operating expenses of the road jumped to over two million dollars, while the income turned into a deficit. In a very interesting work on the carpet bag regime in Georgia, written by a negro state senator of that period, the author admits the facts of extreme corruption, though giving them quite a different interpretation.

Such a policy spelled ruin for the south. Moreover the evils were not only financial. The entire government of each state was soon in the hands of a political machine which was not at all adverse to a systematic falsification of election returns, and so felt itself securely entrenched in power, and perfectly safe from the influences of public opinion.

Such, says the southerner, were the results of giving the negro the right to participate in the political life of the country. On the face of it, this deduction permits of no criticism or contradiction. Post hoc, ergo utque hoc. And the negro legislator was the most conspicuous and most irritating factor in the situation.

How far then may this period of reconstruction serve as an argument against the enfranchisement in the present or even in the future? How far do the facts quoted prove or disprove the inherent unfitness of the negro for political life? That is a grave problem which will be considered presently. But viewing the situation from a purely impersonal and scientific point of view, one must agree, that besides the incapacity of the negro, whether organic and eternal or acquired and temporary, there were many other important factors in the situation.

To begin with, an actual majority in the hands of the negroes was to be found only in the states of Mississippi, South Carolina, perhaps Louisiana, while the sad facts of reconstruction and corruption were universal throughout the south.

Secondly, of all fruits of corruption, only the smaller crumbs such as high per diem salaries, or expensive spittoons, fell into the hands of the negro legislators. The plums that were really worth anything, such as profits on bond issues, subsidies, loans, franchises, and so forth, remained in the hands of the few white politicians. These were the representatives of the nobler race who came down south right after the conclusion of peace, in order to work for their own pocket all the time. At the same time the majority of the white men of the south were deprived of their right to vote. The new arrivals from the north became republicans, as a matter of course, because the republican party had the protection of the federal troops which had remained in the south. The presence of these troops was necessary for the protection of the negro population, the commanders of these

regiments were not loath to exploiting the situation to their personal advantage in collusion with the civil carpet baggers. The least scrupulous part of the local white population, the so-called white trash, whom the southern aristocrat despised before the war almost as much as he did the negro, often joined the republican ranks not only for the sake of the small advantages but also out of feeling of revenge towards the aristocratic slave owner. Altogether it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the white man was at the bottom of the entire system of corruption which was devouring the southern treasuries and debauching the entire political life of the south.

Nevertheless, the fact remains true that it was the negro vote which gave the republican that perfect control of the south, and that an ignorant mass of electors was a great stimulus towards fostering of all the political and social vices. This was the only fact which the south was able to see. Yet the greatest vice of the negro voter was his allegiance to the Republican party, a vice which he evidently shared with a great many members of the white race at that time, and which is quite common with white folks even at present. The shade of Lincoln might object, however, to classifying this allegiance to the Republican party as evidence of the eternal racial unfitness to make good use of the franchise.

After all is said, the reconstruction period in the south was only a new variation of the very old principle. "Vae Victis." But the south felt so bitterly against the negroes for joining the enemies, that it put the entire blame for the reconstruction evils upon the negro.

* * * *

Quite naturally, the racial relations were very much aggravated by these political conditions. In the preceding chapter I have shown how the civil war and the emancipation of the negroes was rapidly destroying the patriarchal relations of cordial attachment mixed with contempt. But it was the period of reconstruction that created in the heart of the southerner the feeling of intense hatred towards the negro, and particularly towards the educated negro who held a seat in the legislative assembly, or held any other important civil position. And the higher the negro raised his head the greater grew the hatred of the white man for him.

Meanwhile the negroes, or at least a great many of them, did begin to raise their heads. Their feeling of inferiority to the white man, which the ante-bellum southerner used to make so much of, gave way with remarkable rapidity under the influence of the very first years of freedom. The negro politician, so quick in apeing the very worst features of his white prototype, had good reasons to think himself as good as his white colleague

at least. The negro began to speak in an entirely different voice. Perhaps the strongest and most interesting statement in this relation was made by a very old and very full-blooded negro, an ex-slave and member of the state legislature of South Carolina, and a man with a great deal of influence in his day, namely, Beverly Nash:

"The reformers complain of taxes being too high. I tell you that they are not high enough. I want them taxed until they put their lands where they belong, into the hands of those who worked them. You worked for them; you labored for them, and were sold to pay for them; and you ought to have them."

Thus the new times brought new songs; and these songs sounded maddening to the old-time southerner. But to the unprejudiced investigator they serve as a very interesting evidence that the negro was undergoing a very important transformation from a chattel into a human being, even though in the process of transformation he had learned from his white teacher all the dirty tricks of political corruption. The southerner professes to see in the history of the reconstruction era only a strong chain of corroborative evidence of the racial inferiority of the negro. But others with equal justice claim to see there proofs of a directly opposite conclusion. The mistakes of the negro legislators can very easily be explained by their lack of culture and education; but the few favorable exceptions that may be found are strong evidence of the possibilities which were hidden in the race. Striking cases of ability, at least in the political line, were not denied even by the contemporaneous southern writers; cases of political honesty, though somewhat less frequent, were also to be found. Says a modern southern student of that epoch: "There were some very intelligent negroes in the legislature, this being particularly true of the ministers of the gospel." Says a contemporaneous southern writer: "The leading topics of discussion are all well understood by the members. When an appropriation bill is up to raise money to catch and punish the Ku Klux, they know exactly what it means. So, too, with educational measures, the free school comes right home to them. Sambo can talk on these topics and those of a kindred character and their endless ramifications, day in and day out. * * * Shall we, then, be too critical over the spectacle? Perhaps we might more wisely wonder that they can do so well in so short a time."

But the white south was not at all disposed to go into scientific study of the characteristics of the negro race, nor could it in all justice be expected to. *Its* opinion of the negro race had been formed long ago, as was shown in the preceding chapters of this study. The period of reconstruction only succeeded

in making this opinion very much worse. If up till then the white man was denying the intellectual capacities of the black man, and if this charge was becoming very much more difficult to prove, he now began to deny the existence of moral feeling, carrying his argument of racial inferiority into an entirely different plane. He would not stop to consider how to establish some tolerably acceptable modus vivendi; for he was only thinking of one great problem, how to put a stop to this domination of the negro in politics, and when he said negro domination, he very often perhaps unconsciously was thinking of the domination of the Republican party.

It must be admitted that in his efforts to get rid of that Republican domination, or negro domination, the white used methods which were hardly calculated to strengthen the plea of the inherent moral superiority of the white man. The events of the following years are sufficiently familiar to the American of to-day, and a very brief recital of them will be all that is necessary here. As long as the south was full of the northern troops, who naturally defended the interests of the negroes and the Republicans, the south could only fight as a conspirator. Thus the famous Ku Klux Klan was organized to do its awful work. Immediately after the war this organization seemed to be simply a tool of revenge and aimless cruelty to the negro, but towards the beginning of the seventies the organization began to work more systematically with a definite purpose of frightening the negroes away from the polls. The assaults extended also towards the white Republicans, who were hated and despised no less than the negroes. The business methods of the Ku Klux were few, but definite and usually effective; they were threats, assaults and murders when the lighter ones did not prove effective. The special commission and investigations of the federal government did not succeed in their efforts to suppress these outrages, for the entire south lent its sympathy and support.

By means of such methods, and by the gradual extension of the amnesty to the white population, the political powers in the southern states were gradually returning into the hands of the white men, and of the Democratic party. The decrease in the Republican vote was caused primarily by the decrease in the negro vote. The suppression of the negro franchise began, as a matter of fact, as early as 1873. In South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, where the negro population was greatest, more radical methods were resorted to. A series of revolutions followed. By armed force the white population kept the negroes from participating in the elections. In a few localities the negroes showed some fight, but the white men had all the advantage of a better organization. Besides, at the first

smell of powder the carpet baggers hastened to escape and left the negroes without any leaders.

There still remained the federal troops; but the federal government was rapidly losing the desire to interfere in the southern race war. Southern Republicans often appealed to the federal government for assistance, but it was forthcoming less rapidly than before. In 1876, the newly elected President Hayes, after some conferences with southern committees who promised the preservation of law and order, ordered the removal of troops from the south. This was the beginning of the end of the negro domination.

What was the cause of this sudden change of heart of the federal government? First, the crisis of 1873 had turned the congress into the hands of the Democrats. Furthermore, the lawlessness which continued in the south was very undesirable from the point of view of northern capital, for the south remained unavailable for investments as long as this lawlessness continued. And last, but not least, an enormous quantity of southern bonds and other state securities filled the New York Exchange to overflowing, and made the money interests of the north very much concerned in the task of saving the south from bankruptcy.

* * * *

Notwithstanding the dark picture drawn here, our judgment of the entire period of reconstruction must not be one of unqualified condemnation. It is natural for the southerner to take that extreme point of view. Twenty years later a southern writer summed up the situation in the following terse sentences: "It required," said Mr. J. L. Curry, "the combination of all the strength, prestige, patriotism, patience, intelligence to save the country from becoming a second San Domingo. But for the successful resistance to ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, knavery, the grossest executive judicial and legislative outrages, there would to-day be no schools in the south, no protection to property." After having lived through the period of reconstruction, the south was firmer than ever in the belief that the negro has demonstrated his racial inferiority, and furnished further proof, if such were necessary, of the necessity of white domination over the black man. And since in the south the opposition to the negro became identified with the opposition to the Republican party, therefore the southern view of the inferiority of the negro and his absolute unfitness for exercising his franchise gained many adherents in the Democratic ranks of the north.

Did the years of the reconstruction justify such a dark outlook? There is a great deal of truth in what Mr. Carl Schurtz had to say in regard to this problem shortly before his death: "So tremendous a social revolution as a sudden transformation of almost the whole laboring force of a large country from

slaves into free men could never have been effected quite smoothly without producing hot conflict of antagonistic interests and feelings and without giving birth to problems seeming at times almost impossible of solution."

The introduction of negro suffrage in the south took place under peculiarly unfavorable circumstances. For in the painful events of the years 1868-1874 there were blended together the effects of at least three important forces, and the denial of franchise to a large body of white southerners, with the introduction of a large body of strangers, adventurers, was much more harmful in its effects than the granting of the franchise to the negroes.

Then, again, the very results of reconstruction were greatly exaggerated, so say the least. It is true that the period had a very depressing effect upon the finances of the south. But such revolting examples of graft are not confined to the south or to the period of reconstruction. The brass chandeliers of the Pennsylvania capitol may well be matched against the fine porcelain spittoons of South Carolina. Surely the negroes cannot be blamed if during the entire history of self-government in the United States graft and wild finance claimed such prominence. Bribery in the acquisition of offices, corrupt distribution of franchises, extravagant use of public funds, all this was very well known in this country long before the period of reconstruction, and this was not eliminated even after the negroes were by brute force deprived of their legal right to vote. And it is quite certain that even in the south to-day the municipal governments of the larger southern cities do not represent examples of civic purity of a higher standard than the large cities of the east or the middle west.

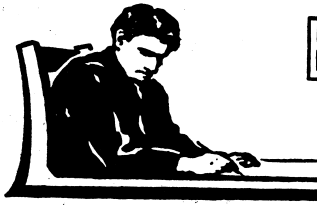
On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the years of reconstruction had some very valuable salutary effects. Even an opponent was forced to admit that "the ballot indeed has won for the newly enfranchised every legal and civil right," but he adds, "fearful has been the price which the country has paid for it, and direful the consequences." After all, the evils of reconstruction become quite petty and unimportant when compared with the cost of the civil war itself and yet that price had to be paid to rid the country of the curse of chattel slavery. I have shown that after the war the south continued to strive for the re-establishment of slavery in reality if not in law. Surrounded by negro policemen, judges and legislators, the southern gentleman in the days of reconstruction took his revenge by refusing to address the negro as "Mister." But during these days he also learned to fear the negro. And while successful revolutions which followed the days of reconstruction caused many restrictions of the rights of the negroes, nevertheless there was no more

talk of a special black code or of limitations in the way of the negro who might want to acquire property.

Moreover the reconstruction days had awakened in the negro some political consciousness; it straightened his back that had been bent for two hundred and fifty years; it planted in his heart the desire for political emancipation. Reconstruction has left an ideal in the memory of the negro, which will eventually prove a real social force in the solution of the negro problem. Each and every nation is better off for having tried the enjoyment of human and civil rights than if it had never tasted of them at all.

I. M. ROBBINS.

(To be Continued.)



EDITOR'S CHAIR

The Republican Convention. The capitalist class of the United States has been making rapid strides toward an efficient class consciousness and has tightened its grip on the Republican party. The Republican convention was a harmonious one because the new school of politicians who stand behind Roosevelt and Taft understand their business. The convention in shaping its platform had to do two definite things. One was to satisfy the capitalists who own the party machine that none of their vital interests would be threatened by the continuance of the party in power. This was easy. The other was to make alluring, vote-bringing promises to farmers, small merchants and manufacturers, and "pure and simple" laborers, which should keep them in line without at the same time committing the party to any really dangerous measure. This was hard, but it was well done, with only a few weak spots left open to Mr. Bryan's assaults. In just one state, Wisconsin, the small middle class controlled the delegation. Its representative on the platform committee presented a minority report signed by himself in opposition to the majority report signed by the other fifty-two members of the committee. He advocated strengthening the inter-state commerce commission so that it might enforce "just and equal" railroad rates. He asked for a tariff law which should take protection away from trusts which suppressed competition, and for a permanent tariff commission to watch over the enforcement of the law. He proposed the imprisonment of bad trust magnates, publicity of campaign expenses, national regulation of inter-state telegraph rates, trial by jury in contempt cases growing out of injunctions, and a few more measures which would be more or less annoying to the people who own the United States. Wisconsin was given twenty minutes to argue for its minority report, and the chairman of the committee contented himself with a three minute reply, in the course of which he paid the Wisconsin measures the undeserved compliment of stating that they had been rejected on account of the doctrines of socialism embodied in them. The measures were then promptly and almost unanimously rejected by the

convention, and the platform as reported by the majority was adopted. Only one question on which the convention divided was of particular interest to the working class, and that was the injunction question. Here the measure asked for by Mr. Gompers never came before the convention at all except in the Wisconsin minority report, and it was voted down along with most of the other measures in that report by 952 votes against 28. The plank adopted was nothing more or less than a declaration of the Republican party's intention to leave the injunction to be used by capitalists the same as ever. The best thing in the platform is the contrast it draws between the efficiency of the Republican Party and the inefficency of the Democratic. Republicanism stands frankly and brutally for capitalism and for all measures required by the interests of the capitalists.

Mr. Bryan's Party. The Review goes to press too early to comment on the Denver convention, but its action on all important questions is not hard to predict. Mr. Bryan is the inevitable candidate, and it is almost equally certain that his platform will be a curious hodge-podge of inconsistencies, viewing with alarm the inevitable tendencies of modern industry, and seeking by palliatives to mitigate the class war and to retard the extinction of the little capitalist. As for the injunction plank, it looks as if Mr. Gompers might be allowed to write it to suit himself, but when it is time to elect the representatives and judges who if the Democrats win are to translate the plank into action, the important business interests which provide the campaign fund will surely be remembered. The tariff is likely to cut a large figure in the campaign, and some farmers may desert the Grand Old Party in the hope of getting cheaper goods through tariff reductions. But to the wage-worker who wants to enjoy the full value of what he produces, Mr. Bryan has as little to offer as Mr. Taft. Never in the whole history of the United States have conditions been so favorable for the socialist movement as today.

Free Speech and the Police. The Socialist national convention adopted an admirable resolution which up to the present time has not received the attention it deserves. It reads as follows:

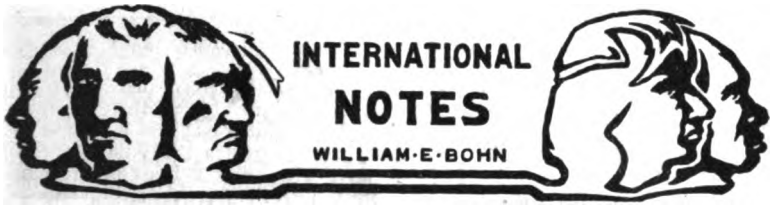
Capitalism fleeing before the triumphant advance of Socialism is trying to suppress free speech. Ignorance and intimidation are the twin forces that the ruling capitalist class relies on to hold its power in order to control and rob the working class. The police power of the state is being used forcibly to prevent the peaceable assembly of the working class to discuss their grievances and for the adoption of measures to secure its emancipation from wage slavery. Public meetings of the Socialist Party all over the country have been unlawfully and brutally broken up and the speakers arrested, fined and imprisoned without warrant of law by officials who

ignorantly believe that a policeman's uniform clothes them with autocratic power.

We, the Socialist Party of the United States in a National Convention assembled, serve notice upon the capitalist class that we shall hold its henchmen acting as public officials responsible for their illegal acts and that we shall prosecute them in the criminal courts to the full extent of the law; also that we shall sue them in the civil courts for actual damages to compensate our comrades for wrongs inflicted upon them.

The unanimous adoption of this resolution was a good thing, but resolutions must be carried out if they are to be effective. Not many instances of police interference with our meetings have come up since the convention, but in these few instances we seem to have failed to make good. At its recent session the National Executive Committee voted to flood with literature any city where our meetings are suppressed. This is all very well, and it is perhaps all that the National organization can do, but every local organization whose speakers are arrested should start a fight on the lines of the convention's resolution. If a policeman arrests a socialist speaker a jury trial should be demanded and a warrant should promptly be sworn out against the policeman for the illegal arrest. A civil suit should also be started. Even if not successful it will cause the policeman enough trouble and expense to make him hesitate about interfering with the next socialist meeting he sees. Another method of warfare not mentioned in the convention's resolution is worth while. It is an open secret in most cities that the police are themselves persistent law-breakers. As a rule, that is no concern of ours, for they generally rob the robbers, not the workers. But if they fight us, we can with very little trouble uncover some of their law-breaking and bring it to the attention of the courts.

Police Brutality. There is one practice of the police in many of our large cities which does concern the working class. When a felony has been committed and the detectives in charge have not brains enough to find out who committed it, they make use of the "drag-net". In other words they arrest without warrant any one who in their opinion might have some direct or indirect connection with the case. These unfortunates are locked up incommunicado, like the victims of the Spaniards in Cuba twelve years ago. Then they are put in the "sweat-box". This name is taken from the capitalist papers which thoroughly approve of the institution. It is a torture chamber where the victims are subjected to as much mental torment as they are sensitive enough to feel or the policemen clever enought to inflict. If capacity on either side is lacking, rumor has it that the mental torture is supplemented with physical. The finished product of the sweat-box is the Confession, implicating some one else. That some one is then invited into the sweat-box, and so the game goes merrily on. Now all this is contrary to the laws inherited from the era of small producers. These laws provide that a policeman may arrest a person only when caught in the act of law-breaking or when a warrant has been sworn out before a judge or justice. A policeman making an arrest, or beating a citizen in violation of law can be punished, or else the court can be put publicly on record as justifying the violation of law, and to do either of these things will help draw the attention of working people to the class struggle. We suggest these tactics to the comrades in all cities where the police are fighting us, and we should be glad to have a report wherever they are tried.



India.—Now it is India that is to the fore. Both in England and America the cry has gone up for justice to the Hindus. But the curious onlooker notices an interesting distinction between the Indian propagandas carried on in the two countries—or rather between the propagandists who have come to the front. In England it is the Socialists who persist in revealing England's shame and Asia's misery; in America it is the Society for the Advancement of India, a heterogeneous company of distinguished persons, educators, clergymen, Anti-Imperialists and charitable capitalists. The facts proclaimed by the Socialists and the philanthropists are the same; they agree wonderfully in their diagnosis of the case: the difference appears in the treatment prescribed. As I write I have before me Comrade Hyndman's ringing editorials in recent numbers of *Justice* and the rather voluminous literature sent out by the Society for the Advancement of India. There have occurred recently in Hindustan incidents sufficiently serious to put all the reactionary forces in England on their guard. The most striking of these was the bomb throwing in Bengal. Others were the imprisonment by the British government of patriots who had taken part in the Indian National Congress and the public flogging of Bengali students who welcomed them on their release. These events indicate a wide and deep discontent with British rule and a tyrannical bent on the part of the government which promises to stir up interesting developments in the future.

What are the causes of Indian discontent? Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland answers this question most strikingly in his pamphlet, "The Causes of Famine in India."* "During the last forty years of the nineteenth century," we are told, "India was smitten by not fewer than ten famines of great magnitude, causing a loss of life that has been conservatively estimated at 15,000,000." Dr. Sunderland takes up the two excuses for these famines usually advanced by the apologists for the British regime, viz., rain-failure and over-population. As to the first of these, it appears that there is never a failure of rain over the entire country at once and that facilities for transportation are such that crop-failure due to drouth need not cause suffering anywhere. Moreover if only a considerable fraction of the sums which the English drain from India were devoted to irrigation enterprises any considerable failure of crop could be made absolutely impossible. The average rainfall, even in famine years, far exceeds what is necessary for agricultural purposes: all that is needed is proper storage and distribution. But the great fact

* This pamphlet can be obtained by writing to the Society for the Advancement of India, India House, 1142 Park avenue, New York.

to be insisted on is that even with the meager present irrigation there has never been lack of food in India. There is famine there for the same reason that there is in the United States—because people are too poor to buy. In the worst famine years food has been exported, and the ridiculousness of the whole situation becomes evident when one is told that famine sufferers are often relieved, not by gifts of food, but of a few pennies to buy with.

As to the cry of over-population, that is effectively silenced by the statements that the birth-rate and population are lower than in many European countries and that great tracts of land are as yet uncultivated.

In assigning poverty as the real cause of panics in India Dr. Sunderland adduces some startling facts. Forty million Hindus are constantly on the brink of starvation. Deaths from plague—largely due to under-nutrition—increased steadily from 272,000 in 1901 to 1,000,000 in 1904. The average income the country over is two or three cents a day. The reasons assigned for this poverty are foreign exploitation, heavy taxation and the destruction of native manufacturers. The tax on salt is 2,000 per cent! As to what is done with the money we are enlightened when we are told that about $70,000,000 goes annually to pay English officials and the Hindus have been forced to pay for military campaigns in Afghanistan, Beluchistan. Burmah, the Soudan and Egypt. For outside wars they have turned over to their masters during the nineteenth century $450,000,000.

But of course the chief cause of India's poverty is "direct tribute." When the British came to India it was "one of the first manufacturing countries of the world." Indian cotton goods, silk goods, shawls, etc., were famed throughout the world. Now a poor Hindu writes: "You know it was our humble charka, or spinning-wheel, which in days gone by spun the thread not only for our own people, but for those of Europe and other countries. The charka has, however, entirely disappeared, except in the Punjab, before the influx of machine-made threads. It is impossible for us, poor as we are, to start many mills." Another writes: "If we could only get a cheap, simple home spinning-machine which will turn out at least six threads at a time this will go far towards restoring our ancient industry to its one-time prestige." Both these letters appeared in the New York Evening Post for April 3.) The significance of these statements is unmistakeable. Through the power which capital gives them the English have forced the Hindus from their position as an industrial nation and made of them mere producers of raw material. In addition to paying for English wars and supporting an army of English officials they are obliged to send fabulous sums to England as interest on invested funds or in payment for imported manufactured goods. It is estimated that this "direct tribute" amounts to $150,000,000 annually. It is stated on good authority that for the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century this English drain on India amounted to $2,500,000,000. And in return for this the British government expends annually for the education of Hindus one penny and a fifth a head!

I said above that it is in their prescriptions that the philanthropic and Socialistic doctors disagree. After his masterly arraignment of British rule Dr. Sunderland suggests, under the heading "The Remedy," a number of reforms, presumably to be instituted by the same government which brought India to her present terrible pass. Those long-time robbers, the imperial statesmen, are now advised to ge good, and to give proof of their new discovered virtue by no longer using Indian money to carry on outside war, by reducing the expenditure on the army, by pushing forward irrigation, by draining uninhabitable regions, by giving offices to Hindus, by reducing taxation, by building up ruined

native manufactures, etc., etc. Just how these ancient sinners are to be brought to repentance we are not told.*

Needless to say the speech of our English comrades has a different ring. Even though Keir Hardie does maintain that "there is no sedition in India," and the government has constantly on hand "moderate" Hindus willing to swear that everything is lovely on their native strand, John Bull is never allowed to forget the real state of affairs. In season and out of season, in parliament, on the hustings and in the newspapers English Socialists are displaying the awful results of the imperial policy. And not only so. The significance of the facts is driven home. English workers are brought face to face with the fact that their sufferings and those of the Hindu proletarian are the same and flow from the same source. So the appeal is not to the robber to give up his spoils, to the oppressor to cease from his oppression, but to the British workingmen all over the empire to rise and throw off a common despotism.

American Socialists will naturally follow the course of events with keen interest. The situation has now become so tense that any day may witness the precipitation of a conflict. The native press, hitherto quite unnoticed by Europeans and Americans, exercises great influence and is unanimously for a larger measure of home-rule. The English capitalistic sheets clamor frantically for violent repressive measures. Indeed an Explosives Bill has already been drafted, and it has been decided to put in force a stringent censorship of the press. Such measures cannot but arouse renewed opposition. There are in Hindustan about 200,000 foreigners as against 300,000,000 Hindus. When one considers that there are thousands of isolated, unprotected British officials and great stretches of railway with telegraph, bridges, etc., inviting attack, it is not difficult to imagine the result of an ultimate struggle on race lines.

England.—In the north of England a great industrial tragedy has just drawn to a close. Some time ago the ship-builders along the Tyne announced to their employes a cut of eighteen pence a week. The men agreed to give up a shilling of their slender wage, but insisted that the other six pence be made a matter for arbitration. The employers were obdurate, even abusive. About 15,000 workers went on strike. Finally the employers conferred with their fellow ship-builders on the Clyde, and it was announced that unless the men capitulated by May 2nd all their comrades in the north of England would be sent to keep them company in the streets. Committees representing the unions have undergone all the humiliation to which labor has grown accustomed. For days in London they have gone from the board of trade to the House of Commons begging for their six pence—and all to no avail. Now comes the news that the men have capitulated. Most of them were too disheartened even to vote on the matter. A war correspondent describes processions of starving women and children to be seen along Tyneside and men with the wolf-stare in their eyes. No wonder the strike failed. But labor's defeats are often her greatest victories, and there are not wanting signs to show it is so in this case.

Germany.—Since January 3rd friends of liberty the world over have been rejoicing at the success of the Prussian Socialists in the Landtag elections. Seven seats when three or four at most had been hoped for! But to one who has been reading the German papers during

* In justice to the Society for the Advancement of India it should be added that they have undertaken the encouragement of industrial education in India. They are making special efforts to bring promising young Hindus to America, see that they are properly educated, and then send them back prepared to do something to increase the independence of their countrymen.

the campaign it is not the number of seats that gives the result its chief importance. The pre-election propaganda was one that went deep into the national life, deep into the racial conscience. The bungling incompetence of the Junker Landtag was pitilessly revealed. Relentlessly the Socialist papers displayed pictures of Prussia's shame. The miserable incomes of the poor, their heavy taxes and their lack of political power were made to speak in thundering accents. If you hold to your principle, the government was asked, and those who pay should rule, who should hold power but those who produce the wealth? So the result means, not merely that seven Socialists have broken into the sacred chamber of the Landtag, but that thousands upon thousands have become class-conscious revolutionists. And it was the so-called Free-Thinker (Freisinnige) party that lost most of them. This indicates another step in the drawing of sharp class lines in politics. A comic note is added to the affair by the conservative papers, which now cry with one voice: "Behold, since you have gained representation our electoral system is justified."

Belgium.—The news from Belgium, if less startling, is not less agreeable. In the election held on May 24th the Socialists gained five seats. When one takes into account that only half the whole number of representatives was voted for and that the poor of Belgium are still smothered under a class electoral system the victory seems signifidant indeed. The issue was the government's bill for the taking over of the Congo region from the King. Just what effect the vote will have is difficult to forecast. It is evident that the bill is unpopular, but the Catholic party, which backs the government, still has a majority of eight—and two years in which to carry out its policy. Probably the bill will be passed with some modifications. Its enemies insist that the philanthropic Leopold receive some definite directions as to the disposition of the $250,000,000 which he is to receive in part payment for the colony.

Italy.—Early in May a strike was declared among the farm laborers of Parma. The demands were a certain scale of hours ranging from five in winter to ten in summer and a wage scale running from four cents an hour to eight, according to difference in work and conditions. The good order and firm solidarity of the strikers were remarked on by capitalist papers everywhere. Nevertheless the landlords were permitted to form bands of ruffiians to start trouble. Though they failed conspicuously in this the government finally detailed troops to the region. A number of sympathetic strikes have been called, till at the present time about 30,000 men are involved. When the landlords tried to recruit scabs from a neighboring province 25,000 laborers of this province were immediately called out in protest; needless to say the attempt was given over and the temporary strike was called off. The Socialist party is in active co-operation with the strikers, assisting in the determination of their policies and aiding in their support. Only 3,000 men can be found to take the place of the 30,000 who are idle. All this goes to show what labor can do when it is organized and sticks together.

The difficulties which confront the editors of an encyclopedia are not unlike those which worry the nerves of the women of certain social positions, who, when they entertain, must face the difficult problem of being "exclusive" enough to maintain the tone of their functions, and yet inclusive enough to avoid omitting anyone whose feelings might be hurt or who might become an enemy. It is generally easy to find flaws in an encyclopedia, and to disagree with the choice of its editors, alike as to the things admitted and the things omitted. *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reforms,* edited by the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss and published by Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, is no exception to the rule.

It is easy to find fault with the work. Many of the biographies have apparently been copied from the old edition and no attempt made to bring them down to date. In some instances the fact that the subjects of the biographies have been dead some years is not noticed. Some very notable men have been omitted and some very insignificant ones included. There is a lack of perspective and mature judgment about the biographical contents of the volume which seems most unfortunate. Likewise the carelessness of the proofreader has sprinkled the pages with errors of varying degrees of importance. In general great caution should be observed in quoting from the book, and dates and statistical data should be first of all verified by reference to the original sources.

Lest these criticisms seem too sweeping and too numerous, let me hasten to add that, with all its defects, the volume is one which every sociological student and every Socialist speaker and writer should own, or at least have access to. It is an invaluable and indispensable work of reference. The earlier edition of the same work, though likewise marred by many shortcomings, has been for me personally an inexhaustible mine of information and suggestion—especially suggestion. The new edition is not merely a revision of the old; it is almost entirely a new work, so that the old will still have its own value. Socialism in all its phases, and matters relating to the Socialist movement all over the world, are generously treated, and a copy of the work ought to be in every Socialist Club library. Comrades who are unable to afford to purchase such an expensive volume for themselves would do well to see that it is secured for the public libraries in their respective localities.

* * *

A batch of books from various English publishers bears eloquent witness to the growth of the Socialist movement in that country. England is getting a literature of Socialism quite distinct from that of the "eighties" and "nineties" in that it deals in a more concrete way with

the vital problems of English life. First of all, there is a little primer, entitled *Socialism,* from the pen of my good friend, J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., the "Whip" of the Labor party in the House of Commons and Chairman of the Independent Labor party. Its tone is that of the "Opportunist" element in the movement, and one could wish for a little more of the revolutionary spirit and a more virile appeal, but it must be admitted that, as a primer, it is a very useful statement of the main arguments for Socialism. Its style is lucid and direct. The book is one of a series published by T. C. & E. C. Jack, London.

Not long ago I noticed a book dealing with English Socialism from the pen of one Brougham Villiers. Similar in many ways is a volume published in this country by the Scribners, *British Socialism,* by J. Ellis Barker, author of a work on German economic problems, in which the writer's bias against Socialism is plainly manifested. In the present work of more than five hundred pages Mr. Barker has gathered together a mass of material in the shape of quotations from the writings and speeches of Socialists, which he presents as the case against Socialism.

This method of arguing is doubtless very effective in some cases, especially among people of "piffling" temperaments and mental processes. It is so easy to detach a phrase or a sentence from its context and thus make the writer say something he never did say nor dream of saying. Mr. Barker has developed the art of so quoting as to make writers misrepresent themselves to a high state of perfection. He is not above quoting, as the opinion of Marx, that labor is the sole source of wealth, just because he finds the statement made in a penny pamphlet, not by Marx, but by our friend A. P. Hazell, and in spite of the very vigorous protest of Marx against the folly of such a statement. Poor verse by would-be poets, wherever it contains a notably silly picture of the future state, or a crude or coarse jest, is used as an argument against the whole Socialist movement. All the old and time-worn "quotations" are here to prove that Socialism will destroy the family and the home and that Socialists would abolish God. We are familiar with them all. Socialism in Great Britain will not be hindered by Mr. Barker!

Another English Savior of Society from Socialism enters the lists in the person of Mr. St. Loe Strachey, editor of that classic organ of British respectability, *The Spectator.* While the great literary weekly is a paper not widely read by the workingmen of England, Mr. St. Loe Strachey has addressed to one of them a series of letters on Socialism, which the Macmillan Company of London and New York has published in a cheap paper-bound volume of 126 pages, entitled "Problems and Perils of Socialism." The book is dedicated to President Roosevelt as "one of the most convinced and most powerful opponents of Socialism living"—a bit of characterization which some of our comrades who are inclined sometimes to class the President with the "near-Socialists" will do well to observe.

The workingman to whom Mr. St. Loe Strachey addresses himself—he assures us that the letters are genuine—is a type to occasion remark. He is not a typical proletarian. He is a man who began life as a small boy working in a coal-mine. To-day his work "is in a shop doing a large retail business" in a small Somersetshire village. Somehow, the description does not seem quite ingenuous. Is the "shop" Mr. Harvey's own, I wonder, or is he a hired clerk or manager? The status of the "workingman" is not quite clear from the description! The only other information we have concerning this "workingman" is that he is quite as bitterly opposed to Socialism as Mr. St. Loe Strachey, and that he reads and sometimes writes for *The Spectator.* He is, in a word, an extraordinary British workman!

Given a self-made man of this type, proudly conscious of having

risen from humble beginnings as a "pit boy" in a coal-mine to a comfortable position in life, able to enjoy the aristocratic six penny weekly which Mr. St. Loe Strachey edits, and bitterly opposed to Socialism, it does not require very distinctive ability as a logician, nor very profound knowledge of the subject, to convince him that his opinion of Socialism is a just and wise one. Mr. St. Loe Strachey may be said to have just the necessary equipment for that particular task. He could, no doubt, convince Mr. Roosevelt that he is quite correct in *his* opinion of Socialism, or Mr. Post that the "Labor Trust" is bad and dangerous. He seems to be admirably fitted to convince eminently respectable gentlemen that they are very wise and just.

Mr. St. Loe Strachey trots out the French National Workshops of '48 and the English Poor Law of the days prior to 1834 as examples of the failure of Socialism in application! He, too, argues that Socialism will destroy the family and the home. He is fair-minded enough to acknowledge that modern Socialism has nothing in common with Plato's community of wives, that no considerable number of intelligent Socialists want to destroy the family. But he insists that the family will be destroyed by the feeding of hungry school children, the endowment of motherhood and old-age pensions. He does not for a moment face the alternative: suppose, for the sake of argument merely—for I would not for a moment make the concession seriously—that we admit the contention. Then the question arises whether starving school children, so that they must grow up inefficient as citizens and parents, neglecting motherhood so that the race-stock perishes, and leaving the veterans of industry to end their days in misery, to fill pauper graves, are not worse evils than the admittedly serious evil he fears? Honesty compels attention to that side of the argument upon which Mr. St. Loe Strachey is suggestively silent.

If old-age pensions will destroy the family, it is strange that the families of the horde of England's pensioners are not destroyed. Her Prime Ministers and, I believe, some other Cabinet members, retire upon pensions; so do her judges; so do her military officials as well as her common soldiers and sailors. Mr. St. Loe Strachey gets over this difficulty by the very amusing expedient of calling the big pensions to the titled pensioner "deferred pay." As such, apparently, it will not hurt the family. Very well! I presume there would be no great objection to calling the pensions for workers by that same name. Personally, I like it a little better! Endowed motherhood has not yet gone very far. In some cities in Germany and France it is believed that the bearing of a child is a service to the State, and that it is important to the State that the children born be kept alive and as healthy as possible. President Roosevelt could not consistently oppose that, I think. But his English worshiper fears that any grant to a poor mother which would enable her to bring her baby into the world in decency, and to start it fairly in life instead of leaving it to die while she works in a factory, would destroy the family. But never a word has he to say concerning the sums voted by Parliament for every princeling born! He does not quote the House of Wettin, whose mothers have been amply endowed, to show that the family has been destroyed or even injured.

The editor of *The Spectator* is like the little boy in the street under my study window as I write. He is beginning to celebrate the Fourth of July several days in advance. He is impatient and disgusted, I see, because he cannot make noise enough. His squibs and firecrackers seem to be damp. And Mr. St. Loe Strachey's firecracker is likewise damp and powerless!

* * *

Morris Winchevsky's little book, *Stories of the Struggle,* was well

worth publishing. The volume, which is one of the most satisfactory from a mechanical point of view yet published by Charles H. Kerr & Company contains fifteen little storiettes and sketches, all relating to the proletarian movement, most of which have appeared in various English and American Socialist papers. Comrade Winchevsky is a Russian Jew, one of the pioneer workers in the Socialist movement. To write his history would be to cover a very large part of the history of the Jewish Socialist movement. He has served it in every conceivable capacity—as street speaker, lecturer, editor, organizer and man-of-all-work. Generous to a fault, he is one of the most loveable men in the Socialist movement. He is a poet and a humorist and some of these sketches are delightful examples of his whimsical viewpoint. The book should have a good market. As an inexpensive gift-book it will doubtless prove very acceptable. It is to be hoped that a similar collection of his best verse will follow.

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Our English comrade, Edward Carpenter, the poet upon whom the mantle of Whitman seems to have fallen, has just published, through the Macmillan Company, New York, a volume of miscellania, poems and sketches, entitled *Sketches From Life*. There are about a dozen prose sketches, including an interesting account of the International Socialist Congress held at Paris in 1889. There are also a number of poems, both original and translated, of which a majority have been published in an earlier volume. The famous song, "England Arise!" is here given in full. As usually printed, five stanzas only are given in place of the twelve stanzas here printed. Carpenter has done nothing better than this stirring song of battle.

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The Career of a Journalist, by William Salisbury, published by the B. W. Dodge Company, New York, is a somewhat inconsequential volume. The author describes his experience as a newspaper reporter in various large cities: Kansas City, Omaha, Chicago and New York. It is a commonplace story enough, told without any particular literary merit, but is not without a certain interest. There is a great deal of the kind of gossip one hears in the offices of great newspapers and in "joints" patronized by the lesser lights of newspaperdom. Each chapter contains the usual amount of boasting about "scoops," "beats" and "fakes," though none of these can be said to be of a sensational order. Perhaps the most interesting parts of the book, for the average Socialist reader, are those which describe the workings of the great Hearst newspaper machine. One lays down the book with the feeling that Mr. Salisbury has, in the main, told the truth about the Hearst methods, and that his picture of the intellectual anarchy and moral hypocrisy is fairly reliable. One also gets the impression that real "reporting" is on the decline, that it is fast becoming a lost art. The newspapers have become purveyors of misinformation and disseminators of ignorance.

WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

There is going to be inaugurated another confidence game and period of "prosperity." Several factors are co-operating to produce industrial activity in the near future. The action of the United States Steel Corporation in cutting prices of iron and steel 50 cents to $4 per ton, the enforced reduction of wages in the textile industry and resumption of operation in many mills, the decision of the anthracite coal barons to push work during the next ten months to accumulate a surplus, the wage reductions in the coke district, the production of "bumper" crops by the farmers of the nation, and last, but not least, the nomination of Taft and Sherman to lead the Republican party in the national campaign, are all signs that point to an early resumption of business by the captains who hold the industrial forces of the nation in the hollow of their hands.

"There are ten men in this country who can bring about a panic whenever they chaase," Senator Depew declared in a speech several years ago. The late Governor Pingree of Michigan made the statement shortly before he died that the time had practically arrived when a few men could sit in their New York offices and set in motion or close down the important industries of the nation upon a moment's notice. Congressman Bourke Cochran said in a speech in New York last winter that in reality five men—Rockefeller, Morgan, Harriman, Hill and Armour—are masters of American industry. Probably if this question is closely studied it will be found that John D. Rockefeller is to-day the real monarch on American soil who issues orders to any and all capitalistic subalterns.

Iron and steel production is the cornerstone of American manufacturing. Over a year ago many of the railroad corporations began to cancel their orders for rails—partly to "teach a lesson" to certain Republican politicians who started to run amuck, and partly to inaugurate their campaign to squeeze water out of their stocks and get rid of the sucker element of would-be capitalists who invest a few hundred or thousand dollars in the hope of getting rich quick and becoming big plutocrats. The lowering of prices by the steel trust will cause the railroads to again place their orders, and the magnates are looking forward to a busy fall to haul the "bumper" crops that will tend to depress prices for the farmers, but will not cause the milling and other combines to suffer to any appreciable extent.

The anthracite coal barons are anxious to pile up a surplus of 10,000,000 tons by April 1, 1909, when the wage scale with the miners expires, and upon which date they can lean back in their office chairs and announce to the men that they can quit work and come back again when they have starved long enough. The textile barons, on their part,

introduced a highly scientific scheme by which they couldn't lose in "restoring prosperity." First, they decided that they would not lower the prices of their goods; then they voted to restrict production to strengthen their price list, while at the same time those employes who would be laid off would become more docile if they saw the soup-houses staring them in the face again. Lastly they informed their already underpaid, half-starved workers that they would be privileged to come to work if they would accept a reduction of 18½ per cent in their wages. And the thousands of employes flocked back. What else could they do? They said a half loaf is better than no bread.

Now it can be readily understood that when a million or two iron and steel, railway, mine and textile workers are permitted to resume their toil to produce more profits for their masters then industry will revive rapidly, and the building, clothing and other trades will follow the "prosperity" procession in sympathy. Now come the politicians to point out to those who are lucky enough to have employment that they are enjoying the blessings obtained from the magnates by the Republican party, and to assure those who are standing idly in the labor market waiting for purchasers to bid for them that they, too, will be allowed to return to work if they will have faith and confidence in the grand old party.

So, through this combination of circumstances, all indications point to a general increase of business activity. The powers that be will bend all their energies to furnish work for the workingman, believing that dissatisfaction with the capitalistic system will be largely minimized if labor is allowed to enter the treadmill. Of course the question of wages is important, but not as important as the great boon of being permitted to stand before the fiery furnace or burrowing in the bowels of the earth, or risking life and limb on the railways, or sweating in the stuffy mills. When John meets Bill carrying a dinner pail and is asked, "Are you working?" it is a great comfort to reply, "Sure!" The wage proposition is secondary and need not be discussed for fear that the bird of "prospertiy" may take fright and fly away.

Just how long "prosperity" will continue, how long "free" labor will be permitted to work, after election is another question. If wage reductions, as introduced by the textile manufacturers, are to continue, and the purchasing power of the workers cut 15 to 20 percent, the forced "prosperity" of the plutocrats and their politicians cannot last very long, for the less money the laboring man receives the less he can spend and the less needs to be manufactured. The trust magnates are systematizing industry so thoroughly that it is doubtful whether, except in anticipation of strikes, as in the case of the mine barons, the captains in control will pile up much of a surplus stock in any line of business. The tendency is to hold the supply within the limits of immediate demands in order not only to maintain prices and ward off criticism, but to hold a club over labor that threatens intermittent or chronic lay-offs if organization is persisted in and "unreasonable demands" are made.

Intelligent workingmen should understand that capitalism is evoluting much more rapidly than labor, and that its trained captains are introducing scientific schemes that are all to the merry in benefiting the capitalist class, which class regards labor as a commodity, to be bought like everything else. And since a few men are now in control of industry and can spring panics or introduce "prosperity" almost at will, the mass of workers are becoming as powerless as slaves. Therefore, they must not only organize to deal with the questions of wages in the most effective manner, but they must also carry their fight to the polls and down the system that degrades, robs and enslaves them and the parties

that uphold that system. The Socialist party holds the key to the situation and ought to receive the support of every honest, thinking workingman in the country.

That the leading officials of organized labor are beginning to appreciate the fact that they cannot stand still and that progress must be made if unionism is to remain alive is demonstrated by the fact that the international bodies in the various branches of industry are displaying a genuine desire to adjust their jurisdictional controversies and get together. The iron trades and crafts have just perfected an alliance which will be known as the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. It includes nearly 400,000 working people and will embrace every branch of the metal industry. The new department is formed on the lines of the Allied Printing Trades Council and the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. It will issue charters to local councils and endeavor to adjust all questions that are peculiar to the metal trades.

Negotiations are under way among the clothing trades to form a similar department. It is proposed to include the journeymen tailors, the garment workers, shirt waist and laundry workers, cloakmakers and perhaps several other organizations. The combined membership of the clothing alliance will be in the neighborhood of 200,000.

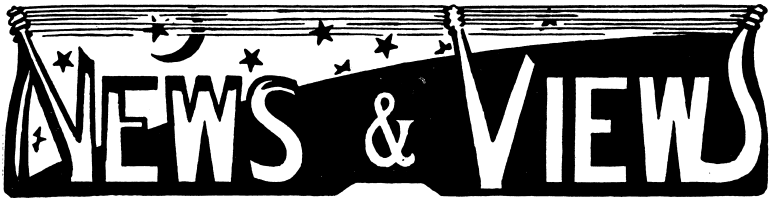
About the time that this number of the REVIEW reaches its readers the Western Federation of Miners will be in session at Denver. The Western men will be addressed by a committee chosen at the last convention of the United Mine Workers in Indianapolis. W. D. Haywood addressed the latter and advocated a closer alliance between the coal and metaliferous miners, with the result that the Indianapolis convention appointed a committee to visit the Western men and endeavor to arrange a plan to get together and make one common cause. If unity is accomplished between the two organizations and the coal men are successful in reorganizing the anthracite miners the new order would have a combined membership of nearly 500,000. The marine workers are not yet showing any signs of coming together. Probably the present battle in which they are engaged with their open-shop masters will have the effect of arousing the rank and file sufficiently to cause them to instruct their officials in no uncertain tones to work out a plan of federation to include every toiler on or along the waterways of this country. It is only fair to say that the seamen are almost wholly at fault that there is no close federation among the marine and longshore workers. The sailors are living in the past and their officers, with one or two exceptions, are ultra-conservative to the reactionary limit.

The railway brotherhoods are also coming nearer to each other, although it is doubtful whether the engineers and conductors will ever consent to enter a close federation. I have received a tip, by the way, that at the coming convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Firemen a proposition will be pressed by influential members that Eugene V. Debs be reinstated and accorded all the privileges of full membership. Debs withdrew fifteen years ago and organized the A. R. U., which was destroyed by the combined efforts of the railway magnates, aided and abetted by Grover Cleveland. Debs has a warm spot in the hearts of the railway workers, and, while this contemplated move has no political significance, still it is a straw showing that there is a progressive wind blowing along the railway tracks.

Samuel Gompers and his fellow-politicians are not even having pot-luck with their punish-your-enemies-and-reward-your-friends party. Except in isolated places the working people are not taking very kindly to

the idea that they can be bound, gagged and delivered to Tom, Dick and Harry by Gompers or anybody else. Those workers who are independent are likewise independent of Gompers or any other would-be leader (or boss). Those who are dependent, who are Republicans or Democrats, will stick to their parties, as a rule. A few labor papers are enthusiastically supporting the Gompersonian policy in their editorial columns, and "next to reading matter" appear half-tone photos and eulogistic ads of "our friends" who are running for office—at so much per line. It's wonderful how many "good men" there are in some communities, and all running for office, too. Labor is indeed fortunate in those places.

Every reader noticed how Sam'l and his executive council marched into Chicago last month and prepared a few planks for the G. O. P., and how the aforesaid planks were ignominiously turned down. If any Socialist cracks a smile in Sam's presence because of the snub that he received and might have expected our great labor leader will get mad as a wet hen and swear that he is being abused most shamefully—by the Socialists, not the Republicans, who piled it on thick by nominating Injunction Taft and Sherman, the man who, with Cannon, slaughtered the labor bills in Congress. A couple of months ago Gompers printed a list of districts in which the Socialists had the balance of power in elections, the object being, apparently, to show that if the "reds" would only desert their party and permit themselves to be thrown from one capitalist-bunch to the other they would undoubtedly be "good" trade unionists. Since the socialists refused to be used as chattels Sam is displeased with them, although he never scolds those union men who are Republicans and Democrats and stick to their parties. Some day things will be different.



Capitalist Control of Education. Dr. Henry Leffmann, whose article thus entitled appears elsewhere in this issue of the Review, is one of the most prominent scientists in the state of Pennsylvania, and his intimate acquaintance with many and various educational institutions should command a hearing for what he has to say. He is officially connected with the Wagner Free Institute of Science, the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery, and the Philadelphia Polyclinic and College for Graduates in Medicine, and is connected with many Scientific societies.

Short Ones. The basis of life is economic, to begin with. Your immortal soul will take wings and fly somewhere else if you don't feed your body here on earth. The problem of civilization now is how to get a fair portion of board and clothes for everybody.

* * *

Non-committal men play for popularity and follow the mob. Decisive men speak and lead the mob. The history of civilization is the history of ideas. A class-struggle is a contest between two divisions of society, each fighting for the supremacy of its idea. Therefore, a socialist has ideas, intellectual conceptions. The socialist thinks! People who think get results. Capitalism is afraid of results.

* * *

No, my dear Gaston, I hardly think capitalism will explode on Monday afternoon and that on Tuesday morning we'll have the co-operative commonwealth in full swing. I believe in the mutation of species and in an egg being suddenly transformed into a chicken. I believe in economic determinism, the class-struggle, the correctness of the theory of surplus value as expounded by Marx. I believe that socialism is in harmony with Darwinism. But Gaston, you must acknowledge that from Monday evening till Tuesday noon is a very short while—a very short while!

The great need of the time is Hope. Too many are sunken and bogged in despair, wandering bewildered in the nightmare of capitalism. Competition is waste. Commerce is hypocrisy. Business is war and stratagem and treachery. All these beget despair. The keyword of modern civilization is Acquisition—get all you can if you have to rob others of what they need. The keyword of Socialism is Service—do all you can and ask no more than is coming to you for what you do. Taking this viewpoint, the Socialist has Hope, because his belief in humanity is higher and finer than that of the marauding champions of competition. **Charles Sandburg.**

A Fatal Blunder of Marxian Socialists. One who reads the literature of the Marxian Socialist propaganda will observe that in nine cases

out of ten, the words "laborer, labor" refer to laborers, labor in shops, factories, and laborers organized into unions. In not one case in ten can the language include unorganized labor. In not one case in a hundred can it include farm labor. In an article in February number of the Review, Lamonte advises such a course. In "The Theoretical System of Marx" Boudin sneers at farmers as "peasants", and ridicules their attachment to the land, to home. The writer was reared on a farm, in a farming community. His experience impels him to place as high an estimate on those Boudin sneers at as "peasants", as on those who sleep in a bunk in a boarding house; and those who spend their leisure time in saloons, variety theaters and dives.

Marxian Socialists overlook certain facts. Farmers and farm laborers produce, control what feeds all other classes. They control the land on which what feeds others is produced. They control the country in which mines, fuel, forests, and nearly all on which other labor operates, is located. They control the land traversed by railroads, telegraph, telephone, express and mail service; and have these systems in their power. They hold all other classes by the throat. Of the 16,000,000 families in the United States, nearly half are families of farmers, farm laborers, and persons swayed by farmers. They are more largely American born and reared, than any other class. In intelligence, brain, stamina, manhood and womanhood, they are the peers of any other class. It is gross display of ignorance or meanness, or insult, to compare American farmers educated in our public schools, to peasantry of other lands. Would it not be wise for Socialists to devote to farmers, the time demanded by the fact that farmers hold the realization of Socialism in a clenched fist! Should not they study the question: "How will Socialism benefit farmers, farm laborers", and show farmers and farm laborers that they too would be benefited by Socialism. There is too much of the shop in Socialist talk, and not enough of the soil. It is said "A word to the wise is sufficient."

Clark Braden.

Frank P. O'Hare writes from Vinita, Okla., ordering 1,000 copies of the Common Sense of Socialism. Of his brief tour through Illinois he says: "At the third town were many self-sacrificing individuals but no **Team Work.** Nobody had the least idea of advertising the meeting and everybody was surprised when I asked for torches and whether the stand or soap box was ready. At Staunton the comrades arranged three big meetings. They were all Hustlers, but at my next stop the soap box was again lacking. They seemed to feel that the speaker's magnetism should draw the crowd. Though Truth is m
helps a lot to have a few physical aids.

What we need is organization! We want to organize the men! We want to organize the women! We want to organize the children! Put out books. Establish delivery systems for daily papers; establish headquarters and libraries. That is the *real* work. But we all want to shine as great writers and wonderful speakers. For the dull, hard, practical, vital work, there are few volunteers.

Perhaps I am impatient. We will reach the more effective stage of work later on. The Future is ours. Every day I feel more enthused at the stupendous work before us and the certainty that we will have hundreds where individuals are now blazing the way."

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Removal to Larger Quarters. The old building at 264 Kinzie street which we have occupied for the last two years is to be torn down, and we have removed to larger and much pleasanter quarters at 153 Kinzie street, a little over three blocks west of our former location. The new office is half a block west of Clark street, and one block north of the river, being about half way between Brand's Hall and the office of the Daily Socialist. The mistake is often made of supposing that we publish the Daily. We publish nothing but the Review and the books described in our own catalogue, and an order sent to us for other publications is not a help to our work but the reverse. If you order what we have you will get prompt service; if you order what we do not have, you will simply be notified that the money is held to your credit.

Our co-operative publishing house is organized to do just one thing, and that is to publish books and the Review. Nearly two thousand socialists are now co-operating through our company to bring out the books that the socialist movement needs. We do not yet publish all; we shall add to our list as fast as more capital is subscribed. But we already have at least two-thirds of the socialist books published in the English language that are worth reading. A first class Socialist library can be made up from the books we publish without including a single outside book, while it would be impossible to make up a library in any way representative of the Socialist Party of America if all books controlled by us were omitted. In comparing our catalogue with that of any other publisher it should be observed that we own the plates and copyright of nearly every book in our list, while most socialist booksellers buy their books in small quantities either from us or from various capitalist houses that publish them for profit.

In nearly every case, our stockholders buy our books at a small fraction of what they would cost if brought out by a commercial publishing house. For example, they buy at 90 cents postpaid Morgan's Ancient Society, which until we brought out our edition, was sold at $4.00. Spargo's recent book "The Common Sense of

Socialism", already in its eighth thousand, is larger than an earlier book by the same author sold by an eastern house at $1.25 net, but our price to stockholders, postage included, is 15 cents in paper; 60 cents in cloth.

The reason we can make these prices is because most of our capital is subscribed by our co-operative share-holders, who expect no interest, and we are therefore enabled to sell at the actual cost of production without running behind. We have no deficit to make up, but we do need more capital to publish more books and to pay off some temporary loans from comrades who have helped us over hard places. If you are not already a stockholder, send ten dollars for a share; if you can not spare the full amount all at once you may pay a dollar a month. This will entitle you from the start to buy all the books you want at cost; full particulars on request. In no other way can you get a first-class socialist library at so slight a cost.

Socialist Playing Cards. Through an oversight we have omitted to speak in this department of one of the most novel and ingenious bits of socialist propaganda ever offered. We have lately arranged for the manufacture of a pack of playing cards with which any of the ordinary card games can be played at sight. But the unusual thing about these cards is that each of them carries a revolutionary rhyme tending to stir up discontent among the "lower classes". The picture cards have the general appearance of ordinary playing cards, but on closer examination it will be seen that the Kings are caricatures of the Trusts, the Queens of the Capitalist Virtues and the Jacks of the Guardians of the System. The price of the cards is 50 cents, postage included, and a stockholder can buy three packs for a dollar; there is no discount on a single pack. Try these cards the first time you entertain a party of friends, and watch the result.

Pocket Library of Socialism. This is a series of sixty propaganda booklets, always kept up to date by discarding old ones and publishing better ones. Some of the latest issues are the Socialist Platform of 1908, Where we Stand and Forces that Make for Socialism, by John Spargo, Industrial Unionism, by William E. Trautmann, Woman and Socialism, by May Walden, and a reprint of William Morris's "Useless Work versus Useless Toil". Separately these booklets sell for five cents each, but we will send the full set of sixty with the Review one year for $1.50. Our stockholders buy these booklets at a dollar a hundred postpaid or $7.00 a thousand by express at their own expense.