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The International Socialist Review

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Edited by CHARLES H. KERR

Associate Editors: MAX S. HAYES, ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE,
JOHN SPARGO, ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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THE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST
REVIEW

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Constructive Socialism.



NOT the least amusing spectacle at our National Convention, recently held, was the rather undignified manner in which some of our "leaders" were stampeded into the opportunist camp. Time was when we were led to believe that our tactics had to be consistent with our principles, that they were merely the logical attitude we were bound to take on the line of march to the goal. But that has all changed. The only question now asked is: "*Will it make good?*"

To satisfactorily answer the Yankeeism of "making good" is all that is now required. And as our Wisconsin comrades have "made good," our "leaders" hastened to second the motion to adopt every resolution offered by the delegates from the Badger state.

And they came "thundering in the index," with the opening sentiment in the Declaration of Principles in the Platform. Teetotalers must literally hold their breath after perusing this first sentence for fear there may follow, in enumerating articles of food, clothing, and shelter, reference to the particular brand of beer, no less than the particular brand of tactics, that has made Milwaukee famous.

Now, the writer of these lines does not intend to be captious. More than that, he is firmly convinced that what few impossibilists are yet extant and able to command a hearing

can be depended upon to fly to the other extreme with the first glow of success at the polls. It is recognized, further, that Socialism presents itself in three aspects. It is not only an explanation of the past and an interpretation of the present but a guiding star for the future, and of these three component parts, more important than the philosophy and science will be our statesmanship in cruising by the breakers that even now confront us. It may do for the decrepit Republican party to exclaim in despair: "God knows!" But it will not do for the Socialists. For we are God's chosen people. *We also know!*

Socialists elected to office will have to do something. They will have to handle questions of immediate concern and prove themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them by the workers. Socialism incompetent is no better than capitalism bankrupt. It may do, for the first day, to proffer a resolution to the effect that "we herewith inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth." But it would grow rather monotonous to offer the same resolution daily for more than a year. Besides that, your constituency is likely to grow impatient and mutter something or other about lynching.

So that we recognize the necessity of having a positive program, outlining with some degree of certainty a course of action for Socialists in office to pursue. What criticism is herewith tendered is not against a positive program *of itself*, but against such "constructive" measures as have a tendency to bring into disrepute the very having of such a program.

To begin with, the placing of clocks in cars in Milwaukee may be constructive—but it is not Socialism. The straining after a whole raft of insignificant reforms of like nature may be necessary in that city and may have a very salutary effect upon its voters—but it is not Socialism. In this connection we must tell the story coming from Cleveland. When one of the Milwaukee tacticians arrived in the town of Cleveland to show it the error of its ways, he was dismayed to learn that Cleveland was somewhat in advance of Milwaukee in every way, even though it boasted no Socialist aldermen. Aforesaid Milwaukee tactician thereupon scratched his head and unburdened himself of the hope that after ten years of hard work, such as the Milwaukee aldermen were engaged in, they in Milwaukee might expect to arrive to that municipal excellence already attained by Cleveland!

Particularly must fault be found with the constructivists for introducing the idea of "evolution," as against the Social Revolution. For, brought to the scratch, the constructivists would have to admit that they are quite as completely in the

dark as are our phrase-conscious impossibilists as to how the transition will come about. And most egregiously have they erred in hurling the epithet "utopian" at those who are not one with them.

Even Marx they have termed a utopian, although he appears to be sound enough to be exploited for the peroration of their platforms. Possibly Marx was a utopian. But, sometime in the '70s, he perceived clearly that the barricade had become a relic of antiquity and would, for the future, gather cobwebs in the lumber room. Despite which fact our Milwaukee comrades, ever and anon, go into hysterics because somebody or other will not forthwith proceed to arm the people.

Utopian? What is utopian? Is it utopian to miscalculate the very moment we are to arrive at the bridge? And is that all that is utopian? We ridicule the idea of answering in detail how affairs will be managed *under* Socialism, but we suffer no compunction in describing how we propose to do everything, to the minutest details, *up to the very day* Socialism is "ushered in." It would seem that utopianism is only a matter of degree.

Well, then, let it be settled that our movement is broadening out of the period of "critical communism," to use the happy phrase of Labriola. Long enough have we idled away our days and nights of "sunshine and starshine." We must now take thought for the morrow. What thought shall we take? Let us see. In the year 1903 there appeared from the pen of one of our constructivists, Carl D. Thompson, a pamphlet entitled "The Principles and Program of Socialism." Therein we are informed that "three great fundamental truths underlie the Socialist philosophy," to-wit: First and foremost, the class-struggle; secondly, surplus value, and lastly, economic determinism. (Pp. 5, 6, 7.) So far so good. Five years later appeared another pamphlet from the pen of the same author, this one entitled: "The Constructive Program of Socialism." Herein, as the physician would say, the patient takes a turn for the worse. Once again Socialism is defined "for the sake of those who may happen to read only this." (P. 8.) And Socialism is defined as follows:

"A. That all public utilities shall be publicly owned. B. That these public enterprises shall be democratically administered. C. That every person shall be guaranteed the ownership of private property up to the full amount of wealth created by his personal effort. D. That the forms of industrial and commercial activities shall become orderly, systematic and co-operative, thus abolishing the wastes, antagonisms and demoralizing influences of competition. E. That

no man or set of men shall be allowed to grow rich from the labor of others. F. That conditions of labor, mental and manual, shall be progressively improved—hours shortened, wages raised, child labor abolished, insurance against accident, sickness, old age and death, established. G. That the opportunities for labor and the acquiring of the enjoyments of life shall be open and equal to all." There the alphabet ends.

From this it would appear that the class-struggle has been entirely obliterated, that the theory of surplus value is a purely academic question, and that economic determinism may be all right for the domeheads, but is too delicate a subject to be mentioned in mixed company. Has Socialism changed, or have the constructivists shifted their basis of operations? Verily, as Kautsky says in his "Social Revolution" (p. 36, Twentieth Century Press Edition): "It would seem that the only progress we make in social reform is as regards the modesty of the social reformers."

Anticipating that criticism may come, Thompson then proceeds to round off the sharp edges of his philosopher's stone. So he declares (pp. 9, 10):

"That Socialists do not expect to establish Socialism by sudden, violent, or revolutionary means, but through gradual evolutionary changes. . . . That Socialism, while fully realizing the existing class-struggle between the capitalist class (?), and while frankly espousing the cause of labor, seeking to organize and direct its struggles to a wise and successful issue, is not limited to wage-earners only. . . . Socialism does not propose to force the farmers' property into common ownership."

We think enough has been quoted (there is more of like tenor) to justify the indictment of Kautsky (pp. 23, 24): "Hence they try to bring into discredit the idea of revolution, and to represent it as a worthless method. They endeavor to detach from the revolutionary proletariat a Social Reform wing, and help thereby to divide and weaken it."

We come now to consider the matter of municipalization of public works. In undertaking an investigation into what Constructivist Liebnecht calls "state capitalism," we cannot do better than to begin by quoting, against the assumptions of our American constructivists, no less a constructivist authority than Jaures, who, in his "Studies in Socialism," in the chapter on "Strike and Revolution" (p. 125), says:

"So long as a class does not own and govern the whole social machine, it can seize a few factories and yards if it wants to, but it really possesses nothing. To hold in one's

hand a few pebbles of a deserted road is not to be master of transportation."

For a case in point we offer the following excerpt from Thompson's "Constructive Socialism" (p. 18):

"Enough was done to show how Socialism would relieve the people. And by the forced reduction of price from \$1.40 to \$1.00 per thousand (for gas) the people of Haverhill were saved \$18,000 every year on this one necessity alone. And had the cause of the people not been defeated by the courts they would have been saved a total of \$32,000 per year."

Despite which marvelous victory the voters of Haverhill turned out the Socialist legislators and persist in coquetting with capitalist class retainers. Here is meat for another chapter on the ingratitude of republics!

In the exuberance of his spirit the author then goes on to enumerate steps already taken in public ownership (p. 19): "Postoffice and public school system, roads, bridges, parks, life-saving stations and lighthouses, armies, navies, courts, police and fire departments"—succeeding each other in a helter-skelter, ambling over hurdles, breasting storms, fording rivers, tripping over swamps and spinning over mountain peaks, without so much as the quiver of an eyelash, while state, federal and foreign governments vie with each other in establishing public ownership, better wages, and shorter workdays, all serenely innocent of the fact that they are hastening the dawn of Socialism! Well, does Thompson's sudden discovery of that fact, or his ecstasy over that discovery, help hasten the coming of the glad day? Not at all!

Moreover, there is another side to this shield of government control and, for our own sakes, we ought to realize it. We shall not pause to point out the obvious absurdity of regarding the courts and police as among those public institutions of which the working class should be proud. We shall content ourselves with citing another example of public employment. It is such a flagrant instance of misrepresentation and popular misconception that it should suffice to encourage caution in the wagging of exuberant tongues. The case in point is that of Uncle Sam's postal service, concerning which the evidence was furnished by a man who aspires to be a letter carrier. The facts herein presented can be verified in any large city.

This, then, is the story of the substitute or "sub," covering the period lasting from a few months to as many years while on the waiting bench.

The "sub" is under obligation to work at any time, Sundays included, receiving no pay whatever for reporting,

although during the winter he generally remains around the office all day, and receiving the munificent wage of 30 cents an hour for the time he actually labors. Naturally, he does all the "dirty work." Sunday is his busy day. During the vacation period, which includes the months of July, August and September, with their sweltering weather, the "sub" has steady work. In mid-winter, when the cold is biting and there is plenty of sleet and slush, or a chilling rain falls, the "regular" may absent himself. Or, again, if a storm arises after he has made one trip, he may "lay off," receiving half a day's pay for his work, and leave the "sub" to complete the day, making two trips for the remaining half day's pay. Upon occasion, and especially in December and January, "subs" have often had to work from 6 a. m. till midnight with only sufficient intermission between trips to bolt a few mouthfuls of food. For the "sub" the eight-hour law is a farce. Often it is 2 o'clock in the morning when his day's work is done, to be up to report again at 6 the same morning.

During the period of substituting wages are a very questionable quantity. Yearly incomes fluctuate in amount between \$300 and \$800. This for 365 working days. He who is the hero of this story averaged a pay of \$1.13 per day during one six months' period, from which sum he had to spend twenty-five cents for car fare daily and buy his lunch.

Out of his meager wages, the "sub" has to replete his wardrobe to the extent of two uniforms a year, one costing something between \$9 and \$12, the other between \$14 and \$18, depending upon whether he patronizes sweatshop or union labor. He must also purchase two hats a year and keep himself in shoe leather. Because they are so intensely exploited, "subs" are generally driven to wear their uniforms while off duty and often have to mend their shoes themselves. Married men are compelled to break up housekeeping, while wives hire themselves out to keep the children from starving. Not a few cases of dishonesty upon the part of carriers have been traced to the inadequate wages paid them.

Having endured these hardships for the requisite time, the "sub" becomes a "regular" and enters upon the salary of \$600 the first year. The first year, however, is not always twelve months. It all depends upon the time of appointment. Uncle Sam, not infrequently, exacts fifteen months for the first year. Moreover, the newcomer is certain to have a night shift for the first year or two. The second year the stipend is increased to \$800, the third year it is \$900, the fourth year \$1,000, and, in the fifth year, he attains the pinnacle, \$1,100.

Do you wonder, then, that our "sub" grimly observes: "Very few, if any, applicants for civil service examinations for the position of letter carrier have the faintest conception or the slightest idea of the many trials, annoyances, vexations and hardships to be endured during the period of substituting. It means poverty, deprivation, disappointment, expectations (not realized) and a breaking of the health to some (in spite of the outdoor work). It is conceded by a majority of the substitutes that were the miseries and sufferings which are endured known to them in advance they would never have entered the service."

In the face of such a condition as this, how does Thompson sum up the strong points in favor of municipal ownership? After this fashion (p. 26):

"It has been shown beyond question that public ownership has reduced the cost of the necessities which they supply. If now we can save on postage, on education, on water, light, heat and transportation service—literally thousands upon thousands of dollars through public ownership—why may we not save still other thousands upon meat, milk, bread, clothing, coal, oil, insurance and other necessities of life? It is perfectly clear that this is the way to reduce the cost of living and prevent the monopolies and trusts from reaping the greater part of the results of our labor everywhere."

Letting this stand for all it is worth, what poor consolation! Does that compensate for loss of political independence, for the monotony of work, the insecurity for the future because of the whip of the old party ward heeler, the closing up of opportunities for the children, and the sense that all about you your fellowmen are writhing in slavery? They are indeed readily satisfied who, in profiting by state capitalism, imagine they have arrived at the millenium. They are not of the stuff of which are made pathfinders of the coming civilization!

Yet more than that, as Kautsky points out (p. 35):

"Municipal Socialism finds its limitations in the existing order of State and society, even where universal suffrage prevails in the communes. The commune is always tied down to the general economic and political conditions, and cannot extricate itself from them singly. Certainly, in municipalities, in industrial districts, the workers may get the administration into their own hands before they are strong enough to capture the political power in the State, and they are then in a position to eliminate from this administration at least the most objectionable features of hostility to labor, and to introduce reforms which cannot be expected from a bourgeois regime. But these municipalities soon find their limits, not

simply in the power of the State but also in their own economic helplessness."

Let us have done with municipal Socialism and state capitalism. Their only redeeming feature is that they are transitory.

We next approach the agrarian question. Here particularly must we bear in mind that Socialism is not a movement of vengeance, that we are not revolutionists because we smack our lips with joy at the prospect of expropriating the expropriators. Quite the contrary. Expropriation happens to be the only way in which we can accomplish our end—the full return for labor and the abolition of class privilege. So much—or all—of property will, therefore, be vested in the community as is necessary to prevent the exploitation of the wealth producers. That is all.

But it is just here that the constructivists fall wide of the mark. They propose that we promise the small farmers that Socialism will leave their ownership unimpaired. Such a proposition may be a good vote getter (which is doubtful), but in what respect is that part of a Socialist program? Why not assure musicians and cobblers that the violin and awl will remain private property under Socialism? Do we have to go out of our way to promise that certain relics of former methods of production are likely to survive for a time?

Again, it is absurd to imagine that the small farmers can be isolated from the influences of modern life. The days for colonies are past, agricultural no less than industrial. And, too, in dealing with the agrarian question, great caution will have to be exercised to see that no terms are made with the farmers whereby they will be elevated to the position of idle landlords, on a par with industrial and financial capitalists. Not that this is at all probable. But in a recent report of grange activity it appears that the organized farmers have already established a chain of banks and contemplate extending their holdings. Of course, there is no telling how soon capital of a more parasitic nature may appropriate to itself the farmers' savings. In the meantime it would be just as well to go slow in the direction of forming "entangling alliances."

On the other hand, why will not farmers be content with an assurance of the same measure of economic security that is offered the other elements in society? In the last analysis that is all that can truthfully be promised, for no more than that can be executed. This does not mean that the agrarian question should be ignored, even though upon the authority of Constructivist Kampffmeyer (*INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, p. 779), "After two very promising efforts at a settlement of

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the agricultural question the party (of Germany) as a whole has laid aside that question for the time being." The utopian Marx foresaw that much could be done toward breaking down the distinctions between town and country, and Kautsky and Simons have made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the agrarian question. In this connection, too, the selection by the National Convention of the party of a committee to delve into this question was a wise step, even if it results only in demonstrating the futility of attempting to buy rural voters at the price of barren promises.

One more specific criticism we shall make. That is in regard to the clause in the immediate demands covering the age limit of child laborers. Our "leaders" considered the motion to substitute a demand for the abolition of child slavery for the sixteen year clause as preposterous—utopian. Possibly it is. But the platform of the Republican party of Ohio, speaking for Taft, so declares and the Democratic party of Nebraska, speaking for Bryan, so affirms. Why cannot the Socialists *be as radical* as the Republicans and Democrats? And, following the example of the party in holding the expression of the International Congress relative to emigration and immigration as purely advisory, would it be sacrilegious for the Socialists of Pennsylvania, who are daily confronted with the menace of child slavery and who, last year, beheld the army of child toilers increased by a thousand despite a new law raising the age limit one year,—would it be heresy if the Pennsylvania Socialists maintained that this expression in the National program is advisory and stood by their own declaration for the extinction of the terrible institution?

However, as we did not intend to be hypercritical, enough has been said to indicate that whatever exaggerations the constructivists have been guilty of, time will soften down. Only through experience shall we learn how much of our positive program is puerile, how much importance to place in parliamentary action, and to what extent we shall have to turn to other methods to attain our ends. We need not fear the influence of Bernsteinism here in America. And, as an earnest of returning sanity upon the part of the constructivists, the following paragraph from the latest Wisconsin platform is submitted in evidence:

"The Social-Democratic party also stands for every radical change that will bring more wealth, more culture and more security to the masses of the people. But we call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are not a cure for all existing evils, nor are they all Socialistic measures. They are to be viewed rather as mere palliatives, capable of being

carried out even under present conditions. Under no circumstances should the people rest content with palliatives of this kind. The people should move onward to the conquest of all public powers, to an entire change of the present system for one which will secure to the people collectively the ownership of the means of production and distribution and thereby the blessings of our modern inventions, and a standard of civilization and culture hitherto unknown in history."

With that, we think sufficient has been said against constructivist tactics. It is just as meet that a fall be taken out of the comrades who stand on the opposite side of the fence and will not consider the question of a working program for fear of tarnishing the ideal. As if Socialism were not a live, growing movement, the child of actual, changing conditions, instead of a ritual known only to the high priests. Those Socialists, for example, who know Dr. Schaeffle only for his treatise on the "Quintessence of Socialism" have yet to read its sequel, "The Impossibility of Social Democracy," to admire the bold design and broad sweep with which the author formulates his positive program for social betterment—however much they may criticize its shortcomings in other directions. Having done which, we feel certain, their views will have been modified sufficiently to direct their attention to the problems of immediate concern. Following therefrom, differences of opinion other than those of a temperamental origin will quickly adjust themselves.

We shall then agree that it is fallacious to suppose that tactics can be transplanted bodily from European to American soil with the expectation that they will flourish just as well here. Possibly the present Franco-German tintured program of the constructivists will be replaced by one more in harmony with American traditions and more in conformity with the genius of American political and social institutions. In short, the American people can be depended upon to work out their own salvation in their own way.

In doing so, we, for them, need not postulate the stupidity of posterity. If we sincerely disclaim any intention of supplying society with a cut and dried system for its acceptance, then why cannot we leave it to posterity to settle one or two of the details for itself?

There is a reason stronger than that. To the American the issues in a national campaign present themselves in a slogan or two. He has never attempted to fly his political kite with a long tail amply decorated with brickbats. Of the American, more so than of the Frenchman, is true what Jaurès says (Question of Method, pp. 133, 134):

“Socialism can only realize its ideal through the victory of the proletariat, and the proletariat can only complete its being through the victory of Socialism. To the ever more pressing question, ‘How shall Socialism be realized?’ we must then give the preliminary answer, ‘By the growth of the proletariat to which it is inseparably joined.’”

So that while, for our own satisfaction and for the edification of Socialist legislators, the party may be expected to give the question of a positive program considerable attention in the future, for propaganda purposes we shall ever touch the hearts of the working class by bringing home to them their galling slavery, challenge their attention by pointing out the monstrous inefficiency of the present order, appeal to their intelligence by indicating the pronounced tendencies toward collectivism, and bind them in solidarity by infusing into them the spirit of this world-movement and the ideal of the world-salvation.

For the rest, we shall probably be just a trifle too optimistic in the expectation that nature will conform to our designs, and we shall be very apt to expend a deal of time and energy in discovering the obvious. And, when it is all said and done, we may find that, instead of exerting ourselves chiefly in teaching the working class the necessity for securing complete political power, as we should do, we have been preoccupied with non-essentials to such an extent that we failed to observe that the capitalist class were very obligingly preparing their own funeral pyre.

Philadelphia, Pa.

JOS. E. COHEN.

Joseph Dietzgen and Henry George.



TWENTY years ago Joseph Dietzgen died at Chicago and was buried at Waldheim Cemetery near where the Anarchist monument now stands. To commemorate the twentieth anniversary of his death his son, Eugene Dietzgen, has published an elegant volume of his miscellaneous writings, consisting mostly of hitherto unpublished matter, and entitled *Erkenntnis und Wahrheit* (*Knowledge and Truth*, J. H. W. Dietz, Stuttgart, 1908). We hope that an English translation will speedily follow. The contents of the book are:

1. Private letters to his son about practical wisdom and getting on in the world.

2. A letter on Negro slavery, written in 1861; a letter to Karl Marx and a review of his book, "*Kapital*"; an open letter to Prof. Heinrich von Sybel in reply to his attack on Marx's "*Kapital*."

3. Fifteen letters on Logic, known as the 2nd Series, and having for their subject a review of Henry George's "*Progress and Poverty*."

4. Ten miscellaneous articles on economics, philosophy and religion.

5. Ten letters to Mrs. Mina Werner, who was a playmate of his boyhood days. These contain what is perhaps the simplest and clearest statement of the Socialist philosophy and the dialectic method that can be made.

6. Four miscellaneous articles, including one on Goethe's love experiences.

7. An appendix, containing the article on Dietzgenism which appeared in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for November, 1907; a disparaging criticism of Dietzgen's work by George Plechanow, and an ample reply thereto by Paul Dauge of Moscow.

The controversy over the relative importance of Dietzgen's work and his proper place in Socialist literature, as well as in philosophy, is getting more interesting as Dietzgen's works become better known. But passing over that, we wish to call attention in this article to the 2nd Series of *Letters on Logic*, which discuss Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*.

Dietzgen and George were both self-taught workingmen. George was a native American and Dietzgen belonged to us in about the same way that Marx belonged to England, and hence has a special interest for us. He was in America three times, first in 1849-1851, again in 1859-1861, and again in 1884-1888. He knew this country thoroughly, not only in its great cities, but also in its rural life, which he understood and appreciated as but few of our German comrades do.

Both Dietzgen and George, besides being self-taught men, had traveled and seen something of the world. Dietzgen had spent a number of years in Russia, while Henry George, in early life a sailor, could almost be classed as a globe trotter. His lecture tours extended not only from San Francisco to New York, but also to the British Isles and Australia. But his agitation was confined to Anglo-Saxon countries because of his ignorance of other languages. In this respect, too, he was typically American. Dietzgen, on the other hand, besides his mother tongue, had a good knowledge of both English and French.

If ever a man needed the corrective, broadening and humbling influences which are derived from a study of foreign languages and literature, Henry George was such a man. Lawrence Gronlund used to complain of him, and justly, that he did not know what his co-laborers in other countries had done and were doing. His narrowness in this respect is the antithesis of that generous internationalism of Marx and Dietzgen, and which in fact characterizes the whole Socialist movement.

Those who have made a study of Socialism know that it takes years to work into it and rise to an appreciation of what it means. Schaeffle found this to be true in his experience. Eugene Dietzgen confesses that it was not till years after his father's death that he began to realize the fundamental importance of his teachings. Dietzgen says in one of his letters that to learn any sort of an ordinary trade, say shoemaking, requires an apprenticeship of at least three years. Yet when it comes to discussing logic and intricate questions of sociology, people with no training whatever do not hesitate to give their off-hand views as being the very dictates of eternal reason and truth.

There is no evidence that Henry George ever devoted three days or even three hours to a serious attempt to grasp Socialism; yet on page 197 of his *Political Economy* he has erected a lasting monument of his ignorance and shallowness by a would-be funny criticism of Marx's *Kapital*.

"Socialism," says George naively, "is more destitute of any central and guiding principle than any philosophy I know of."

Perfectly true! It is based on the concrete wants of a class and not on the metaphysical logic of an abstract principle, and this is what George could not understand. What he wanted was the formula or recipe for Socialism expressed in drachms and ounces on a slip of paper with the beautiful simplicity and exactness of the single tax, and which could be filled at the nearest legislative drug store. This is something that cannot be found in Socialist literature, no not even in Marx's *Capital*; so he threw aside the book in disgust.

In the early '80s, while Eugene Dietzgen, the son, was living in New York, he became so much interested in reading *Progress and Poverty* that he sent a copy back to his father in the old country, and the perusal of this was the occasion of his writing the letters on Logic.

He says in his first letter:

"Logic is the science of distinguishing; its instrument, the intellect, is an instrument which makes distinctions. That is its faculty, by means of which it makes for us clear pictures of things. We are here now dealing with political economy for the purpose of getting a clear idea of it by making clear distinctions. In this way we kill two and even three birds with one stone: we criticize Henry George, get an insight into political economy, and give a demonstration of true logic. The first series of my letters gave an illustration of logic as applied to the human mind; this second series will illustrate it as applied to human labor. Mind or thought activity is the general domain which is connected not only with all that is human, but also with the Universe itself. Labor, which is the object of this second series, is no less universal, and, considered in its connection with the cosmos, serves admirably to illustrate our special study, human brain work."

We cannot attempt here to follow Dietzgen through all of the fifteen letters on logic, but call attention particularly to the twelfth letter, in which he points out wherein he and George, though agreeing in their views of the physical world, disagree in their views of the spiritual world.

Of course Henry George's chapter on interest could not escape the keen glance of Dietzgen. George is at first inclined to think that Proudhon got the best of Bastiat in their celebrated controversy about interest; but the abolition of interest on capital was more than George could stand for; so he finds that after all interest can be justified by the analogy of natural growth. This he does in the following manner:

Thesis: Interest on capital is just.

Demonstration.

1. Interest is simply the spontaneous increase arising from the unaided processes of Mother Nature (land, plants and animals), which belongs to all, and the private ownership of which is unjust.

2. The products of labor are dead wealth which, instead of increasing in value, rapidly deteriorate, and the private ownership of this man-made wealth is just.

3. *Ergo*, interest on dead and deteriorating wealth (capital) is just.

Q. E. D.

This is as good an example of a paralogism as we know of. It is such reasoning as this that converts many readers of *Progress and Poverty*, not into single taxers, but into double taxers, i. e., Socialists. If Dietzgen had taken the time to extend his letters on logic so as to cover George's "law of human progress" as laid down in Book X of *Progress and Poverty*, they would have made highly interesting reading. But every well-equipped Socialist can cover this ground himself by applying the principles of economic determinism instead of George's ideological truth, justice, etc. George finds the mainspring of progress to have been, first, association; second, equality or justice. Thus association in equality is the law of progress. Association frees mental power for expenditure in improvement and equality (or justice or the moral law) prevents the dissipation of this mental power in fruitless struggles, says George. (*Progress and Poverty*, Book X, Chap. 111.) The fact is, the exact opposite is true. All our progress in the past has been made by association in inequality, under slavery, serfdom and wagedom, all of which, however, were just. George could not distinguish between justice and injustice. Dietzgen could. George knew only one kind of justice,—eternal justice. Dietzgen knew many kinds of justices, all temporal only.

Dietzgen and George furnish an excellent illustration of the difference between the dialectic and the metaphysical. George was a native of the land of patent medicines and universal specifics. As poverty is the universal disease he sought a specific cure therefor and found it in the communization of land (Nature). He was broad enough to see that land includes water, but not broad enough to see that art is man's nature and that nature includes human society and human labor. The separation of all things into nature on one hand and mankind on the other, with a barbed wire fence between them, is as fatal to a true insight as the old separation of things into mind and matter. George can unite all sorts of tools under the one category of capital, but cannot distinguish

between capital operated by the owner and that operated by wage labor. He can unite all sorts of labor products under the one category of wages, but cannot distinguish between the wages of the hired laborer working for another and the independent laborer working for himself. So that George's defect consists in making distinctions and combinations where they are not needed and failing to make them where they are needed. In other words, he is short on logic, as Dietzgen clearly points out.

If Dietzgen had treated *Progress and Poverty* as George treated Marx's *Capital*, by disdaining to seriously consider it, we should never have had the second series of letters on logic. But he was willing to learn from Henry George or from anyone else. He gave *Progress and Poverty* a careful study and analysis, recognizing its merits and pointing out its defects in a sympathetic manner. If the single taxers of to-day would study Dietzgen's works as fairly as he studied *Progress and Poverty*, they would learn something to their advantage. They would discover that in the search for truth it is not generally a question of *Either-Or but of Both-And*; that the Socialist philosophy is not a one-sided, exclusive philosophy, but an inclusive one, viz.:

Not individualism *or* socialism, but individualism *and* socialism;

Not reform *or* revolution, but reform *and* revolution;

Not asceticism *or* indulgence, but asceticism *and* indulgence;

Not materialism *or* idealism, but both, within limits;

Not metaphysical *or* dialectic, but both, within limits.

And so on through the whole list. The fact that all things are part truth and *only* part truth prevents them, even when they differ, from being irreconcilable with each other, and enables them, even when similar, to be differentiated. Such is the dialectic method of thinking.

If the ideas of Dietzgen could receive from the public the attention which Henry George was able to secure for his they would revolutionize that shallow, sluggish and frivolous condition of mind so characteristic of present day life. In the preface of his *Political Economy* Henry George congratulates himself on his success in propagating his doctrines in these words: "Of all the men of whom I have ever heard who have attempted anything like so great a work against anything like so great odds, I have been in the result of the endeavor to arouse thought most favored." But it was a flashy and short-lived success, like that of Proudhon with his famous scheme of equitable exchange; and Dietzgen disposes of George as

thoroughly and far more gently than Marx disposed of Proudhon in his *Poverty of Philosophy*.

In contrast to George's too hasty exultation it is well to note that Dietzgen in a letter to his son says he does not expect that one person in a thousand will understand the full significance of his doctrine at first glance; in fact if only five persons in all New York become interested in his logic he will be satisfied. And the test of twenty years finds it now firmly rooted and steadily growing. Joseph Dietzgen was ten years older than Henry George, and died when he was past 59; George died in his 59th year. Both deaths were premature and the manner in which they happened is characteristic of the two men. They died in the harness, each engaged in his own peculiar method of work. Henry George was running for Mayor of New York. He was an experienced and gifted speaker and enjoyed putting his theories before the public as only an enthusiast can. But the strain of a political campaign was too much for him. He did not fully realize that what he had to fight against was not mistaken views of right and wrong, justice and injustice, about which he had written so eloquently; but the material economic interests of his opponents, which the property class will uphold though they break every law of God and man. Excitement and over-exertion broke him down and he died before election day arrived.

Dietzgen was not so much of a public speaker. His favorite method of explaining his views was by addressing himself to an individual, either in letters or in conversation. One Sunday an afterdinner caller dropped in at the Dietzgen home. The conversation drifted to economic and social questions. The caller chipped into the talk with an ignorance of the questions only equalled by his self-assurance. No one who has not had the experience of arguing with an actual specimen of personified stupidity until every limb trembles with excitement and indignation, can realize what a nervous strain it is. Dietzgen recalled his whole life spent in the study of these questions and the observation of social phenomena, all of which completely verified his views. That he should now have to maintain the most elementary and self-evident propositions against a blockhead merely to preserve the forms of courtesy literally broke his heart. While he was in the middle of a sentence, with uplifted hand, paralysis of the heart put an end both to his words and his life.

But both men had lived long enough to accomplish their work, so that others could go on with it. Moreover both left worthy sons who have devoted themselves to the task of

publishing the posthumous works of their respective fathers and propagating their doctrines. Henry George's *Political Economy*, published after his death, added nothing to his reputation; but some of the most valuable of Dietzgen's writings are found in his posthumous works, especially in this last volume, *Erkenntnis und Wahrheit*, which produces in the reader a strengthened conviction of the thorough consistency and rounded-out harmony of Dietzgen's philosophy.

MARCUS HITCH.

For the Good of the Cause.

By Tom Selby.

For the good of the Cause that has banded humanity
 Into an army the tyrant abhors,
 Close up the columns, O soldiers of sanity!
 Each to his task without shrinking or vanity,
 Careless of censure, nor seeking applause,—
 For the good of the Cause.

Tyranny!—what a crusade thou hast given us!
 See, we obey thine iniquitous laws!
 Even thy might, that has hitherto riven us,
 Strengthens our arms; it has rallied us, driven us
 On to the fray, without tremor or pause,
 For the good of the Cause.

What though the fight has been long and laborious,—
 See how the enemy, routed, withdraws!
 Oh ye are privileged, comrades victorious,
 Thus to engage in the final, most glorious
 Battle of all proletarian wars
 For the good of the Cause!

The Program of the Blanquist Fugitives from the Paris Comune.

(From "Der Volksstaat", 1874, No. 73.)



AFTER THE FAILURE of every revolution or counter revolution, a feverish activity develops among the fugitives, who have escaped to foreign countries. The parties of different shades form groups, accuse each other of having driven the cart into the mud, charge one another with treason and every conceivable sin.

At the same time they remain in close touch with the home country, organise, conspire, print leaflets and newspapers, swear that the trouble will start afresh within twenty-four hours, that victory is certain, and distribute the various government offices beforehand on the strength of this anticipation.

Of course, disappointment follows disappointment, and since this is not attributed to the inevitable historical conditions, which they refuse to understand, but rather to accidental mistakes of individuals, the mutual accusations multiply, and the whole business winds up with a grand row. This is the history of all groups of fugitives from the royalist emigrants of 1792 until the present day. Those fugitives, who have any sense and understanding, retire from the fruitless squabble as soon as they can do so with propriety and devote themselves to better things.

The French emigrants after the Commune did not escape this disagreeable fate.

Owing to the European campaign of slander, which attacked everybody without distinction, and being compelled particularly in London, where they had a common center in the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, for the time being, to suppress their internal troubles before the world, they had not been able, during the last two years, to conceal the signs of advancing disintegration. The open fight broke out everywhere. In Switzerland a part of them joined the Bakounists, mainly under the influence of Malon, who was himself one of the founders of the secret alliance. Then the so-called Blanquists in London withdrew

from the International and formed a group of their own under the title of "The Revolutionary Commune". Outside of them numerous other groups arose later, which continue in a state of ceaseless transformation and modulation and have not put out anything essential in the way of manifestos. But the Blanquists are just making their program known to the world by a proclamation to the "Communeux".

These Blanquists are not called by this name, because they are a group founded by Blanqui. Only a few of the thirty-three signers of this program have ever spoken personally to Blanqui. They rather wish to express the fact that they intend to be active in his spirit and according to his traditions.

Blanqui is essentially a political revolutionist. He is a socialist only through sentiment, through his sympathy with the sufferings of the people, but he has neither a socialist theory nor any definite practical suggestions for social remedies. In his political activity he was mainly a "man of action", believing that a small and well organized minority, who would attempt a political stroke of force at the opportune moment, could carry the mass of the people with them by a few successes at the start and thus make a victorious revolution. Of course, he could organize such a group under Louis Philippe's reign only as a secret society. Then the thing, which generally happens in the case of conspiracies, naturally took place. His men, tired of being held off all the time by the empty promises that the outbreak should soon begin, finally lost all patience, became rebellious, and only the alternative remained of either letting the conspiracy fall to pieces or of breaking loose without any apparent provocation. They made a revolution on May 12th, 1839, and were promptly squelched. By the way, this Blanquist conspiracy was the only one, in which the police could never get a foothold. The blow fell out of a clear sky.

From Blanqui's assumption, that any revolution may be made by the outbreak of a small revolutionary minority, follows of itself the necessity of a dictatorship after the success of the venture. This is, of course, a dictatorship, not of the entire revolutionary class, the proletariat, but of the small minority that has made the revolution, and who are themselves previously organized under the dictatorship of one or several individuals.

We see, then, that Blanqui is a revolutionary of the preceding generation.

These conceptions of the march of revolutionary events have long become obsolete, at least for the German working

men's party, and will not find much sympathy in France, except among the less mature or the more impatient laborers. We shall also note, that they are placed under certain restrictions in the present program. Nevertheless our London Blanquists agree with the principle, that revolutions do not make themselves, but are made; that they are made by a relatively small minority and after a previously conceived plan; and finally, that they may be made at any time, and that "soon".

It is a matter of course that such principles will deliver a man hopelessly into the hands of all the selfdeceptions of a fugitive's life and drive him from one folly into another. He wants above all to play the role of Blanqui, "the man of action". But little can be accomplished by mere good will. Not every one has the revolutionary instinct and quick decision of Blanqui. Hamlet may talk ever so much of energy, he will still remain Hamlet. And if our thirty-three men of action cannot find anything at all to do upon what they call the field of action, then these thirty-three Brutuses come into a more comical than tragic conflict with themselves. The tragic of their situation is by no means increased by the dark mien which they assume, as though they were so many slayers of tyrants with stiletos in their bosoms, which they are not.

What can they do? They prepare the next "outbreak" by drawing up lists of proscription for the future, in order that the line of men, who took part in the Commune, may be purified. For this reason they are called "The Pure" by the other fugitives. Whether they themselves assume this title, I cannot say. It would fit some of them rather badly. Their meetings are secret, and their resolutions are supposed to be kept secret, although this does not prevent the whole French quarter from ringing with them next morning. And as always happens to men of action that have nothing to do, they became involved first in a personal, then in a literary quarrel with a foe worthy of themselves, one of the most doubtful of the minor Parisian journalists, a certain Vermersch, who published during the Commune the "Père Duchêne", a miserable caricature of the paper published by Hébert in 1793. This noble creature replies to their moral indignation, by calling all of them thieves or accomplices of thieves in some leaflet, and smothering them with a flood of billingsgate that smells of the dunghheap. Every word is an excrement. And is with such opponents that our thirty-three Brutuses wrestle before the public!

If anything is evident, it is the fact that the Parisian proletariat, after the exhausting war, after the famine in Paris, and especially after the fearful massacres of May, 1871,

will require a good deal of time to rest, in order to gather new strength, and that every premature attempt at a revolution would bring on merely a new and still more crushing defeat. Our Blanquists are of a different opinion.

The route of the royalist majority in Versailles forebodes to them "the fall of Versailles, the revenge of the Commune. For we are approaching one of those great historical moments, one of those great crises, in which the people, while seemingly sunk in misery and doomed to death, resume their revolutionary advance with new strength."

In other words, another outbreak will "soon" come. This hope for an "immediate revenge of the Commune" is not a mere illusion of the fugitives, but a necessary article of faith with men, who have their mind set upon being "men of action" at a time when there is absolutely nothing to be done in the sense which they represent, that of an immediate outbreak.

Nevermind. Since a start will be made soon, they hold that "the time has come, when every fugitive, who still has any life in him, should declare himself."

And so the thirty-three declare that they are: 1) atheists; 2) communists; 3) revolutionaries.

Our Blanquists have this in common with the Bakounists, that they wish to represent the most advanced, most extreme line. For this reason they often choose the same means as the Bakounists, although they differ from them in their aims. The point with them is, then, to be more radical in the matter of atheism than all others. Fortunately it requires no great heroism to be an atheist nowadays. Atheism is practically accepted by the European working men's parties, although in certain countries it may at times be of the same caliber as that of a certain Bakounist, who declared that it was contrary to all socialism to believe in God, but that it was different with the virgin Mary, in whom every good socialist ought to believe. Of the vast majority of the German socialist working men it may even be said that mere atheism has been outgrown by them. This purely negative term does not apply to them any more, for they maintain no longer merely a theoretical, but rather a practical opposition to the belief in God. They are simply done with God, they live and think in the real world, for they are materialists. This will probably be the case in France also. But if it were not, then nothing would be easier than to see to it that the splendid French materialist literature of the preceding century is widely distributed among the laborers, that literature, in which the French mind has so far accomplished its best in form and content, and which, with due allowance for the condition of the science of their day, still

stands infinitely high in content, while its form has never been equalled since.

But this cannot suit our Blanquists. In order to show that they are the most radical, God is abolished by them by decree, as in 1793: "May the Commune for ever free humanity from this ghost of past misery (God), from this cause of its present Misery." (The non-existing God a cause!) There is no room in the Commune for priests; every religious demonstration, every religious organisation, must be forbidden."

And this demand for a transformation of people into atheists by order of the star chamber is signed by two members of the Commune, who had opportunity enough to learn in the first place, that a multitude of things may be ordered on paper without being carried out, and in the second place, that persecutions are the best means of promoting disliked convictions. So much is certain, that the only service, which may still be rendered to God today, is that of declaring atheism an article of faith to be enforced and of outdoing even Bismarck's anti-Catholic laws by forbidding religion altogether.

The second point of the program is Communism.

Here we are more at home, for the ship in which we sail here is called "The Manifesto of the Communist Party, published in February 1848." Already in the fall of 1872 the five Blanquists who withdrew from the International had adopted a socialist program, which was in all essential points that of the present German Communism. They had justified their withdrawal by the fact that the International refused to play at revolution making after the manner of these five. Now this council of thirty-three adopts this program with its entire materialist conception of history, although its translation into Blanquist French leaves a good deal to desire, in parts where the "Manifesto" has not been almost literally adopted, as it has, for instance, in the following passage: "As the last expression of all forms of servitude, the bourgeoisie has lifted the mystic veil from the exploitation of labor, by which it was formerly obscured: Governments, religions, family, laws, institutions of the past and the present, finally revealed themselves in this society, reduced to the simple antagonism between capitalist and wage workers, as instruments of oppression, by the help of which the bourgeoisie maintains its rule and holds the proletariat down."

Compare with this "The Communist Manifesto", Section 1: "In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with

reverend awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage laborers. The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation. Etc."

But as soon as we descend from theory to practice, the peculiarity of the thirty-three manifests itself: "We are Communists, because we want to reach our goal without stopping at any intermediate stations, at compromises, which merely defer the victory and prolong the slavery."

The German Communists are communists, because they clearly see the final goal and work towards it through all intermediate stations and compromises, which are created, not by them, but by historical development. And their goal is the abolition of classes, the inauguration of a society, in which no private property in land and means of production shall exist any longer. The thirty-three, on the other hand, are communists, because they imagine that they can skip intermediate stations and compromises at their sweet will, and if only the trouble begins, as it will soon according to them, and they get hold of affairs, then Communism will be introduced the day after tomorrow. If this is not immediately possible, then they are not communists.

What a simple hearted childishness, which quotes impatience as a convincing argument in support of a theory!

Finally the thirty-three are "revolutionaries."

In this line, so far as big words are concerned, we know that the Bakounists have reached the limit; but the Blanquists feel that it is their duty to excel them in this. And how do they do this? It is well known that the entire socialist proletariat, from Lisbon to New York and Budapest to Belgrade has assumed the responsibility for the actions of the Paris Commune without hesitation. But that is not enough for the Blanquists. "As for us, we claim our part of the responsibility for the executions of the enemies of the people" (by the Commune), whose names are then enumerated; "we claim our part of the responsibility for those fires, which destroyed the instruments of royal or bourgeois oppression or protected our fighters."

In every revolution some follies are inevitably committed, just as they are at any other time, and when quiet is finally restored, and calm reasoning comes, people necessarily conclude: We have done many things which had better been left undone, and we have neglected many things which we should have done, and for this reason things went wrong.

But what a lack of judgment it requires to declare the Commune sacred, to proclaim it infallible, to claim that every burnt house, every executed hostage, received their just dues to the dot over the *i*! Is not that equivalent to saying that during that week in May the people shot just as many opponents as was necessary, and no more, and burnt just those buildings which had to be burnt, and no more? Does not that repeat the saying about the first French Revolution: Every beheaded victim received justice, first those beheaded by order of Robespierre and then Robespierre himself? To such follies are people driven, when they give free rein to the desire to appear formidable, although they are at bottom quite goodnatured.

Enough. In spite of all follies of the fugitives, and in spite of all comical efforts to appear terrible, this program shows some progress. It is the first manifesto, in which French workingmen endorse the present German communism. And these are moreover working men of that caliber, who consider the French as the chosen people of the revolution and Paris as the revolutionary Jerusalem. To have carried them to this point is the undeniable merit of Vaillant, who is one of the signers of the manifesto, and who is well known to be thoroughly familiar with the German language and the German socialist literature. The German socialist working men, on the other hand, who proved in 1870 that they were completely free from jingoism, may regard it as a good sign that French working men adopt correct theoretical principles, even when they come from Germany.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

(Translated by Ernest Untermann).

Out of the Dump.

IV.

A Case of Desertion.



JOHN WALTERS knew he would never forget that winter. He had been poor all of his life but neither he nor Jennie had known suffering like this. When they married and left the little village in southern Illinois, John had found plenty of work in the big city. It did not make one pinch so, when there were only two for whom to buy. If it had not been for the baby coming the first year and the furniture they were buying from an installment house, they might have begun by saving something.

From that time things had gone steadily worse with them, but this was the first winter when John had been unable to find work of any kind. In other times he often scoffed at the men who float around during the winter months without a steady job. Many times he told Jennie that any man who really wanted work could get it. But it seemed that he was mistaken or it was different this winter.

The Glue Works had closed down for four months. There was nothing doing at the foundry and the packing houses were running on one-third time. From Bubbl y Creek to the Alley and about the Dump there seemed to be no jobs.

The months of his enforced idleness had been the longest and strangest and most disheartening John had ever known. He was still strong and eager and he could not understand what all at once had come over the world that he should hold out his great hands and offer his strong muscles for labor in vain. At every place they told him that they did not need men.

But John did not give up. He continued his search for work until it became almost a habit to him. Mechanically he walked from place to place asking for a job. He would almost have been shocked if he had found one.

But the new baby was expected in February and he plodded on seeking a place that would enable him to care for Jennie and the three little tow-heads during that time. He knew it must be done some way.

For a while he had gone steadily to the Yards at 4:30 in the morning, hoping to be taken on in a case of vacancy,

but the gates were always thronged with men and boys with the same hope in mind.

Elemental men they were, elbowing each other with oaths and blows every one determined to secure an opening. Whenever the foreman appeared at the gates, the swaying mass of hungry and jobless men struggled forward like dogs fighting for a bone. John managed one morning to be very near the gate. The foreman said the packing companies were still laying off, instead of taking on, new men. And John wasted no time there after that.

Miles and miles he walked on the coldest days, only to learn that the factory doors were closed or to find another group of men clamoring for a single job. But there was no work. And every night he walked long miles through the snow or rain back to the little room in the basement.

They had been obliged to give up the big room and to move the beds, along with the stove, into the kitchen. It was very crowded but they were able to keep warm.

John managed to keep a little fire in the stove. Coming home by way of the railroad when he had been out looking for a job, he always contrived to pick up half a basket of coal lying along the tracks. And sometimes when a carload had been run in on the switch, and there was nobody to see, he returned with a larger load than usual.

John paid two months' rent. Very little did the family possess that would cause Old Moses to loosen up, but John's silver watch that had been his father's, his overcoat and the patent rocking-chair helped a long way. The third month the agent from whom they rented promised to wait a few days for his money. Nearly every man in the Dump was out of a job and the Walters family had been good pay for two years. Besides there was no use evicting them unless he could rent the room to somebody else. And men who had work were not moving.

So John renewed his efforts, till the new bar-keeper at Mike's Saloon, who had proven himself a good friend, complained because John always came around late to sweep. For a month he had been paying him a dollar a week for scrubbing out. Sometimes there was some of the grub left from the lunch counter, or scraps from the kitchen that John was very glad to take home. In this way he was able to pull the family through December and January.

Had it not been that Jennie was ailing and the children recovering from the whooping cough, he might have found his opportunity. But gradually Jennie grew weaker and the time of her confinement drew near.

Perhaps you understand that John Walters was not altogether a stupid man in spite of the fact that he could read a very little. During those cold months when the holes in the children's shoes and in his own boots as well grew larger and larger, when there was nothing with which to replace the worn-out clothes and only misery and disappointment to think on, he warmed the one small room and held his thoughts to himself. He was a tender nurse to Jennie, in spite of the harsh words that often broke from him in his misery and there was always something for supper on the table.

But the fourth month of his idleness brought the agent's threat of eviction. They were to be put out if the rent was not paid. He told Walters himself that he would not wait a day beyond the Saturday. The installment people were also clamoring and promised to remove the bed if their money was not forthcoming. John disliked to go far from the house now, fearing the agent or the installment people might take action during his absence. And he scrubbed out down at Mike's with one eye on the Dump and the other on his mop.

On Friday he went to talk with his agent. He was going that very day he said, to seek work or help from the charity people. He was surprised to see that this made no impression on the agent, for he did not believe the Association would refuse to help him for the sake of the little ones.

He told Jennie of his plan, for he was enthusiastic and thought that, with a little lift now over a bad place, he would find a job again and things would be as before. He was sorry, he said, for the harsh words he had grown used to saying to Jennie, in his worry and helplessness. At such times some men live in the saloons, he told her, but he had never spent money on beer since he lost his job.

It was as good as seeing him ready for the park on a holiday when he went away, and Jennie went feebly to the door to smile upon him. She was sure it would be all right now. Up to this time they had been the only family on Wilson street that had not paid a visit to the Association. But she forgot her pride and worry in the new hope of relief. She wondered that John had not thought of this way before.

The man to whom John talked at the Charity organization said he was surprised to see a big, strong man coming there to ask for AID. And he asked John Walters if he was not ashamed of himself. John said he was. He said he didn't know what sort of a place he was coming to. He

had thought charity bureaus were organized to help folks in trouble. He didn't suppose they wanted to kick a man who was down.

Then he told the registrar how long he had been looking for work and asked if they could give him a job. He said that was what he wanted more than all the charity in the world and that if he had a steady place he would never ask anybody to help him.

The Charity Worker said he was sorry but they had over three hundred applicants for every job on their lists. He said he would send John out to the Charity Wood Yard to saw for 50 cents a day. But he could only promise to allow him to work three days because other men waited their turn to earn something.

John said he would be glad to go. So the next morning he walked two miles to the Wood Yard and sawed from 7 a. m. till 6 o'clock in the evening for 50 cents worth of provisions. He returned the following day to work in the rain and the next morning he was too ill to face the exposure.

Besides there was no coal in the room and the thing everybody needed most just then was a fire. The yards seemed to be deserted and John helped himself freely from a loaded car standing on the switch, and nobody saw. Then he hurried down to Mike's. He meant to beg for the job scrubbing out again, but Mike had put his nephew in the place. When John heard this, he leaned against the bar and his face grew pale. This was the last prop and now it was gone. There was nothing left to stand on. There was no opening on any side. As he walked home the numb feeling of helplessness passed away and a rebellious heat grew up in his breast. A determined look came into his eyes. He threw up his head and squared his shoulders, for he was weary of creaping, and begging, of cringing and asking favors. He was tired of it all, very tired, and he meant to be a suppliant no longer. He would take what he needed. He might take *more* than he needed. Just now he felt as though he could seize all the wealth of the world in his two great hands.

He kissed Jennie very tenderly when he reached home, for he knew he had reached a turn in the road. Then he built a fire and set the pot of mush on the stove. He thought he knew one way of getting money—and money he must have—and he made up his mind to risk it.

So after Jennie and the children had fallen asleep John turned the lamp low and slipped softly from the house.

He walked briskly northward till he reached a fashionable quarter, keeping to the dark sides of the streets, and in

his right hand, wrapped in a piece of brown paper, he carried the stove poker. If his victim became troublesome, he might have to give him a crack over the head.

Up and down; up and down he walked, looking over the ground; investigating alleys, with a sharp watch all the time for a stray policeman. He grew cold and his legs trembled, for he had eaten nothing since breakfast. But he waited patiently in the shadows.

At last a well-dressed man hurried across the street and passed directly in front of Walters in his hiding-place. John hesitated no longer. Two or three quick, soft steps, his arm flew out and the poker fell. The man dropped very quietly and John slipped his shaking fingers into first one pocket and then another. Suddenly he saw a faint shadow up the street and he was off. At last he paused to look at the coins he carried in his hand. Fifteen cents was all that his despair and this dirty work had brought him! And perhaps the poor fellow he had struck would never move again. Fifteen cents! It was beastly! He was overcome with nausea and leaned against the lamp-post, choking back the sobs. He wondered how it would all end and wished that it was over.

Walking dully back home, he passed the old shack where the Mahoneys lived. Some people were very lucky, he thought, for since Tom had skipped out and the twins were born, the charity societies were bringing something there every day. Then there was Donati's wife. She had been ailing a long time and the charity people were holding her up too since Tony deserted her. And here was he getting the worst of every turn, a better man for working and taking care of the kids than Mahoney or Donati dared claim to be.

He remembered the man at the Charity organization had told him they had not money enough to help folks with strong, healthy men in their families.

Slowly a new idea began to permeate John's brain. Perhaps if he, too, deserted his wife the charity people would take care of her and feed the children while she was sick. He turned the matter over and over in his mind.

Now that the agent had threatened to put them out and the installment people would be sending for the furniture, he was totally unable to cope with the situation, without money and without work. It was worth trying anyway for he did not see how his absence could make matters any worse.

He talked the scheme over with Jennie in the morning and together they composed a letter, which John mailed to the Association, in which Jennie stated that her husband

had run away and left her and the children. She said she was ill and without money and emphasized the notice of eviction they had received from the agent.

The next day John saw little William return from the office of the charity organization with a basket of groceries on his arm, and learned that the agent had agreed to compromise on half the rent for that month, which the charity worker had paid. Then he sneaked over to the little room in the basement to say good-bye to Jennie in the dark.

"Them charity people ain't bad, dearie," he said, "but they'd be doin' a hell-of-a-lot more good if they'd get jobs—*steady* jobs—for people that needs 'em."

Then he kissed her and the three little tow-heads and slipped down to the switch-yards. For it had been rumored in The Alley that the lumber mills in Grand Rapids would reopen on the tenth, when they would need five hundred hands. And John meant to get that job.

MARY E. MARCY.

Dedicated to the Radical Women of the Socialist Party.

Out! O My Sisters in Bondage!

1.

Out from the cloister recesses,
 Where moulder heredities' claims:
 Out from the passions' excesses
 With the clank of its rust-eaten chains;
 Out from base toil with its discord,
 Out from fashion's mad whirl,
 Out! O my sisters in bondage—
 Out into the heart of the world!

2.

Out from the wisdom of sages,
 Usurping the spirit's control,
 Out from time's obsolete pages
 That enslave the omnipotent soul,
 Out from barren assumptions
 That sit with free banners unfurled,
 Out! O my sisters in bondage—
 Out into the heart of the world!

3.

Time's pulse beats not the world's measure,
 Back of all lies the wisdom of right,
 Love stirs at the heart of Creation,
 Love wings the swift bird in its flight;
 Brave women await your glad coming,
 In work-shop, in home, and in field,
 Then out! O my sisters in bondage,
 And make the great Vintage to yield.

4.

Knowledge still slumbers in darkness,
 Christs cradled in mangers of woe,
 Martyr fires flame on the borders,
 Greed rampant for some victim low;
 Virtue for sale at the altar,
 Purity mistaken for shame,
 Creeds passing coin for religion,
 Lust seeking to win in Love's name.

5.

Earth's best! They are treading the wine press,
 Human souls reaching up for the light,
 Poverty's children sore pressed in rebellion,
 Proud women stooped low for the right,—
 Then out! O my sisters in bondage,
 Strike bold for the freedom of all!
 Equality and Justice triumphant
 Lie deep at the heart of the world!

Lynn, Mass.

ELLEN T. WETHERELL.

Historical Christianity and Christian Socialism.



R. THOMAS C. HALL'S answer to our article, "Socialism and Mysticism," in the July issue of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, almost disarmed us by its gentle apologetic tone and the "sweet reasonableness" of some of its arguments.

Dr. Hall is obviously in an awkward position. He undertook the thankless task of defending his imaginary allies, but actual adversaries, against the attacks of supposed antagonists, but actual friends. It is a clear case of mistaken identities. Christianity with its "oriental, hellenistic and scholastic legal intrusions," with "ascetic other worldly elements which are false colors in the modern view of the world, organized Christianity" is the *historical Christianity* we contend with.

"Christianity critically stripped of oriental, hellenistic and scholastic legal intrusions" is *not historical Christianity, but ideal humanitarianism.*

Dr. Hall is not a Christian in the only legitimate sense of that term, *in the historical sense.* His religion is rational ethics. No *historical Christian, no orthodox Christian* will recognize Dr. Hall as a brother in Christ.

Socialists-rationalists have no quarrels with the religion of Dr. Hall, Comrade Rufus Weeks or any other mythically inclined excellent gentlemen within and outside the Socialist party. Pure and ideal humanitarianism is the solid foundation on which Socialists-rationalists are building the "reign of righteousness, co-operation and peace, 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."

Socialist-rationalists are happy to know that there are "among the churches thousands and thousands whose hearts are sick and weary for the coming day, that (those thousands) too are looking eagerly for the dawn."

However, Socialists-rationalists do not deserve Dr. Hall's reproach of "crass misunderstanding of their (the humanitarians among the churches) noblest feelings and secretesties

dreams." Also unjust is the accusation of Socialists-rationalists of "unsympathetic and unhistorical (!) criticism of the form of dearly beloved faiths." Rational Socialists have nothing to do with "forms of faiths," but they are trying to the best of their ability to "reinterpret (to humanitarian religionists) their fondest hopes and brightest faith in the terms of that coming reorganization of human life in which we can say then of humanity: "These are indeed the sons of God!"

Socialists-rationalists have only one criticism to offer to religious or Christian humanitarians calling themselves Christian Socialists, namely, the criticism of terminology..

This criticism is not quibble over mere words, since a wrong use of terms inevitably leads to confusion and misconceptions.

The legend:

:	ALL KINDS OF	:
:	TWISTING AND TURNING	:
:	DONE HERE.	:

ought to be inscribed in flaming letters over the entrance to all places of worship and religious devotion. The gentle art of imparting to the Bible or Koran any meaning desired—without the slightest regard for etymology, logic or truth—has always been regarded as the special privilege of theologians. The priestly caste was always anxious to use this "divine prerogative" as a means of spreading and strengthening their influence over the unreasoning masses. The "holy scriptures," by the method of reckless theological sophistry (exegesis), was made so elastic and pliable as to advocate and condemn anything and everything in the world in strict conformity with the interests, whims and fancies of opportune divines of all creeds and denominations. The Bible was cited for and against capital punishment, war, polygamy, chattel slavery, political liberty, and all issues near to the heart of man.

In our own age the same verbal jugglery is used by the theological school of "higher" criticism as a convenient way of modernizing externally decaying creeds so as to make them apparently conform to new mental attitudes, to modern moral phases of life. Liberal preachers enjoy the use of euphonious but meaningless cant phrases, as "God is love." Some radical ministers would even fain make believe that Christ Jesus was a Marxian Socialist. The conscious or unconscious motive of pouring new wine into old and time-worn casks is in this case obvious. The mythical and mystical cycle of ideas connected with religion needs new blood

in order to get a new life. It is a struggle for existence on the part of those who make a living as religious leaders. Business is business.

The demoralization of theological sophistry, however, has proved to be contagious. Some modern scientists and thinkers of the rationalist school of monism indulge in flirtation with the institutional church and delight in phrases—contradictory in terms (*contradictio in adjecta*)—as “Religion of Science.” If taken in their true historical meaning religion and science are mutually exclusive of each other.

History proves, if it proves anything, that religion is a creation of the primitive mind of man, incapable of logical reasoning, and devoid of any accurate knowledge of nature and its laws. History proves that religion created more hate than love; greater moral debasement than moral elevation; more cruel persecution than human toleration; more cruelty than mercy; more fanciful horrors than sane enjoyment of life; more superstition than enlightenment; more blind enmity to knowledge and progress than thirst for truth and improvement of environment and conditions of life.

On the other hand, history proves that science is the child of the highly developed human intellect, trained in the art of logical reasoning, original research, and strict observation of original nature's phenomena.

Science has but one object in view—to reveal the secrets of nature to men so as to enable them to use this revelation to make them happy. Science endeavors to eliminate hate, persecution, cruelty, moral obtuseness. Science knows no mystical horrors; it preaches sanity, optimistic enjoyment of life, co-operation and association of men for mutual advantage.

Religion and Science are Antitheses.

Faith makes knowledge impossible. Knowledge makes faith superfluous. There can be no compromise between religion and science, mysticism and rationalism.

Expressions like “religion of science” are not only contradictory in their terms, historically wrong, but highly mischievous and leading to confusion, in a realm where there is a great need for clearness and exactness of fundamental conceptions. There are such things as intellectual integrity and mental prostitution. Rationalistic thinkers and scientists should consider it below their dignity, as thinkers and scientists, to follow slavishly into the devious, crooked, and slippery cowpaths of theological and metaphysical sophists.

Rationalism does not need any “*pons asinorum*” for the passage of the people who do not possess the courage of their

conviction, or are interested in the stultification of the masses for the benefit of parasitic classes. Militant free-thought is a necessity of our age. The struggle for existence between mysticism and religion on one hand and rationalism and science on the other is by no means decided in favor of the latter in the mind of the overwhelming majority.

The free-thought movement needs all the help it can get in order to be able to cope with the tremendous inheritance of ignorance and superstition and the assiduous and systematic work of contemporary obscurantism on the receptive mind of the unreasoning masses. It is the moral duty of every rationalist to courageously stand by his colors. The church is still a formidable enemy. To try to bridge over the impassable chasm between reason and unreason, knowledge and faith, mysticism and sanity, on the part of rationalists, is cowardly and despicable.

Unfortunately the intellectual dishonesty hidden behind careless terminology invades all fields of human interests. We frequently hear such meaningless expressions as "religion of art," "religion of free-thought," etc.

However, the most objectionable use of the term religion is when applied to a decidedly modern political, social, economic, or cultural movement, based on human thought and conscious endeavor to emancipate humanity from the thralldom of mysticism and exploitation of men by men, sanctioned by the church as a divine institution. Expressions like "religion of Socialism" are not only meaningless, historically, but are calculated to confuse and mislead the unwary into the belief that there is something in common between a thoroughly rational modern popular movement and the sickly mysticism of past ages.

Religion spells death to Socialism, just as Socialism to religion. The moment Socialism turns into a religion it loses all its vitality, all its progressiveness, it ossifies and turns into a superstition of fanatics, who never forget and never learn anything. Socialism is essentially, although not apparently, a free-thought movement. The thinking Socialists are all free-thinkers.

Religion adopts some distorted fragmentary elements of ethics into its mystical fold. However, religion is not a rational ethical system of thought and sentiment. There is a great deal of ethical power behind art, free-thought and Socialism. But it is obviously absurd to speak of art, free-thought and Socialism as forms of religion. Let us distinguish between right and wrong terminology. Let us see our friends and enemies in their true light. Let us have the courage to face

issues and fight for what we consider as right fairly and squarely in the open.

Dr. Hall objects to our definition of the term religion as a conglomeration of a theory of the universe with a system of ethics. But he fails to advance any other definition. The fact that some historical religions apparently did not contain any theory of the universe, while others apparently prescribed no definite system of conduct, does not militate against the general correctness of our definition, as exceptions do not militate against rules.

We are sorry not to be able to agree with our esteemed opponent's assertions that mankind is "uncurably religious." The cure against religion, "mysticism," is rationalism, and rationalism is undoubtedly gaining ground with every hour.

Religion and dualism may not have been literally invented by priests, but the latter certainly made the most of it in the interests of their own caste, a caste parasitic in its very nature.

That some good emanated from priestcraft is due to the fact that the priests were frequently engaged in some useful occupation of worldly nature, having nothing to do with their sacerdotal functions; for instance, as scientists, teachers, physicians, etc.

Our assertions that ethics precede religion is rejected by Dr. Hall as dogmatism. If we understand under ethics a system of conduct, we must admit that ethics is a subhuman phenomenon.

We call group motives higher than animal selfishness in the same sense as we speak of higher organisms, i. e., organisms of comparatively complex structure, in the same sense as Dr. Hall says of group motives: "as a judgment of value, that the group has the *higher* claim" (than the moral man). What does this "judgment of value" mean if not enlightened selfishness?

We are not by any means unmindful of "one of the hardest (Oh, how hard, how very hard!) facts in history, namely, the tremendous, all-conquering power of religious faith." However, we have also learned something of the tremendous, all-conquering power of human reason and knowledge. And we see that there is an irrepressible conflict between these two "tremendous, all-conquering powers."

If there be any values conserved by scholastic Christianity, they cannot possibly be lost in this conflict. Count Leo Tolstoy is the only modern writer who had grasped the real essence (*value*, according to Dr. Hall's terminology) of

historic *Christianity*, and he has the courage and integrity of expounding it as *religious anarchism*.

If Dr. Hall 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 establishment on earth of a new social order," we heartily congratulate him.

The European Christian Socialists would not do it if they could, and could not do it if they would.

Nobody denies that really religious people have ideals, but their ideals are individualistic and mystic. The "dear-bought (Oh, how dear, how very dear!) religious memories of the ages" are stained so strongly with the spilled blood of innocent martyrs of free-thought as to arouse only sad reflection on the sanity of the human mind.

If within the organized church there be "a vast movement on foot slowly but directly upon the social situation," we may only exclaim: "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes!"

ISADOR LADOFF.

The Situation in China.

Tientsin, China, June 12th, 1908.

Editor of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW:

Dear Sir and Comrade:



HERE in ancient Cathay, the land of social anomalies, prophecy and prediction as to coming events are baffled. The situation is complex. Here is a "democratic Empire," indeed, where the principle that all power comes from the "min ren," the people, was conceded millenniums ago, but where the principle of representative government is but now on the eve of being embodied in elective governmental systems.

Chinese Trade Unions.

Here orthodox trade-unionism of the "Gompers and Mitchell" emasculated type has surely attained its climax, going beyond its cringing American contemporary, and far more entitled to respect. Going beyond it inasmuch as the Chinese trade-unions win an immensely greater proportion of strikes; more entitled to respect, because with an immeasurably less opportunity to attain what is called education, hovering chronically around the bare bread and rice subsistence line, with no funds generally, they have never arrived at the despicable summit of impotism of endorsing the "community of interests of capital and labor." Whenever the miserable existence in which they drag out their wretched bestial lives is threatened by a more than usual cut in wages, they rise and strike as one man. Scabbing is practically unknown. The guilds and unions date back to time immemorial. And yet what have they achieved? The right to live in dog-kennels; to live on mouldy rice, which infects them with the dreaded beri-beri, and horse feed.

Their Ineffectiveness.

Here is where their impotence is on a level with trade-unionists of "the land of the flea and the home of the slave." Waging their industrial warfare against their masters of bread from the time of the Chou Dynasty, contemporary with the pyramid builders of Egypt, they have been satisfied with the infinitely petty achievements of procuring the disgrace and dismissal or transfer of some more than usually exacting

task-master, or of some official who has been wringing extra taxes from the masses, in order to recoup the price of his office from his superiors, which is the Celestial equivalent of campaign funds to the Republican party from Federal office-holders.

But the idea of wielding their collective power in order to improve their condition never seems to occur to the trades-unionists; they use the measure of strength which they possess in a merely negative way to resist further pressure from above, never positively to regain the rights which have been wrested from them.

The Mission of Collectivism.

Here is where the historic mission of Socialism comes in to breathe the breath of life into these dry bones; to show these submerged toilers their right to more than a canine existence; to rouse them to ask for the life, and that more abundantly, that is theirs; to agitate first for the political power which they can attain in less than a twelvemonth by means of the mass-strike, and then to wield this power thus acquired in securing themselves against want and the fear of want.

The central "Chêng Fu" (governing boards) of the ruling Manchu Dynasty is even now on the point of conceding representative government to the country, in order to counteract the anti-Dynastic movement in the south, where the irrepressible descendants of the T'ai P'ings are waging an incessant struggle against the ruling powers. The ruling class realizes that this Chinese race can no longer be kept in the degrading subjection which has been their lot since 1644 C. E., when by aid of Chinese traitors the Manchus swept the country and imposed their rule on a vast population some two or three hundred times greater than the conquerors themselves.

New Constitution for China.

A special bureau in Peking for some time has been working on a draft of a Constitution for the Empire, and have just engaged an Englishman named Hillier, formerly of the British consular service, as adviser. The sort of Constitution which will result will probably be somewhat on the model of the Prussian Landtag, against which autocratic system our comrades are protesting so vigorously; so many officials will be nominated by the throne on the advice of the government boards, so many officials ex-officio members, and the large merchant guilds so many members. This will develop friction as soon as in working order, and with agitation from

below, successive measures of electoral reform extending the basis of suffrage will be carried out from time to time until full constitutional government be finally granted.

Agitators Wanted.

But where are we to look for the evangelists of Socialism who are to carry the message of economic salvation from poverty to the toilers of China?

The blind discontent of the submerged classes of this Empire does not seem likely to evolve of itself any coherent and effective method of materially raising its status or achieving its own emancipation; and knowledge of the world-wide message of collectivism must therefore come from without.

The fiery cross of Socialism must flash its message from land to land until the movement is world-wide and universal in very truth. Chinese reformers there are, but up to time of going to press Chinese Socialists have not appeared. The material is at hand in the crowds of Celestial students who go abroad every year for education on occidental lines, and most certainly will result in Socialist thought impregnating some of them. In any case, it is unlikely that any foreigners will play the part in Cathay that our earlier Teutonic comrades did in transplanting Socialist thought to America.

Celestial Reformers.

The class of Chinese reformers who have been active in the last decade have conducted their agitation along merely anti-Dynastic lines, demanding representative government merely, corresponding to the Octobrists of Russia, to be placated by a mere sop to Cereberus, and having no thought save for their own middle class emancipation from political thralldom. This class of anti-Manchu reformers have had the wind completely taken out of their sails by the prompt action of the Manchu government, who, foreseeing that some measure of reform was inevitable, preferred that it should come willingly from above rather than be the inspiring motive of a possibly successful rebellion, which might overturn the Manchu Dynasty.

Hence the activity of the inherently reactionary Tartars, or rather the most progressive elements among them, for they are by no means unanimous, the fossilized bigots among whom are opposing progress at every step.

The political situation here is strongly analogous to that obtaining in America, agitation from below extorting concessions from ruling powers.

The time is now ripe for the appearance of a strong

Socialist movement, which will unify and intelligently direct the elements of discontent, which scattered and with no conscious objective, dissipate their energies without adequate result.

Expatriated Chinese.

The teeming millions of Chinese scattered abroad in alien lands, doing well there and thriving, with little desire to return to their mother country, when more fully awakened will have the will, as they now have the ability, to furnish the sinews for conducting the class war against the predatory classes which fatten on the misery of their toiling fellow-countrymen at home. The Manchu government has sought to utilize the presumed patriotism of the Chinese abroad by sending a squadron of the dilapidated navy to visit the most populous colonies abroad, to show the flag among them and rouse them to show their sympathy by generous contributions to home loans and industrial enterprises like railways, etc.

As these industrial enterprises in question are all intended to be conducted under the leadership of Chinese officials of the capitalist class, and whose honesty is on a par with Republican party office-holders in your "honorable country," the funds do not come in, and Chinese abroad are not showing any very large measure of enthusiasm in helping their despoilers.

Subscriptions from these expatriated citizens have always been the mainstay of the reform movement here, but they are discouraged by the lack of results from their generosity.

For years these Chinese abroad have been the means of keeping the movement of reform going, and have generally been allied with the most progressive elements in the homeland. Surrounded by the evidences of Western material progress, they are thoroughly imbued with a desire to raise the status of their home country among the sisterhood of nations and feel deeply humiliated at the contempt shown for her at the international council board. This feeling leads to an ever-growing nationalist movement, which expands at the expense of the true proletarian cause, which seemingly will be side-tracked until China regains somewhat her old position in the world at large. The situation in Poland and Ireland presents parallels; there where the latent and undying sentiment of nationality is outraged by oppression from outside, it seems almost hopeless to show the people at large, the wage-workers, that their true interest lies in supporting the world-movement for the emancipation of the toilers, when all will be gained for which they are striving and much more.

"No, not now," they say, "but just as soon as we have regained some measure of our national self-respect, we will then be ready to listen to your message." How long will it be before we show the millions in China, and Ireland, and Poland, that they but delay the solution of the one true pressing problem of their daily bread, by thus diverting their energy to bolstering up the petty divisions into rival camps of nationalities? How they rejoice the heart of the capitalistic class, the grinders of the faces of the poor, by thus averting their attention from the class war between the despoilers and the despoiled!

Patriotism: Last Refuge of Scoundrels!

This is the age-old confidence trick played on the proletariat from ages gone, who are thus arrayed against each other. Note the cunning of the organized Christian churches, with a few honorable exceptions, who invariably give their aid to all such reactionary nationalist movements, who are always ready to give their blessing on the strong man going forth to war against his brother, instead of setting all their strength against war everywhere. The Christian church has been the most valuable ally to capitalism since the days of the Emperor Constantine, diverting the enormous amount of human energy from the upward struggle for the attainment of human rights to the service of the abstraction in the heavens which they have created in their own image to the loss of service to humanity on earth. Some of the priestly class do this consciously, some unknowingly, but the result is deplorable in any case. Here in China there is no state church to delay the inevitable class war; but where the Christian missionaries obtain influence, of whatever particular brand they may be, they invariably strive to create the sentiment of loyalty to the ruling powers.

The Chinese Communards.

In the full tide of success of the great T'ai P'ing rebellion, which raged in the south of China for twenty years in the middle of the last century, it was reported among foreigners that the leader of the rebels had professed himself a Christian, and that the rebellion was likely to impress Christianity on the nation, should it succeed.

The missionaries of the Christian faith thereupon sent a delegate up the Yangtse river to interview the general in command of the insurgents. As a result of the interview the delegate reported that the rebels had merely made a pretense

of being Christians, in the hope of obtaining aid from the foreign powers, supposed to be Christians. The missionaries and the then representatives of the foreign powers do not seem to have investigated as to whether or not the success of the rebels would have enlarged the common rights of the masses in China, which in the retrospect it would seem to have been doing, but simply whether or not the market for their particular wares, material and mental, would or would not be enhanced. The foreign representatives would seem to have been alarmed at the proletarian character of the rebellion, for they gave aid and comfort to the Imperialists, and lent munitions of war and officers to the Imperial government.

Gordon, the Stuffed "Hero."

Here is where the Englishman, Gordon, the paranoiac four-flusher, who has lately been exposed by his chief, Cromer, made his reputation. With the unlimited funds of the Imperial treasury at his back, with the latest of arms and siege guns, with foreign prestige and trained subordinates, volunteers from foreign armies and navies, he made war on the ill-trained and ill-armed T'ai P'ings, only armed in part with weapons of precision, and in most part with rude spears and old-fashioned swords.

In this inglorious warfare against poor peasants, a reproduction on an immense scale of the infamous massacre of the French Communards by the troops of the Versailles government, was once more exemplified the triumph of the predatory classes. Cruel massacres and brutality there were on both sides in this Titanic struggle which convulsed the Empire, but it was primarily and essentially a proletarian uprising, and the true inward history of the great T'ai P'ing rebellion has yet to be written. The facts may yet be brought to light from some of the still surviving veterans in the south.

The Chinese "Black Hundreds."

The next great social convulsion, the Boxer outbreak, did not share in this proletarian character, being but an outbreak of hooliganism, an uprising of the "Black Hundreds" of China, supported by every bigoted reactionary in the country, doing immeasurable harm to the forward movement.

Here was patriotism rampant; a nationalist movement which was to sweep the foreigner into the sea. Raw country youths were made "invulnerable" by charms, and sent forth to be mowed down by magazine rifles, shedding their blood freely in a blind torrent of primeval ferocity, incited by their rulers and oppressors. The predatory powers poured

their troops in in their thousands, and the inevitable happened. Then came the whirlwind: the military occupation, the indemnities, inhuman fines levied by foreign conscienceless governments, and the hell of war let loose.

Beaten to her knees, and loaded down with indemnity obligations, China is slowly regathering strength and meditating revenge, pondering the secret of the invincibility of the hated foreign powers.

The Present Situation.

Sending the youth of the Empire in thousands to foreign lands, and in tens of thousands to military schools at home, the government will try to imitate Japan's success. The order of steps will be roughly:

1. Reorganize the army and navy, drill and equip on modern lines.

2. Have extra-territoriality abolished, and acquire legal jurisdiction over the stranger within the gates.

3. Extinguish the foreign loans, and resume entire control and operation over the maritime and inland customs revenue service.

Always before the eyes of the government is the humiliating spectacle of the respect which Japan has exacted from the powers at the point of the bayonet, while any of the same powers, save the English-speaking ones, does not hesitate to make extortionate demands on any old pretext from China.

Above is the program of the governing class. What of the proletariat? Blind, deaf, hugging the chains of industrial servitude for the men, and chattel slavery for the women, Proletaire is waiting for the Voice which will give hope and promise delivery. The Message may come from without, but the struggle must be carried on by the submerged themselves.

“* * * Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not, who would be free themselves must strike the blow? * * *”

The hour is ripe for a revolution from below. Will this be delayed indefinitely by a recrudescence of jingoism, nationalism, patriotism, the Trinity of Hell? This is the problem of the hour over here in China; the solution lies on the lap of the High Gods.

CLARENCE CLOWE,
Tientsin, China.

A Defense of Partisanship.



It has become the fashion, in many quarters, to deprecate the abstraction, partisanship. Such a deprecation is vain. A state where partisanship is absent is nothing more nor less than ideal, Utopian. That is to say, the end of partisanship, if there is ever to be an end to it, is unanimity; but, so long as men's minds and natures are cast in different molds and so long as institutions exist upon which men's minds divide, partisanship must remain. The disposal of partisanship involves the disposal of all that leads to it.

The men who decry partisanship must necessarily look at things superficially and they belong for the most part to the dreamer class. They put the effect before the cause, deploring the simple effect of righting wrongs, and entirely overlooking the merits of the quarrel which precipitates that effort. In a political sense, partisanship means that men have divided themselves into bodies or factions, each held together by a bond of sympathy or agreement of opinion as to certain public policies. This kind of partisanship it is beyond the power of man to prevent.

Man is not the master of his opinions. The opinions are the master. A man is not responsible for what he thinks. What he thinks is responsible for him. I am inevitably drawn into a sympathetic bond with the man who thinks as I do. We are going in the same direction. What more natural than that we go together? Both of us think as we do because of a similarity in our experiences, in our environment and in our conditions resultant from these. In method, we are conservative or iconoclastic according as our dominant aim is to establish new institutions or to do away with certain existing institutions. If all men agreed with us, there would be no parties. The reform would be accomplished without question, without parley, without partisanship.

If a man disagrees with me, I only know that he disagrees with me. That is all. I may try to make the distinction that he is dishonest, while I, of course, am honest, but that distinction, even if it could be made, is unimportant so far as society is concerned. The fact remains that we disagree, that his view of a certain question or questions is different from mine. We may get together and discuss our

various positions with a view to discovering why we see things differently, and such discussion may terminate in agreement. If it does, it may be said that progress has been made. If it does not so terminate, the partisanship persists.

More specifically, we have certain political parties in this country. Nearly every citizen, for some cause or other satisfactory to himself, is attached more or less stubbornly to one of these parties. He is, of course, satisfied with his own partisanship. What he objects to is the partisanship of the other fellow who flocks with an opposition party. These party lines are national in extent, but it often happens that a man who sees his interests clearly in a continuance of a national Republican administration, for instance, has reason to oppose a local Republican administration. It is at this point where his antipathy to partisanship—he often calls it blind partisanship, which insinuates, of course, that his own eyes are thoroughly open and seeing—begins.

It is then he is apt to begin talking about men rather than issues, about electing "good men to office regardless of party affiliations," as if it had formerly been his policy, a policy of which other men were still guilty, to elect other than good men and as if there were any other way of judging the fitness of a man for a public office except by his party affiliations. In making such a remark, he fools himself. He loses the thread of his logic, if we may so dignify his mental process. If he would stop to think a little more deeply, he would find that he has not really changed his method from that of considering issues to that of considering "men regardless of party affiliations." He only thinks he has. When he says to elect "good men," he means to elect men who are in accord with him on the paramount local issues in question which, for the moment, overshadow all other questions. When these "good men" on local questions happen to be "bad men" on national questions, our elector fondly imagines that he has ceased to be a partisan.

Let us do him justice. Let us say that such an act as we have described, the act of thoughtfully discriminating between national and local topics, is commendable; that it signifies a moral and intellectual growth. All that and more of a laudatory nature may be his due, but, nevertheless, he has not ceased to be a partisan. He has become, rather, a double partisan, a subdivided partisan, where before he was a single partisan in political matters. Perhaps he has joined himself to a local "Independent" movement. "Independent," in this sense, does not necessarily connote the high and lofty motives with which the eloquence of the ages has enhaloed it. It merely means that those beneath its banner are, for

the matter in hand, independent of the other political parties. Such movements are usually, but not always, ephemeral, because they are not founded upon fundamental or enduring principles. A fundamental and enduring principle is one that has a broad base underlying the whole of society and one which society will continue to recognize as such throughout a long period of time.

Sometimes the name "Citizens'" is used for these local schisms, as if the other parties were not composed of and controlled by citizens. In this case, "Citizens'" is but a designation, just as "Independent" was but a designation. Such a movement might as well be called "Reprobates" for all the clew it gives to the principles involved, as, indeed, the participants are often looked upon as reprobates by their opponents, who are as zealously trying to elect "good men" according to their own definition.

No enduring party was ever gathered around a man and no enduring party was ever gathered around a name. Men die, both good and bad. If they are leaders during their lifetime, it is for what they believe. If they have a considerable following, they are succeeded, at their death, by other men who believe the same or who are thought to believe the same. Names do not die, but they lose their significance with the passage of time. In the history of our country, the name "Republican" has stood for various policies, some of them diametrically opposed to each other. So has the name "Democratic." Yet, in a dictionary sense, they both stand for popular government. Those who compose the Republican party believe that popular government can best be conserved by certain policies and institutions. Those who compose the Democratic party believe that popular government can best be conserved by certain other policies and institutions. So with the Socialists and the Prohibitionists. The word "Prohibition," in political parlance, has taken on a special significance. It stands for the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Yet, all the parties are prohibition parties. The Republican party would prohibit free trade. The Democratic party would prohibit protection. The Socialist party would prohibit competition in the means of production and distribution.

The men who participate in the mushroom movements referred to are men who desire to correct certain evils which they believe to exist and they become partisans for that purpose. Strangely enough, however, they often overlook underlying causes and find a superficial reason for what they seek to eliminate in mere abstract partisanship. To paraphrase this attitude, these men do no more than say that things are wrong because other men do not see things the way they do.

This, of course, begs the question and is evil because it distracts the mind from essentials. All men are partisans, but that does not mean that all men are absolutely right or absolutely wrong for that reason. The participants of a so-called "independent" or "citizens'" movement are partisans of that movement. The question of whether the movement is based on enduring principles is quite another matter and one which time alone can ultimately settle. A question is relatively important according to the number of people who are thinking about it and who take sides in it. If a question is widely discussed and disposed of by a decisive majority, it is settled, at least for a time, for, in a democracy, there is no other way to settle it, no other authority than the popular will. Nevertheless, even though a question be once settled, there may be an intelligent and persistent minority which maintain that it has not been settled right. If this minority possesses sufficient arguments to hold itself together and attract an increasing number of adherents to its way of thinking, it may later become a majority and the previous expression of the public will on that particular question may be reversed.

Moral laws are numerous, but it is difficult to say what is absolutely right and what is absolutely wrong. Perhaps the best and perhaps the only standard after all is the will of the people. What a majority of the people desire is right. What a majority of the people oppose is wrong. In that case, whatever is right. But that does not mean that the people cannot or should not change their minds. To-day they may believe one thing and that is right to-day. To-morrow they may believe something different and that something different, wrong to-day, will be right to-morrow. It was once right to burn witches at the stake.

Each individual is a force in the making of public opinion and public opinion itself is the resultant of all these individual forces. I may have an opinion divergent from that of society. So far as society is concerned, I am wrong. So far as I am concerned, I am right. I am not responsible for my own opinions. It would be much more correct to say that society was responsible for them. My opinions somehow seize and possess me. I may change my opinion or society may change its opinion, to the end that we agree. When that time arrives, both society and I are the happier because we are in accord with one another. In the meantime, society being the stronger, I must suppress all actions based upon my own divergent opinion and conform to society's regulations, arduous and unjust as they may seem from my own point of view. In the meantime, also, society must put up with me. As a disturbing element in its midst, society

must also take cognizance of me and my protestant attitude. Discord inevitably attracts attention. It is an indication of disease. It is the sign of social intercourse. It is society's duty to examine me and my position with all due care. It is my reciprocal duty to examine society, the goal of each being to establish a harmonious co-operation in order to stop the inevitable waste of friction.

But, while each according to his rights and duties and inclinations is trying to bring the other to his way of thinking, I am the one who must be docile, who must yield. Otherwise society will put me into prison or even put me to death. Indeed, society may decide, after a careful examination, that I am unable to entertain a sensible idea of any kind. In that case, it devolves upon society to declare me insane and put me in an asylum for safe keeping.

A partisan, in any realm of thought, is a man who has opinions and is not afraid to stand up for them. Those opinions may be crude. They may be childish. They may be the result of scant opportunities and experiences. In such case, more enlightenment will produce a change in his opinion, but this will not make him cease to be a partisan; it will merely direct his partisanship along new channels. A man who is incapable of being a partisan is a sorry specimen indeed.

Partisanship, therefore, comes naturally to sane men. When we speak of blind partisanship, the accent should be upon the "blind." It is the blindness and not the partisanship which is objectionable.

ELLIS O. JONES.

College Men and Socialism.



THE status of the college education has undergone a radical change of late years. Formerly it was considered a luxury; to-day it is almost a necessity. Forced by economic pressure to compete ever fiercer and fiercer in the industrial field, workmen and small business men are sending their sons to college in order to fit them for the coming fight.

This is amply attested by the phenomenal growth of industrial and scientific education, such as engineering and the like, as opposed to the subordination of purely cultural or classical education. Let us turn for a moment to the enrollment of one of the "big four" universities and compare figures for 1904-5 and 1907-8.

*University of Pennsylvania Enrollment		
	1904-5	1907-8
School of Arts (Liberal and Classical studies)	345	385
Towne Scientific School (Civil, Mechanical, Electrical Engineering)	600	908
Wharton School (Finance and Commerce)	226	433
Courses for Teachers	181	357
Summer School (1904)	137	(1907) 362
Evening School of Accounts and Finance	—	223
Department of Law	303	303
Department of Medicine	546	605
Department of Dentistry	359	390
Department of Veterinary Medicine	79	131

The Summer School (college) and the Evening School of Accounts and Finance, founded in 1904, are distinctly the result of a demand and necessity on the part of the proletariat. The Courses for Teachers, established to meet the convenience of those who toil during the best part of the day, also show the largest enrollment in the practical or scientific branches of learning.

Realizing that without a scientific education the battle in the industrial field is well nigh hopeless, the proletariat has sent his son to college at great sacrifice, hoping that the ultimate remuneration will overbalance the present self-denial and inconvenience. In spite of the great burden and cost attendant upon giving his son an education the enrollment in nearly every college has increased tremendously. This increase has been followed by the inevitable result of an overcrowding of the professions, so that steps are being taken to raise the standard in all lines of practical education. *In the medical department of the U. of P. the entrance requirement in 1909 will be an equivalent of work done in the first year of the college department; in 1910 they will be equivalent to the work done in the first and second year college. It is proposed that ultimately a college degree, a bachelor's degree, shall be demanded before one can undertake the study of medicine.† At a dinner before the alumni of Jefferson Medical College, Wm. Potter, the president of the college, announced that in the near future steps would be taken to increase the entrance requirements. Throughout all professional branches in most of the large colleges the standard is being raised. This in itself is no assurance that the struggle of the professional man after graduation will be mitigated to any large extent. The poorly paid professional men of Germany, where education is the "summus mons," illustrates this most forcibly. Anyone who will investigate the subject carefully will find that Germany's professional men, in spite of their excellence and technical proficiency, are but a few degrees in advance of the clerks of this country in the matter of remuneration.

Not only *within* but *without* the college walls as well is competition becoming keener. Not a small amount of work is being performed by correspondence schools. Men who are unable to stop work and go direct to college take up a correspondence course and study during spare moments. Of course, after a hard day's toil the mind is not very receptive, but the condition of the worker is such that he is willing to make a superhuman effort to gain even an inch in material advancement. And yet we are beginning to see what the effects of this wholesale education under the present capitalist system will be. The professor will be in exactly the same position as many a medical graduate—hunting for a job. As long as the machinery of production and distribution remains in private ownership, education alone will not better the condition of humanity one bit.

* See U. of P. catalog.

† Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 7, 1908.

The engineer,—civil, electrical, chemical, mining or mechanical; the chemist, the physician, the dentist, the lawyer and the teacher will find in the very near future, if not at present, that unemployment is not a condition confined solely to unskilled workers, but a condition existing in the professions as well. To verify this I need only refer to the Census of 1900, Vol. "Occupations," p. ccxxxii. Percentage of unemployed by occupations to whole number employed in each occupation:

	Males.		Females.	
	1890	1900	1890	1900
Teachers and professors in colleges, etc.	30.8	55.0	33.1	61.2
Engineers, civil etc.; electricians and surveyors	9.9	11.8	.....	.....
Literary and Scientific persons.....	5.4	7.5	7.2	11.6
Architects, designers, draftsmen, etc.....	4.5	6.8	.....	.....
Other professional service.....	5.5	5.8	.....	.....
Journalists	3.0	4.0	4.2	6.5
Clergymen	2.1	3.6	4.7	7.5
Dentists	2.4	3.3	.....	.....
Lawyers	1.8	2.6	.....	.....
Physicians and surgeons.....	1.4	1.9	6.7	4.2

On p. cxxviii of the same Census is shown that in 1890, 15.1% of those in the professions were unemployed and in 1900, 26.3% were unemployed. What the Census of 1910 will show is not at all hard to surmise or calculate mathematically, rather than predict. It will be near 40%. Consequently it is not the amount of brains or training a person possesses that determines his or her remuneration, but how many others there are in the same field waiting for an opportunity to offer his or her labor. The law of the Jungle prevails among college men just as inexorably as among unskilled laborers.

A new departure in college activity and in line with the economic evolution of the university was undertaken in 1905, when the "Intercollegiate Socialist Society" was launched at 112 East 19th St., New York City. Columbia University organized a chapter which was followed by similar organizations, so that now chapters exist in many of the large universities. The movement is young yet and promises to assume an imposing factor in college life. It is only natural to expect that the movement which was so ably championed by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Ferdinand Lassalle—all of whom were college men—should obtain a strong footing in what is now conceded to be the last stronghold of capitalism—the university.

Socialism, it must be understood, did not emanate from the rostrum of the university, but has only penetrated col-

lege walls by sheer force of worth. It is intensely practicable, not only in what it seeks to accomplish but in what it is accomplishing at the present time. It is a movement of the workers—both physical and intellectual—to throw off the chains of wage slavery and to stand as free men and women.

Finally, there is a swing, a conscientious spirit of real progressiveness inherent in the Socialist movement such as exists in no other organization. Its purpose is single and definite; its purpose is to free the working class. To be a Socialist now to watch the movement grow step by step, to see one outpost of capitalism after another succumb to the world-wide, persistent efforts of the Socialists, is like reaping the crop of a well-planted orchard.

HENRY FLURY, A. B. (C. H. S.),
650 N. 10th St., Philadelphia,

(President University of Pennsylvania Chapter of the
Intercollegiate Socialist Society.)

The Cause of Good Times.



THAT THE RECURRENT periods of commercial and industrial depression which beset the path of modern society are due to the restricted markets of capitalism, which are in turn occasioned by the systematic exploitation of the workers, has become a commonplace of socialistic propaganda. But it is important to remember that the bare fact of exploitation does not alone constitute an explanation of these periods. Under previous industrial systems, chattel slavery or feudalism, for example, the workers were exploited even more severely than under capitalism, yet the phenomenon of hard times was unknown. The reason obviously was that under these systems production was carried on for use and not for sale. The surplus taken from the labor of the slave or serf was consumed by the master or lord. Consumption was thus always made to match production. There being no production for the market, and, in fact, no market, there could, of course, be no glutting of the market. It is because under capitalism, production is primarily for the purpose of sale, and the surplus taken from the workers must first pass through the market before the exploiter can enter into a personal enjoyment of it, that capitalism encounters the phenomenon of hard times.

But, while the combined fact of exploitation and production for sale explain hard times, they do not explain good times. Were these combined circumstances in constant operation, the period of commercial and industrial depression would be unbroken. The truth is, that at periodic intervals capitalistic production, like production in a slave or serf economy, is carried on, not for sale, but for immediate consumption, or what is the equivalent of immediate consumption, by the capitalist himself. These periodic intervals are those in which the capitalist is reinvesting his surplus in expanded means of production — and consequent exploitation. When thus recapitalizing his surplus, he builds more railroads, more factories, more ships, more gigantic office buildings, and so on. But he does not build any of these for sale, on the contrary, since they constitute the very tools of exploitation, he religiously keeps them himself.

During these intervals of recapitalization, therefore, there

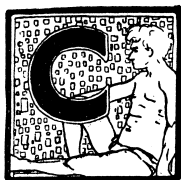
is no glutting of the market. Instead, since the wages paid to labor for thus expanding the national industrial plant are not immediately reproduced in double their value in goods offered for sale, they suffice to purchase all of such commodities as are produced. Markets are ample, trade is brisk and "prosperity" reigns. The social capacity for consumption may even, for a time, surpass production. By thus engendering in the working class a purchasing power which equals or exceeds the amount of commodities proffered in the market, recapitalization stimulates itself and becomes a connected social process and a distinct economic period.

Yet, in the nature of things, recapitalization cannot go on forever. Not only is the fund available for recapitalization exhausted in time, but the expanded means of production must be put to use or they will return no profits. A period of production for sale, that is, of producing commodities for general and final consumption, succeeds to the period of recapitalization. All of the expanded means of production now pour this augmented flood of commodities on the market. Immediately the bitter social consequences of exploitation manifest themselves. Markets glut, because the wages paid to labor are only sufficient to buy back about half of what labor is producing. First the retail trade, then wholesaling and manufacture, slacken, sag and stop. Thousands of workers are thrown out of employment thus destroying their purchasing power and further narrowing the market. The fabric of credit, already overstrained by the process of recapitalization, bursts as under the increased tension, and the terrors of panic are added to the miseries of commercial and industrial collapse. At the very moment when the nation is ready to enjoy the advantages of its expanded industrial plant, the punishment for the social injustice which it tolerates falls upon it.

In the formula, therefore, that periods of recapitalization are periods of good times, and periods of producing "consumption goods" for sale in the market are periods of hard times, we have both an analysis of the cycle of capitalistic industry, and also an explanation of that periodicity in the recurrence of commercial and industrial crises which has proved so puzzling. It is important that all socialistic speakers and writers during the coming presidential campaign should clearly understand and insistently present these facts. Never has a crisis found the apologists of capitalism so bankrupt of plausible explanation as the present one, and never have the people at large been so receptive to the truth.

CLARENCE MEILY.

Present Conditions in Cuba and the Outlook.



UBA," says the capitalist journals, "is to have another chance as an independent nation within a year. The Cuban republic will be established not later than Feb. 1st 1909. After that the Cubans themselves must decide the island's destiny. What a splendid chance now to give Socialism a trial (?). Whether the lessons of the first experiment have been well enough learned or not, it is pretty certain there will be no third. If the next fails, then Cuba will take its place as a territory of the United States.

The interests of the United States in Panama, of which Cuba is the key, require a considerable force in the Carribean within striking distance of that possession. Her treaty rights in Cuba include coaling stations, with the right to fortify and garrison same, and to maintain there sufficient force to give all necessary aid to her diplomatic representatives in Cuba in the exercise of their important functions. "This," says Capt. Parker, U. S. and a resident for many years in Cuba, "would give ample assurance of a stable government; to know that in case of necessity they could summon American arms to prevent revolution rather than to suppress it." No doubt there will be peace for a few months after the American evacuation and Cuba, under either Zayas or Gomez, the candidates for the presidency, will rub along under the present economic system or want of system. Yet that seems doubtful, for at the present time Washington is being deluged with petitions praying that the Provisional Government be kept here. Of course these originate from the capitalist class who fear for their interests, and who say that there can be no peace in Cuba without protection from the United States. They know too well the hot-headedness of the Latin race, who cannot accept defeat gracefully, and no matter which party is elected, rather than see their opponents governing peacefully would in short order stir up a revolution, which would be an easy matter—a box of matches, a few dollars to a dissatisfied negro, a few cane fields fired; and there you are.

The industrial conditions are at present good from the capitalist's view. Laborers are plentiful, wages are, in the trades, fair and there are no strikes on. The land sharks

are dividing up, here and elsewhere, the people's property—the earth—and selling it to "El Americano." The vulture, bankers, are on the spot. A few weeks ago more than sixty bank presidents and cashiers from all parts of the Union were here, presumably on pleasure bent, but in reality to spy out the land with the view of possessing it.

Cuba, or "The Pearl of the Antilles," as it is called, contains a population of nearly two millions and is capable of sustaining five millions. The chief industries are raising tobacco and sugar. In the city of Havana the principal industry is cigar and cigarette making. Nearly everything in use and worn is imported. They are just recovering from the effects of the great strike of 1907; that is, the railroad strike and cigarmakers' strike, when for months everything was at a standstill. But now things are getting back to normal, for under the Provisional Government of the United States there is no doubt that the chaos brought on by the revolution of 1906 has been restored to a semblance of order. Money is being spent liberally on improvements. In the city of Havana a new sewerage system is being put in. All through the island money is being spent on new wagon roads, for previously the interior was practically in a primitive state. The railroad system is being improved, new railroads built by northern capitalists, who are using the cheap labor now to be had here. The present wage of men employed in this work averages 75 cents per day of *twelve hours*, but they seem satisfied and plod along in the good old-fashioned way; but it would not take long, were a few good Socialist leaders to get among them and it would be an easy matter to convince them that Socialism would improve their condition and they would rush to embrace it. They are quite different from the poor slaves of the north, who have the gospel of Socialism preached to them and hold the key to freedom in their hands—the ballot—yet refuse to use it, preferring to remain in darkness and the slaves of capitalism and the system.

These poor workers of Cuba are somewhat different. They are fond of good clothes, love to have good things to eat and liberally spend what they so hardly earn, and are very temperate. Of course here, as elsewhere in the world, are extremes of wealth and poverty. There are beautiful mansions and miserable bohios, where the poor are crowded together. Their lot is not an enviable one and it will be conceded that what Cuba needs and needs badly is Socialism, but they must be first educated along the lines of practical experience in self-government and personal rights.

There are in existence here the usual trade unions and

a Social Labor party, but it is not yet strong enough to be felt in the political world.

The Socialist party in Cuba was organized a little over a year ago by Sr. Manuel Cendoya, who was leader of the cigarmakers in the recent strike, and from a small band of eight (8) it has increased to about four thousand members, among them being many prominent men in business and professional life. Among the latter is Dr. Enrique Roig, the leading lawyer in the city of Havana, and who, when the party gets strong enough to be felt, would make a capable Socialist president (for as a rule it is usually a lawyer who fills the office). Cendoya was assisted by Sr. Pablo Y. Glisias, a prominent Socialist who came over from Spain to help in the work of organization. A few weeks ago they published the first Socialist paper in Cuba, "El Socialista," which is issued twice a week and works along educational lines. In each issue it contains a column of lessons in Socialism. I translate a few lines:

"Q. Would you like to be a millionaire? A. Yes.

"It is easy if you follow these directions:

"1st. Find a job that pays you \$1,200.00 per year. This is easy during these prosperous times. 2nd. Don't spend more than \$3.84 per week for your living expenses or \$200.00 per year. You will then have \$1,000.00 left. Save this for a thousand years. Then you will be a millionaire. This, also, is easy, if we take the word of a prominent Senator, who says: 'The future has great things in store for the working man.'

"Now you see how easy it is to be rich from the capitalist point of view, but let us look at it from the Socialist view:

"Would you rather be happy, have plenty to eat, wear good clothes and work for yourself only a few hours a day, instead of ten or twelve, as you do now, for your capitalist master? Of course you would.

"How can this be brought about? First you will have to cast in your lot with the Socialist party, who are working to accomplish these ends. Secondly. When the Socialist candidates enter the field for election. You must use your ballot for them."

Of course as soon as the party is strong enough to be felt there will be great opposition from the so-called G. O. P.'s, who will not want to see their graft done away with; but that's what it will be. The Cubans want Socialism, but it must be put before them in a proper way, and when they see what it will do for them we shall have victory all along the line.

GEORGE WHITFIELD.

No. 1 Prado, Havana, Cuba.



Standard Oil and the Government. No Socialist has reason for surprise at the collapse of Mr. Roosevelt's case against Standard Oil. Nor is it necessary for us to follow the example of middle-class reformers in charging the judges of the Appellate Court with immoral conduct. The technical points of law on which the decision turns are complex and difficult ones. It is not at all impossible that Judge Landis may have been playing to the galleries in imposing the spectacular \$29,000,000 fine, nor that Judge Grosscup may be technically correct in reversing the action of the lower court. The real moral is not that judges are corrupt; it is that the constitution and laws of the United States were made to guard the interests of property. When the constitution was adopted, most of the voters were property owners and desired to have property protected. Industrial evolution has brought the more important portion of the property under the control of a few trust magnates, but the old constitutional provisions, laws and precedents designed to protect property still exist, and they now work to the advantage of those who control the property. The decision of Judge Grosscup is without doubt embarrassing to the Republican party, coming, as it does, in the midst of a campaign. But what other course would Mr. Bryan have taken than that of Mr. Roosevelt in the matter? And what possible reason can Mr. Bryan offer to convince any one that he could wage any more successful warfare against the "bad trusts"? Whoever controls the industries of the country must control the government, or there would be chaos. The Socialist party of America is the political side of the movement of the working class for seizing both the industries and the government. The Republican party is an efficient machine for running the government in harmony with the rulers of the industries. The Democratic party is an inefficient machine intended to do things that can not be done and would not help the working class if they were done. The intelligent thing to do is to let it alone. If you like capitalism, vote for Taft; if you want revolution, vote for Debs. There are other things more important than voting, but that is another story.

Educate, Organize. A big Socialist vote is a desirable thing. It is chiefly valuable because it makes the social revolution seem to the average laborer something really possible in the near future instead of a distant dream. But to think that a big vote is in itself an important gain for the working class is childish. Capitalism is safe as long as the mass of the workers are mainly concerned about finding and keeping jobs under capitalists. Industrial development into trust-organized industry has made the capitalist superfluous, has paved the way for collectivism. But neither capitalism nor collectivism is an automatic machine independent of people's feelings and wishes. The workers will not take control of industry until they desire to do so, no matter how practicable it might seem in theory. Nor will it put them in control to elect a Socialist party president by attracting votes of people who only want cheaper railway and telephone rates. There will be no revolution without revolutionists. The revolutionists will be made, are being made, by changes in the mode of production, but the process is one in which propoganda and education play a necessary part. Show a laborer that he produces more than twice what he gets, and that by organizing he will soon be able to get all he produces, and he will want to organize. Not organize to get a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work," but to get the full value of his product. Methods of organization will develop as the material is ready, the important thing just now is to provide the material in the shape of laborers who know enough of social evolution to demand all they produce. The measure of our real success this year will be the number of those who begin to understand what social evolution has in reserve for themselves and their class, and who determine to get up and go after it.

Russia's Message. William English Walling, who in past years has been a frequent contributor to the *Review*, has made a most admirable study of the Russian revolutionary movement, which has lately been published by Doubleday, Page & Co. Copies can be obtained through the Chicago Daily Socialist or the Wilshire Book Company, and we only regret that the high price, \$3.00, will put the book beyond the reach of most of our readers. It is not too much to say that the book contains more important facts about modern Russia than have heretofore been accessible in English. We have been accustomed to think of the Russian peasant as hopelessly pious, submissive and conservative, led blindly by his devotion to the Czar and the state church. Mr. Walling tells us that the state religion was forced on the Russian people and that their enthusiasm for it was never unbounded, while the developments of the last few years have transformed the whole mass of peasants into revolutionists. The extreme poverty of the people and the relentless exactions of landlords and tax-gatherers are vividly described.

Capitalist newspapers would make us believe that the main grievance of the Russian people is the lack of a constitutional government like that of England, France or the United States. But Mr. Walling's story brings out clearly that the vital grievances of the Russian peasants and workingmen are economic, not political, and that they wish votes simply as a means for getting control of the land and machinery, without which they can not produce the things they need. The working people of Russia are in some respects far more intelligent than those of America. They are already free from superstitious respect for property, and it is only brute force, only the guns and whips of the Cossacks, that can keep them from appropriating the wealth they have produced. And even this force is ceasing to be effective. No peasant village can resist the Czar's fighting machine, but when that machine has passed on, leaving dead bodies and flayed backs behind it, the surviving peasants can and do attack and plunder the landlords. And within the army itself the revolutionary spirit is growing. The new compulsory recruits are almost sure to be loyal to the people rather than the Czar, and the triumph of the Revolution can not be far off. The government would already have fallen but for the help of the capitalists of western Europe, who wisely feel that a successful revolution in Russia would imperil their own power. We can not follow Mr. Walling in his concluding chapters, where he interprets the revolutionary movement in terms of a semi-mystical philosophy, but we thank him for the clear, strong story of what is beyond doubt the most vital revolutionary movement on the world-stage.

Mr. Hearst's Party. If it were possible to stop the course of evolution and re-enthroned the little capitalist in America, the Independence party ought logically to succeed. As matters stand, its only probable achievement is to take away whatever chance Mr. Bryan might otherwise have had. Its platform advocates direct legislation, the regulation of campaign expenditures, a just distribution of wealth (whatever that may mean), free trade in goods produced by bad trusts, equal freight rates for all, imprisonment of wealthy law-breakers, government ownership of telegraphs, economy in public administration, parcels post, postal savings banks, a national system of good roads, court review of postal rulings, a national department of health, a strong navy, a national department of labor, inland waterways, Asiatic exclusion, and other reforms, none of which tend in any way toward the abolition of the wage system. Mr. Hearst opened the convention with a typical speech, one gem from which we quote: "It is a fundamental function of government to maintain morality." The Independence party will probably take many votes from the Democrats. It will also attract some amiable people who imagine they are Socialists but who deprecate the rude and vulgar phrase "class struggle." By keeping these people outside the Socialist party where they are harmless, Mr. Hearst is doing us a service. And he is also helping things along by pointing out the practical identity of the methods and programs of the two old parties. Most of the present Socialists of mature age have evolved through a position much like that of the Independence party, and the economic developments of the next few years will almost certainly bring most of its members to us.



**INTERNATIONAL
NOTES**
WILLIAM E. BOHN



Germany.—The Social Democratic victory in the recent Prussian election has done little to lessen the strain under which German Socialists are working. To be sure the victory was even greater than was at first supposed. After the final supplementary elections it turned out that our German comrades, besides electing one representative outside, had secured six of the twelve seats in Berlin. When one takes into account that this result was obtained despite the three-class electoral system he sees how great an achievement it was. It means that in greater Berlin the Socialists have a very large popular majority.

The conditions under which the battle was waged, however, and the methods, used furnish sufficient reason why there should be no let-up in Socialist activity. It is almost impossible for an American to realize how rigidly German society is organized from the top down, how every force is brought to bear by the government against the Social Democracy and the labor movement. There is not even the Anglo-Saxon pretense to "fair play." Since the ballot is public employers can keep tab on the votes of their employes and the authorities find it possible to enforce strict obedience on policemen, mail-carriers, etc. So onerous did the latter class find this form of oppression during the last election that in Berlin most of them remained away from the polls altogether. One feature of the affair became decidedly amusing. It was generally known that businessmen required fealty of their employees at the polls, so a group of Socialist women determined to see how the same shoe would go on the other foot. They made out a list of shop-keepers who voted non-socialist-tickets and began to boycott them. Immediately the cry went up, "Socialist terrorism!" After a campaign replete with such incidents it is easy to see why there should be little breathing space allowed.

Furthermore, what has been accomplished amounts to little more than a great popular demonstration. To be sure it will be worth something to have Socialist criticism brought to bear in the feudalistic chamber of the Landtag; but when it comes to legislation the Socialists will be powerless. The make-up of the house remains practically the same as during the last session. The Conservatives have now 152 seats as against 144; the Centrists 105 as against 96; the Free-Thinkers (Freisinnige) 36 as against 33. The Free Conservatives and the National Liberals have lost respectively four and two votes. What can seven Socialists do in a body like this?

Moreover, there are not wanting those who are discontented with the manner in which the campaign was conducted. The Free-

Thinkers have always made much of their devotion to the popular cause and especially of their desire for electoral reform. Especially their left wing, which calls itself the Volkspartei, has made vigorous protestation of reformatory zeal. But when upon the dissolution of the last Landtag the Prussian parties were suddenly plunged into a political campaign the Socialists found the Free-Thinkers their bitterest foes. Throughout the campaign the attacks of Vorwaerts were directed principally against this party; and it was from this party that the Socialist wrested their seats. Edward Bernstein, in the *Socialistische Monatshefte* for June 25th, tries to show that if for some years past the Social Democracy had employed different tactics it might have co-operated with the Free-Thinkers to good effect. After a hasty analysis of the situation he concludes that such co-operation might have given the Socialists 15 or 20 seats instead of 7 and the Free-Thinkers 60 or 70 instead of 36. With two such groups working together in the Landtag, he maintains, something might have been effected for electoral reform. At least a worse than useless pseudo-reform might have been prevented. To one at this distance it looks as though Bernstein were in the wrong and the editors of Vorwaerts in the right. The Free-Thinkers represent the middle class, the worst enemies of the proletariat. It would be difficult to justify coalition with them by pointing to any possible results, no matter how great or good. This controversy over tactics is an additional reason why the situation of our German comrades remains more than usually tense.

France.—The murder at Draveil of defenseless strikers by the *gendarmierie*, if it has shown the strength of the French labor movement, has also shown its weakness. The government, close questioned with regard to the matter by Jaurés, got excited, flew into a rage, and concluded by expressing sorrow at the event and sympathy for the bereaved. All of which goes to show the value of political power in the hands of the proletariat. On the other hand the industrial organizations, the *syndicats*, have shown themselves unequal to the situation. Meetings have been held here and there, but little has been done. Now comes the news that the strike is gradually drawing to a close. Strikebreakers from Paris are effectively guarded by troops, and the strikers are quietly returning to work. In connection with other great recent strikes, particularly the one in the English shipyards, this raises the question as to whether it is possible for labor with its present organization and methods to win an important conflict. To be sure, there is the magnificent struggle of the agricultural laborers of Italy still going on; but their success thus far has been made possible only by the resort to methods almost untried in other countries.

On the 8th of June there met in Paris a labor congress of more than usual interest. It represented the international union of miners. There were in session 131 delegates representing about 2,000,000 miners in England, France, Germany, and other European countries. The United States, though represented at previous international congresses, sent no delegation to this one. The first important debate concerned itself with the demand for an eight-hour day. A resolution was unanimously adopted expressing the conviction of the delegates that the time has arrived for miners everywhere to take measures to secure the eight-hour day. The general sentiment seemed to be that the best way of doing this is that now being pursued in England, where an eight-hour law for miners is taking its course before Parliament. A resolution in

favor of securing a minimum wage scale through collective bargaining was unanimously accepted. Another resolution was passed recommending the international regulation of the supply of coal to the end that large numbers of men should not be put out of work through over production. It was left to the International Committee to suggest means for the carrying into effect of this resolution. Laws protecting the lives of miners and forbidding the labor of women and young children in the mines were demanded after interesting discussions. It appeared from addresses made that in France children of thirteen work regularly in the mines and that in Germany child-labor is alarmingly on the increase. A significant resolution was the one in favor of government ownership of mines. Its unanimous acceptance shows how far the miners have gone in their thinking. In fact, this might be said of the entire activity of the convention. It showed that the miners have really learned to work and think together and that they appreciate and are bent on making the most of the economic function of the craft. For example, it was suggested that the miners might prevent war by refusing to supply war-vessels with coal. Such a feeling of class-consciousness and social responsibility as is shown in this suggestion is surely significant of a real proletarian awakening.

England. Though the chief topic of conversation in England is the suffragette movement our comrades across the water fail to wax enthusiastic over it. To be sure, none can deny that it has reached colossal proportions. Premier Asquith asked for an "overwhelming" demonstration—and he surely got it. On June 13th 12,000 women marched in procession through the streets of London, applauded by additional thousands of sympathizers. Seventeen bands furnished music and there were banners and floats without end. Other and even greater demonstrations occurred on the 15th, 21st and 30th. On the last date a countless mob besieged the Houses of Parliament for four hours. The reports to American dailies tried, as usual, to belittle the whole affair, but England was visibly impressed. Evidently the women are fast learning how to make themselves felt; at least they have forced their demands into the field of "practical" politics. The reason our Socialist comrades are not in the heart of the movement is that, like Socialists everywhere, they stand for adult suffrage. About 3,500,000 adult English men have no vote, and if the proposals of the suffragettes are carried out the women, because of their smaller earning power, will be even worse off. There is much to justify the "votes-for-ladies" cry raised by the Socialists. What is needed is, not more votes for the propertied class, but one vote for every man and every woman.

At the Pan-Anglican, held during the middle of June, Socialism was the subject that aroused the most vital interest. It was discussed by clergymen and laymen of all degrees from England, America and Australia; and only one or two straggling representatives of the cloth were found to make the stereotyped protests against the uprising of the proletariat. Their tritely-put statements that "modern, popular Socialism is profoundly unchristian," that it idealizes ignorance, that it contravenes "eternal and divine laws," would stifle individual initiative, etc., aroused some amusement, but were politely passed over without much notice. The most striking characteristic of the majority of the addresses was their fine candor. The reverend gentlemen claimed not the least credit for the church: they said, in substance, "Here is this great movement, it is in line with the teachings of Christianity, we are simply forced to recognize

it." There was a good deal of hedging and qualifying, but in general it was recognized that the demands of the Socialists are just and that in the long run the church cannot gain by opposing them. Perhaps Mr. Silas McBee, of New York, editor of *The Churchman*, put the case best when he said that the church does not represent Christ, that man under the modern system is indeed his brother's keeper, but "only to keep him down forever." One wonders, as he reads, what all these candid speakers are going to do about it. Why do they remain outside the party which represents their belief?

Australia. In Australia the war between the Socialists and Laborites goes merrily on. The Socialists have taken up the I. W. W. with great enthusiasm. But the Australian labor unions object to getting out of politics, as adhesion to the I. W. W. would require them to do. At a labor congress held in May this matter was the chief subject for discussion. The Socialists claimed that the "immediate" form of legislation had failed; the Laborites denied this. A resolution to indorse the I. W. W. was finally lost, but the Socialists were neither disappointed nor discouraged.

During the month of May *The Socialist*, Melbourne, and *The International Socialist Review*, Sidney, made a vigorous campaign against the jingoism that goes with the celebration of Empire Day, May 27th. On that day the school children are wont to sing "patriotic" hymns and in other ways have impressed upon them the glories of empire and military dominion. This year the protest raised, not only by the Socialists but by the Laborites also, took such tangible form that the purpose of the celebration must have come near being defeated. For every jingo imperialist meeting there was another at which the hollowness of the whole thing was exposed. Though the party in Australia is as yet comparatively weak in numbers, it leaves nothing to be desired in point of enthusiasm.

New Zealand. More than usual interest attaches to the stir the Socialists are making in New Zealand. There, where they have long enjoyed the blessings of compulsory arbitration, it is discovered now that capitalism is running its regular course. And since capitalism is developing, Socialism develops also. Tom Mann, of Australia, has recently been touring the country and has aroused tremendous enthusiasm everywhere. At a party convention held recently it was decided not to put up candidates at present, but to carry on a general educational propaganda. *The Commonwealth*, the organ of New Zealand Socialism, is to be changed from a monthly to a weekly publication. It is to be hoped that American investigators will take note of these things.

Italy. The agrarian struggle in Parma grows constantly more bitter. Early in June there was an attempt at arbitration. But the strikers insisted on a minimum wage scale—about five cents an hour for day laborers and \$120 a year for regular employes, men, of course—and this the employers would not consent to. So splendid is the support given the strikers that they are by no means at the end of their tether. The government, neutral at first, has now resorted to the most violent means. All the union officials have been imprisoned, the union headquarters have been occupied by troops, and the union funds have been confiscated. The authorities exercise a news censorship so complete that it is impossible to report definitely as to recent developments. Though there have been violent encounters between troops and strikers, peace seems pretty generally to have been maintained. There is talk of a general strike, but the prevailing opinion seems to be that workers outside the affected district

can do most good by remaining at their posts and sending in financial aid.

Japan. Recent issues of *The Socialist News*, Tokyo, indicate that the Japanese movement is passing through a trying crisis. Till recently the government has remained, according to Oriental standards, comparatively moderate. But recently there have been serious signs of insubordination and disaffection in the army, and the authorities, thinking them due to Socialist agitation, have set about to crush the whole movement. Every Socialist soldier has been put under constant espionage. Socialist workingmen, too, are honored with special attention by the police. In particular, it is made almost impossible for them to hold meetings. In *The Socialist News* for June 15th Mr. S. J. Katayama, the editor, tells of a trip through the provinces. He was shadowed even on trains and in hotels, so that it was difficult for him to gain admission anywhere. Owners of theaters and hotels were forbidden to put them at his disposal. In a three weeks' trip he was able to hold but one meeting. So great are his difficulties that *The Socialist News*, formerly a weekly, now appears but irregularly. In order that it may make an appeal to the outside world its first page in the last two numbers has been printed in English. The movement in Japan surely needs and deserves international support.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

The efforts of Samuel Gompers and his colleagues to steer the working people, especially those organized, into the Democratic camp will prove no easy undertaking. Rumblings of opposition are heard in New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo and many other places. The protestants object to the injection of partisan politics into A. F. of L. affairs and point out that the officials are deliberately violating Article III, Section 8, of the constitution—a provision which, by the way, has upon several occasions been invoked against the Socialists to choke off political discussion in conventions.

Without a word of instructions from those who pay their salaries Gompers, Duncan, Mitchell, Lennon and Morrison went to Chicago and Denver and prostrated themselves before the capitalistic political bosses and appealed for recognition in their platforms—begged for more of the same kind of promises that have been broken over and over again. As THE REVIEW readers will know, the Chicago aggregation wouldn't even give the labor bunch a pleasant look, although Roosevelt was absolute master of the convention—the same Roosevelt who has been hailed as “our friend” for at least half a dozen years, even if he did whack labor over the head every time he had an opportunity.

At Denver the pilgrims fared better. The Democracy—dear old crone—always has a warm spot in her heart for spring chickens in politics. “Come to my arms,” said this old prostitute of capitalism. “I have seduced the Greenback party, the Union Labor party and the People's party during the past generation and now to round out a brilliant career of betrayal and corruption the trade union party shall be given undivided attention and all favors.”

Thereupon Gompers, who fairly hungers for flattery and adulation, proclaims to the faithful that the “reformed” Democracy is once more “the workingman's friend” and “has shown its sympathy with our wrongs and its desires to remedy them and see to it that the rights of the people are restored.” Gompers might have added that for generations this same party has been working on the job of restoring “the rights of the people,” especially in the Southern States, the home of chattel slavery in the last century and child slavery, convict slavery competition, disfranchisement, injunctions and other brutalities right now.

But as stated above Gompers is not having easy sailing. The action of himself and colleagues in tying to a discredited party and a discredited candidate was not received with that spontaneous enthusiasm that spells victory. There were no brass bands to greet Gompers with the tuneful air, “See the Conqueror Hero Comes,” on his triumphal journey

from Denver to Washington. The doughty Sam'l stopped over in Erie, Pa., and despite the fact that the longshoremens' convention was in session, with several hundred delegates present, only about five hundred people attended a mass meeting and heard in a listless way how "our wrongs would be remedied."

On the contrary, general criticism and condemnation is pouring in from every side, and as proof that Gompers is aware that his action was decidedly unpopular it is only necessary to refer to his editorial in this month's *Federationist*, where he emits his usual whine of being abused and warns "our men of labor" that a campaign of "lying and misrepresentation" has been launched in the hope of discrediting him and his colleagues. But it is no longer the "wicked Socialists" who are "abusing and villifying" the great little man. Workingmen who have worshipped at the shrine of Roosevelt, those who have followed the wanderings of William Randolph Moses Hearst, and the few straggling bands who have kept alive the populistic spirit personified by Tom Watson, not to speak of many who claim to be independents, are sharpening their tomahawks preparatory to doing some damage in this campaign.

To offset the prayers that are being uttered by Gompers and his fellow-worshippers for the benefit of Bryan, the International Steam Shovel Workers have sanctified Injunction Bill Taft by electing him an honorary member of their union, and, holding a card, of course the fat man becomes a "friend" to be rewarded. Taft will also have the support of some of the railway brotherhood chiefs and it is even claimed that one or two members of the A. F. of L. executive council will hurl bombshells into the Bryan camp at the proper time, while in every important industrial center in the country "good trade unionists" are hobbing up to tell us what Roosevelt has done for labor and how Taft will carry out the Roosevelt policies, etc.

But just about the wildest lot of political knockers in the game are the Hearstites. They are in a frenzy about what they term "a rank sell-out," "a dastardly betrayal," and so on. Hearst himself gave his followers the cue in his now famous cablegram from Europe that nearly melted the wires at the bottom of the ocean, and which was a reply to a dispatch sent to him bearing Gompers' name (and which the latter disowned) appealing to the Yellow Kid to be patriotic and support Bryan. Hearst's reference to the discredited and decadent Democracy and "chameleon candidates who change the color of their political opinion with every varying hue of opportunism," and his charge that the Democratic party that is now holding out a sop of false promises "while in power did more to injure labor than all the injunctions ever issued before or since," not only severed whatever hopes the Bryanites may have still entertained that the editor man would forgive the snubs and insults administered by the Peerless One and rally to the standard, but the Yellow Kid's followers are now raising the cry that "Hearst and his newspapers have done more for labor than Bryan or Gompers, and without price at that."

As for those trade unionists who are Socialists they are not at all discouraged by the turn that affairs political have taken. Of course, they would have preferred to see Gompers and his colleague remain true to working class interests and support Debs and Hanford, or even form a national labor party of their own, or keep their hands off political matters entirely, rather than compromise with the party controlled by the Murphys and Sullivans, the Taggarts and Gerbers, and the Southern Bourbons who have no more use for

organized labor than the devil has for holy water. Throughout the civilized world the leaders of labor have the intelligence and decency to stand upon their class interests, to work with and be a great part of the Socialist movement or at least a labor party independent of the capitalist parties, and to spurn offers of compromise or surrender. Only here in America we see the contradictory condition of so-called labor leaders brazenly betraying their trust, and the more brutally they are lashed by capitalism and its political hirelings the more supine, cringing and cowardly they become.

Naturally the Socialists deplore the factionalism that is bound to be engendered among many of the unions and the injury that is bound to result from the injection of the silly punish-your-enemies-and-reward-your-friends scheme hatched in the brilliant mind of Gompers. He is not so ignorant that he does not know that the hair-splitting over the question of who is a "friend" and who is an "enemy," and especially where there is confusion among the membership as to what is really wanted, is certain to precipitate internal troubles between partisans that will lead to ultimate disruption and demoralization. He also knows the fate of the Greenback, Union Labor and People's parties and the Knights of Labor and Farmers' Alliance—all wrecked on the rocks of capitalistic politics. But history has no Jessons for the vainglorious who become so puffed up with their own egotism that they are bound to ride to a fall.

However, Gompers deserves to be congratulated for one thing at least and that is he has at least thrown off his mask of pure and simplemindedness and chosen his partner for the dance. He was a Republican; now he is a Democrat. Good! Unless I am much mistaken, if he does take the stump for Bryan, as it is reported he will, Mr. Gompers will probably be kept as interested as was one T. V. Powderly, who was out rewarding his friends in 1896.

Some of the unions may be led into the shambles—not all of them will be. But on this fact Gompers and the rest of the Democrats can gamble their last cent, and that is the '96 stampede of the Populists into the Bryan camp will not be duplicated by a 1908 stampede of Socialists and progressive trade unionists up to the slaughter. The Socialists know their ground thoroughly, and they know the vulnerable spots in the opposition, and capitalism and its defenders and decoy ducks will know that they have been in a fight before the polls close in November.

There is little doing of general importance in the industrial world at present. The union officials have been having a hard struggle to keep their memberships intact owing to the industrial depression and the merciless attacks of the open shop masters. During the month the United Mine Workers and Western Federation of Miners arrived at an understanding to interchange working cards and to extend moral and financial support to each other in case of trouble. The longshoremen held their convention and appointed a committee to make another attempt to come to agreement with the seamen. Both organizations are face to face with open shop conditions on and along the lakes. The proposed clothing federation has not yet materialized, as the journeymen tailors are inclined to hold off while the garment workers, laundry workers and ladies' garment workers seem anxious to go ahead. The makers of juvenile clothing in New York have virtually won their strike against a wage reduction, and thus blocked the bosses' scheme to force a cut in the whole trade. The Republic Iron & Steel Co. and independent plants

came to agreement with the iron and steel workers on last year's terms virtually and work was resumed. Alabama miners are out with a long bill of grievances and the Democratic "workingman's friends" have been threatening to have the militia fill them with holes if they are not real good. The Vanderbilts are joining the procession of magnates who are attempting to force piecework on shop employes and a number are on strike, while the Pennsylvania lines have declared war against all unions except a few coddled brotherhoods. These times are good—to put Socialist literature in the hands of the working people.

NEWS & VIEWS

How to keep locals alive and to make them grow is a problem we must solve, be it ever so difficult.

We must crystalize our fast growing Socialist sentiment into a powerful, trained, effective, militant organization. We must learn how to run our party business quickly, smoothly and without waste, for it is the necessary preparation for the splendid task we are approaching.

We can no more afford to depend on haphazard, spasmodic—however good-natured—effort to build the Commonwealth, than we could depend on such methods in our fire departments, postal service or power houses.

I offer a few suggestions from my experience.

First, strive to thoroughly educate each new member in the matter of the great necessity of organization, training and work. Keep a good stock of National Office leaflets on hand: "Why Socialists Pay Dues," organization leaflets, etc.

A couple of courageous, active collectors can do wonders; keeping dues paid up, and funds on hand to keep "doing things," is the keynote of Socialist vitality.

We will rapidly develop out of the childish stage of needing a collector, but until we do, never let one member feel that he can be spared or is overlooked.

Again I would suggest rigid adherence to the rule of getting through the business routine in a rapid, business-like way. Do not tolerate a long drawn out, slovenly method of party work.

Before a public lecture in South Bend one evening, the local had a business session, and my heart swelled with pride as I sat in the audience and watched the clean, true, sure way our comrades did things. It was a good lesson for the audience.

Strive to make every local meeting really worth while as an educational or propaganda meeting. A good reader can give fifteen minutes to current events; well condensed items from the magazines and press. Have them short and crisp.

Try to develop speakers among your group; urge and encourage each one to try; do not allow one tedious comrade to take the whole time. We must be ready to take and give kindly criticism. Limit to three or five minutes; select subject and speakers or readers in advance. I strongly favor an outline of study either for each meeting or every alternate meeting.

A committee for announcing and distributing material is desirable, each member having a list of names to take care of, and mail

postal announcements or other urgent matters to his set of names, thus dividing the burden and speeding the work.

We must strive to strengthen the solidarity of feeling among the families. From Oklahoma comes the plan of Sunday afternoon meetings once a month; Socialist songs and readings from the young folks, oftentimes little prizes awarded; lunch and coffee served; all tend to promote better acquaintance and attract newcomers.

Carefully planned literature campaigns are invaluable. In some places the comrades select certain groups and alternate the circularizing. The following groups are mentioned: Teachers, doctors, preachers, farmers, women especially interested in public questions, and above all, groups of organized working men and women. Follow up circularizing by visits, soliciting subscriptions to papers and joining of locals.

One successful local I have in mind bought space in a weekly local paper for the best Socialist articles available.

You will find many valuable suggestions in our party papers; bring every item on organization before the local.

This work tests the fibre and endurance of our working class army more than does spurts of bright effort, and is absolutely necessary, for in no other way than by organized, united, intelligent work can we overcome our great enemy who has the advantage economically as well as the fine training acquired in exploiting us so successfully.

GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT.

Where We Can Breathe. It is probable that the membership of the Socialist party will vote favorably on the proposition to hold biennial delegate conferences. This means that every other year, probably in the summer, our men and women representatives will meet and spend a week in conference and discussion. Would it not be profitable in many ways for these conferences, and indeed the nominating conventions themselves, to be held in some small city, perhaps in some pleasant park offering a suitable auditorium?

The conventions of the capitalist parties gravitate naturally to the cities, as the hotel-keepers and the "business men" are assessed for local expenses. No agreeable meeting place may be had in Chicago the cost of which is not prohibitive to us. Why not therefore look about in Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan or Ohio, and find a place offering necessary hotel accommodations and an auditorium somewhat more inspiring and attractive than Brand's Hall, Chicago?

It is agreeable of course to local Socialists to be able to drop in to a session of the National Convention and contribute a bit of gallery enthusiasm; and gallery enthusiasm is often agreeable to the speakers; but one will hardly undertake to say such conditions—or for that matter the atmosphere of a large city itself—are most favorable to balanced deliberation.

Personal discomfort, which one may discern is not wholly separable from conventions held under such conditions as our last, does not make for an even temper or an unhurried consideration of necessary business, and it would be agreeable to us of the rank and file who send our delegates so far and at such expense to know that all the local conditions are most favorable to those doing their very best for us.

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.

Salem, Mass.

The Agrarian Strike in Italy. Have you been keeping apace with the agrarian strike in northern Italy, particularly in the region of Emilia? Parma is the center of action. The economic organiza-

tions of the farm laborers is in such splendid trim that they were able to place the landed proprietors in a very bad fix all of a sudden. The rest of the working class is showing a most admirable spirit of solidarity. At the beginning of the strike the old people said: "We are ready to eat grass if need be, even to starve if it is necessary to win, but we don't want to see our children suffer."

Then from all other sections of the country their comrades opened their arms to welcome the little ones.

News was spread through the capitalist press that six or eight hundred "scabs" were expected from Sicily to break the strike. But at the last moment, when these men were overdue, Bernardino Verro, representing the agrarian laborers, arrived bearing the greetings and a message of solidarity from their Sicilian brothers, assuring them that not even six or eight would come from that region.

All these things are signs of the times and very encouraging to a student of social questions. They make me very hopeful for the future. I have no doubt but that the agrarian laborers will come out victorious in the end. The signs point that way. A few days ago the landed proprietors of Rovigo acceded to their demands. The Mayors and the Prefect of the Province of Parma are in a continuous tete-a-tete in order to cope with the situation. The soldiers have been stoned over and over again by the strikers and, although they have been ordered to shoot at the farm laborers, those who obeyed fired into the air.

The Syndicalists are leading the fight and from their manifestos I judge they have little faith in parliamentary action.

GIOVANNI B. CIVALE.

Somebody Try It. I believe the time is here when a canvasser can make a good living and work for Socialism at the same time. The other day I picked up a cheaply gotten up book, "Capital and Labor," I think it was, and asked the owner where he got it. He replied that a man had worked the town some few weeks before and sold 18 or 20 of the books at one dollar each. I was somewhat surprised that so many of the books could have been sold in the town (a place of about 5,000 population), but my informant stated that the bankers, lawyers, doctors and reading public generally were interested in the labor question and Socialism, and that it was no trouble to sell them books.

Now, why can't a few comrades start out with a supply of Work's "What's So and What Isn't," Spargo's "Common Sense," or of "Socialism," and sell oodles of them? Not any comrade, but those who have shown some degree of ability as canvassers.

I believe any bright man or woman with the push and stick-to-itiveness to succeed at anything can jump in now and make a record as a pioneer book seller. Go to a nearby town of 5,000 to 15,000 people and canvass the well-to-do trade. You will be surprised at the results. Every lawyer will want a copy of "Economic Foundation of Society" when you explain the book to him, and Spargo's "Common Sense" should meet with a general sale.

FRANK P. O'HARE, Vinita, Okla.

Only Slaves Wanted. This is the title of the leading article of a recent issue of "L'Union des Travailleurs," a Socialist party weekly at Charleroi, Pa. It is so good that we translate it in full:

"The times change and men also. Once it was loudly proclaimed that the United States were a refuge ever open to the victims of European tyrants. But in those times these victims were

rarely opposed to the exploitation of man by man. They were simply opposed to certain forms of government.

"To-day it is different. In Europe there is an ever-growing number of people who are not only tired of certain forms of government, but also and chiefly of capitalist exploitation.

"And the capitalists who govern the United States naturally do not wish their country to become 'a refuge for people opposed to capitalist exploitation, and they use every means to prevent these "undesirable citizens" from coming here.

"On their demand, the United States government has just established detective bureaus in the principal European ports, Naples, Havre, Marseilles, etc., in order to obtain information on the emigrants and prevent the landing in New York of those having Socialist ideas.

"Only docile slaves are to-day 'desirable' in the United States. But the capitalist system is creating malcontents enough in the United States to cause its downfall without the help of European malcontents."

World-wide Propaganda by Literature. One of the English locals lately sent in an order for six thousand Pocket Library booklets for use in the Socialist Cycle Clubs, which are sending speakers into every portion of England this season. A comrade in the island of Tahiti wrote that Jack London had just paid him a visit and ordered a large stock of books to hand out to the sailors who land to trade on the island. Two large orders came in from Australia for the kind of literature that speaks for itself—and for the movement there—while a very live comrade in Alaska writes that there are now twenty out of fifty men receiving mail at that point who are Socialists, where he was the only one a year ago. He sent in an order for thirty-five dollars worth of books, which he said would do for a "starter." We wish there were more like our friend in Alaska.

The Negro Problem. Comrade I. M. Robbins has suffered in health from the "ferocious heat," and has thus been unable to contribute his usual article on this subject for the August REVIEW, but he promises to resume the series with the September number. His study of this subject has attracted wide attention, and it is safe to promise that the remaining articles will be even more interesting than the earlier ones.

A Correction. Comrade Goebel of New Jersey desires us to correct an error in our report of the National Convention on page 722 of the June REVIEW. We find by referring to the complete stenographic report of the convention, not yet printed, that he was not among those delegates whose seats were contested.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

A decorative graphic featuring a stylized bird in flight on the left, with a long, flowing line that curves upwards and ends in a spiral on the right. Several five-pointed stars are scattered along the upper curve of the line.

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The only way to understand Socialism is to study it. There is no short cut. A complete understanding of it is not an easy matter. A wage-worker whose practical experience has brought him into vital relations with the processes of capitalist production will, other things being equal, find the literature of Socialism easier to grasp than will a member of the leisure class, but neither one will learn without studying. The object of our co-operative publishing house is to provide the books that the Socialist movement needs if it is to be strengthened by new members with clear heads.

In our Book Bulletin, which contains full descriptions of all our publications, the books are for the most part arranged in the order in which they were published, not in the order in which they should be read to get the best results. We shall suggest here several small libraries, each arranged progressively, starting with the easiest books.

LIBRARY A.

This includes ten of the volumes from our International Library of Social Science, published at one dollar each:

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Principles of Scientific Socialism, by Charles H. Vail, is a systematic outline for study, which serves as a good introduction to more advanced works.

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Marxian Economics, by Ernest Untermann, is a connected story of industrial development from savagery to capitalism, leading up to

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The Theoretical System of Karl Marx, by Louis B. Boudin, is a systematic treatise in which the Marxian theories are shown to be a complete system of which each part is vitally related to all the rest.

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Philosophical Essays, by Joseph Dietzgen, applies the principles of Socialism to the questions of morals and religion, developing the monistic view held by most educated socialists.

The Positive Outcome of Philosophy by Joseph Dietzgen, contains the author's three principal works, including "Letters on Logic" and "The Nature of Human Brain Work," and is the indispensable book for any one wishing to understand the relations of Socialism to modern science as a whole.

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, by Frederick Engels, a translation of the author's celebrated reply to Duehring, is a brilliant defense of scientific Socialism against bourgeois metaphysics in various fields of thought.

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This contains twenty volumes from our Standard Socialist Series, published at fifty cents each.

The Socialists, Who They Are and What They Stand For, by John Spargo, is generally recognized as the best brief statement of the Socialist position for a beginner.

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What's So and What Isn't, by John M. Work, is a clear, forcible answer to most of the objections usually urged against Socialism.

Capitalist and Laborer, by John Spargo, is an answer to two really able opponents of Socialism, Goldwin Smith and W. H. Mallock.

Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx, explains in language easily

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Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels, states in a way that is still unsurpassed the principles of modern scientific Socialism as distinguished from the old Utopianism, which was formerly called Socialist.

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels, and **No Compromise, No Political Trading**, by Liebknecht, are bound in one volume; every Socialist needs to read them.

The World's Revolutions, by Ernest Untermann, is a historical study full of interest and full of value to the student of Socialism.

The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies, by Paul Lafargue, is a brilliant, witty and entertaining book by one of the foremost Socialists of Europe.

Social and Philosophical Studies, by Paul Lafargue, explains the scientific causes for belief in God among certain classes, and traces the origin of abstract ideas.

Class Struggles in America, by A. M. Simons, is a condensed history of the American people, with references proving the startling assertions.

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LIBRARY C.

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, by Frederick Engels, shows that wealth and poverty are new and transient things, and that the trend of evolution is toward some form of collectivism. 50 cents.

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