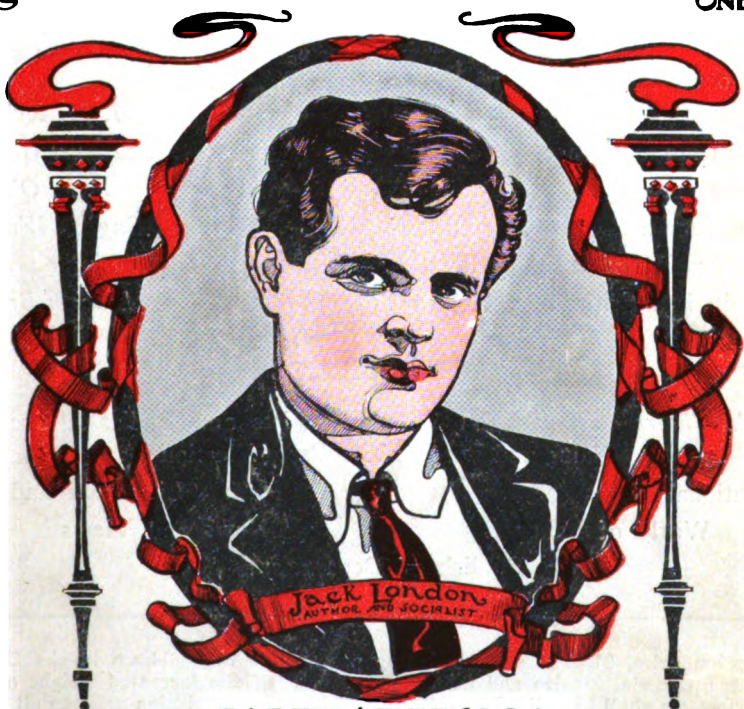


The International Socialist Review

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JANUARY 1909

JACK LONDON'S

LATEST STORY

The Dream of Debs

STARTS IN THIS ISSUE

PUBLISHED BY

The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Ernest Untermann, John Spargo, Robert Rives La Monte,
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Subscription price, \$1.00 a year, including postage, to any address in the United States, Canada, Mexico and Cuba. On account of the increased weight of the **Review**, we shall be obliged in future to make the subscription price to all other countries \$1.36.

All correspondence regarding advertising should be addressed to **The Howe-Simpson Company**, Advertising Manager of the **International Socialist Review**, 140 Dearborn street, Chicago. Advertising rate, \$25.00 per page; half and quarter pages pro rata; less than quarter pages, 15 cents per agate line. This rate is based on a guaranteed circulation exceeding 25,000 copies.

All other business communications should be addressed to

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-Operative)
153 Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

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Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.



THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review

Vol. IX.

JANUARY, 1909

No. 7

The Dream of Debs

By JACK LONDON



AWOKE fully an hour before my customary time. This in itself was remarkable, and I lay very wide awake, pondering over it. Something was the matter, something was wrong—I knew not what. I was oppressed by a premonition of something terrible that had happened or was about to happen. But what was it? I strove to orientate myself. I remembered that at the time of the Great Earthquake of 1906 many claimed they awakened some moments before the first shock and that during those moments they experienced strange feelings of dread. Was San Francisco again to be visited by earthquake?

I lay for a full minute, numbly expectant, but there occurred no reeling of walls nor shock and grind of falling masonry. All was quiet. That was it! The silence! No wonder I had been perturbed. The hum of the great live city was strangely absent. The surface cars passed along my street, at that time of day, on an average of one every three minutes; but in the ten succeeding minutes not a car passed. Perhaps it was a street railway strike, was my thought; or perhaps there had been an accident and the power was shut off. But no, the silence was too profound. I heard no jar and rattle of wagon-wheels, nor stamp of iron-shod hoofs straining up the steep cobble-stones.

Pressing the push-button beside my bed, I strove to hear the sound of the bell, though I well knew it was impossible for the sound to rise three stories to me even if the bell did ring. It rang all right, for a few minutes later Brown entered with the tray and morning paper. Though his features were impassive as ever, I noted a startled, apprehensive light in his eyes. I noted, also, that there was no cream on the tray.

"The creamery did not deliver this morning," he explained; "nor did the bakery."

I glanced again at the tray. There were no fresh French rolls—only slices of stale graham bread from yesterday, the most detestable of bread so far as I was concerned.

"Nothing was delivered this morning, sir," Brown started to explain apologetically; but I interrupted him.

"The paper?"

"Yes, sir, it was delivered, but it was the only thing, and it is the last time, too. There won't be any paper to-morrow. The paper says so. Can I send out and get you some condensed milk?"

I shook my head, accepted the coffee black, and spread open the paper. The headlines explained everything—explained too much, in fact, for the lengths of pessimism to which the journal went were ridiculous. A general strike, it said, had been called all over the United States; and most foreboding anxieties were expressed concerning the provisioning of the great cities.

I read on hastily, skimming much and remembering much of labor troubles in the past. For a generation the general strike had been the dream of organized labor, which dream had arisen originally in the mind of Debs, one of the great labor leaders of thirty years before. I recollected that in my young college-settlement days I had even written an article on the subject for one of the magazines and that I had entitled it, "The Dream of Debs." And I must confess that I had treated the idea very cavalierly and academically as a dream and nothing more. Time and the world had rolled on, Gompers was gone, the American Federation of Labor was gone, and gone was Debs with all his wild revolutionary ideas; but the dream had persisted, and here it was at last realized in fact. But I laughed, as I read, at the journal's gloomy outlook. I knew better. I had seen organized labor worsted in too many conflicts. It would be a matter only of days when the thing would be settled. This was a national strike, and it wouldn't take the government long to break it.

I threw the paper down and proceeded to dress. It would certainly be interesting to be out in the streets of San Francisco when not a wheel was turning and the whole city was taking an enforced vacation.

"I beg your pardon, sir," Brown said, as he handed me my cigar case, "but Mr. Harmed has asked to see you before you go out."

"Send him in right away," I answered.

Harmed was the butler. When he entered I could see he was laboring under controlled excitement. He came at once to the point.

"What shall I do, sir? There will be needed provisions, and the de-

livery drivers are on strike. And the electricity is shut off—I guess they're on strike, too."

"Are the shops open?" I asked.

"Only the small ones, sir. The retail clerks are out, and the big ones can't open; but the owners and their families are running the little ones themselves."

"Then take the machine," I said, "and go the rounds and make your purchases. Buy plenty of everything you need or may need. Get a box of candles—no, get half a dozen boxes. And when you're done, tell Harrison to bring the machine around to the club for me—not later than eleven."

Harmed shook his head gravely. "Mr. Harrison has struck along with the Chauffeurs' Union, and I don't know how to run the machine myself."

"Oh, ho, he has, has he?" I said. "Well, when next *Mister* Harrison happens around you tell him that he can look elsewhere for a position."

"Yes, sir."

"You don't happen to belong to a Butler's Union, do you, Harmed?"

"No, sir," was the answer. "And even if I did I'd not desert my employer in a crisis like this. No, sir, I would—"

"All right, thank you," I said. "Now you get ready to accompany me. I'll run the machine myself, and we'll lay in a stock of provisions to stand a siege."

It was a beautiful first of May, even as May days go. The sky was cloudless, there was no wind, and the air was warm—almost balmy. Many autos were out, but the owners were driving them themselves. The streets were crowded but quiet. The working class, dressed in its Sunday best, was out taking the air and observing the effects of the strike. It was all so unusual, and withal so peaceful, that I found myself enjoying it. My nerves were tingling with mild excitement. It was a sort of placid adventure. I passed Miss Chickering. She was at the helm of her little runabout. She swung around and came after me, catching me at the corner.

"Oh, Mr. Cerf!" she hailed. "Do you know where I can buy candles? I've been to a dozen shops, and they're all sold out. It's dreadfully awful, isn't it?"

But her sparkling eyes gave the lie to her words. Like the rest of us, she was enjoying it hugely. Quite an adventure it was, getting those candles. It was not until we went across the city and down into the working class quarter south of Market street that we found small corner

groceries that had not yet sold out. Miss Chickering thought one box was sufficient, but I persuaded her into taking four. My car was large, and I laid in a dozen boxes. There was no telling what delays might arise in the settlement of the strike. Also, I filled the car with sacks of flour, baking powder, tinned goods, and all the ordinary necessities of life suggested by Harmed, who fussed around and clucked over the purchases like an anxious old hen.

The remarkable thing, that first day of the strike, was that no one really apprehended anything serious. The announcement of organized labor in the morning papers that it was prepared to stay out a month or three months was laughed at. And yet that very first day we might have guessed as much from the fact that the working class took practically no part in the great rush to buy provisions. Of course not. For weeks and months, craftily and secretly, the whole working class had been laying in private stocks of provisions. That was why we were permitted to go down and buy out the little groceries in the working class neighborhoods.

It was not until I arrived at the Club that afternoon that I began to feel the first alarm. Everything was in confusion. There were no olives for the cocktails, and the service was by hitches and jerks. Most of the men were angry, and all were worried. A babel of voices greeted me as I entered. General Folsom, nursing his capacious paunch in a window-seat in the smoking-room, was defending himself against half a dozen excited gentlemen who were demanding that he do something.

"What can I do more than I have done?" he was saying. "There are no orders from Washington. If you gentlemen will get a wire through I'll do anything I am commanded to do. But I don't see what can be done. The first thing I did this morning, as soon as I learned of the strike, was to order in the troops from the Presidio—three thousand of them. They're guarding the banks, the mint, the post office, and all the public buildings. There is no disorder whatever. The strikers are keeping the peace perfectly. You can't expect me to shoot them down as they walk along the streets with wives and children all in their best bib and tucker."

"I'd like to know what's happening on Wall Street," I heard Jimmy Wombold say as I passed along. I could imagine his anxiety, for I knew that he was deep in the big Consolidated-Western deal.

"Say, Cerf," Atkinson bustled up to me, "is your machine running?"

"Yes, I answered, "but what's the matter with your own?"

"Broken down, and the garages are all closed. And my wife's somewhere around Truckee, I think, stalled on the overland. Can't get a

wire to her for love or money. She should have arrived this evening. She may be starving. Lend me your machine."

"Can't get it across the bay," Halstead spoke up. "The ferries aren't running. But I tell you what you can do. There's Rollinson—oh, Rollinson, come here a moment. Atkinson wants to get a machine across the bay. His wife is stuck on the overland at Truckee. Can't you bring the Lurlette across from Tiburon and carry the machine over for him?"

The "Lurlette" was a two-hundred-ton, ocean-going, schooner-yacht.

Rollinson shook his head. "You couldn't get a longshoreman to load the machine on board, even if I could get the 'Lurlette' over, which I can't, for the crew are members of the Coast Seaman's Union, and they're on strike along with the rest."

"But my wife may be starving," I could hear Atkinson wailing as I moved on.

At the other end of the smoking room I ran into a group of men bunched excitedly and angrily around Bertie Messener. And Bertie was stirring them up and prodding them in his cool, cynical way. Bertie didn't care about the strike. He didn't care much about anything. He was blase—at least in all the clean things of life; the nasty things had no attraction for him. He was worth twenty millions, all of it in safe investments, and he had never done a tap of productive work in his life—inherited it all from his father and two uncles. He had been everywhere, seen every thing, and done everything but get married, and this last in the face of the grim and determined attack of a few hundred ambitious mammas. For years he had been the greatest catch, and as yet he had avoided being caught. He was disgracefully eligible. On top of his wealth, he was young, handsome, and, as I said before, clean. He was a great athlete, a young blond god that did everything perfectly and admirably with the solitary exception of matrimony. And he didn't care about anything, had no ambitions, no passions, no desire to do the very things he did so much better than other men.

"This is sedition!" one man in the group was crying. Another called it revolt and revolution, and another called it anarchy.

"I can't see it," Bertie said. "I have been out in the streets all morning. Perfect order reigns. I never saw a more law-abiding populace. There's no use calling it names. It's not any of those things. It's just what it claims to be, a general strike, and it's your turn to play, gentlemen."

"And we'll play all right!" cried Garfield, one of the traction millionaires. "We'll show this dirt where its place is—the beasts! Wait till the government takes a hand."

"But where is the government?" Bertie interposed. "It might as well be at the bottom of the sea so far as you're concerned. You don't know what's happening at Washington. You don't know whether you've got a government or not."

"Don't you worry about that!" Garfield blurted out.

"I assure you I'm not worrying," Bertie smiled languidly. "But it seems to me it's what you fellows are doing. Look in the glass, Garfield."

Garfield did not look, but had he looked he would have seen a very excited gentleman with ruffled, iron-gray hair, a flushed face, mouth sullen and vindictive, and eyes wildly gleaming.

"It's not right, I tell you," little Hanover said; and from his tone I was sure that he had already said it a number of times.

"Now that's going too far, Hanover," Bertie replied. "You fellows make me tired. You're all open-shop men. You've eroded my eardrums with your endless gabble for the open-shop and the right of a man to work. You've harangued along those lines for years. Labor is doing nothing wrong in going out on this general strike. It is violating no law of God nor man. Don't you talk, Hanover. You've been ringing the changes too long on the God-given right to work . . . or not to work; you can't escape the corollary. It's a dirty little sordid scrap, that's all the whole thing is. You've got labor down and gouged it, and now labor's got you down and is gouging you, that's all; and you're squealing."

Every man in the group broke out in indignant denials that labor had ever been gouged.

"No, sir!" Garfield was shouting. "We've done the best for labor. Instead of gouging it, we've given it a chance to live. We've made work for it. Where would labor be if it hadn't been for us?"

"A whole lot better off," Bertie sneered. "You've got labor down and gouged it every time you got a chance, and you went out of your way to make chances."

"No! No!" were the cries.

"There was the teamsters' strike right here in San Francisco," Bertie went on imperturbably. "The Employers' Association precipitated that strike. You know that. And you know I know it, too, for I've sat in these very rooms and heard the inside talk and news of the fight. First you precipitated the strike, then you bought the Mayor and the Chief of Police and broke the strike. A pretty spectacle, you philanthropists getting the teamsters down and gouging them.

"Hold on, I'm not through with you. It's only last year that the labor ticket of Colorado elected a Governor. He was never seated. You know why. You know how your brother philanthropists and capitalists

of Colorado worked it. It was a case of getting labor down and gouging it. You kept the President of the Southwestern Amalgamated Association of Miners in jail for three years on trumped up murder charges, and with him out of the way you broke up the Association. That was gouging labor, you'll admit. The third time the graduated income tax was declared unconstitutional was a gouge. So was the Eight-hour Bill you killed in the last Congress.

"And of all the unmitigated immoral gouges, your destruction of the closed-shop principle was the limit. You know how it was done. You bought out Farburg, the last president of the old American Federation of Labor. He was your creature—or the creature of all the trusts and employers' associations, which is the same thing. You precipitated the big Closed Shop Strike. Farburg betrayed that strike. You won, and the old American Federation of Labor crumbled to pieces. You fellows destroyed it, and by so doing undid yourselves; for right on top of it began the organization of the I. L. W.—the biggest and solidest organization of labor the United States has ever seen, and you are responsible for its existence and for the present general strike. You smashed all the old federations and drove labor into the I. L. W., and the I. L. W. called the general strike—still fighting for the closed shop. And then you have the effrontery to stand here face to face and tell me that you never got labor down and gouged it. Bah!"

This time there were no denials. Garfield broke out in self-defense: "We've done nothing we were not compelled to do, if we were to win."

"I'm not saying anything about that," Bertie answered. "What I am complaining about is your squealing now that you're getting a taste of your own medicine. How many strikes have you won by starving labor into submission? Well, labor's worked out a scheme whereby to starve you into submission. It wants the closed shop, and if it can get it by starving you, why starve you shall."

"I notice that you have profited in the past by those very labor-gouges you mention," insinuated Brentwood, one of the wiliest and most astute of our corporation lawyers. "The receiver is as bad as the thief," he sneered. "You had no hand in the gouging, but you took your whack out of the gouge."

"That is quite beside the question, Brentwood," Bertie drawled. "You're as bad as Hanover, intruding the moral element. I haven't said that anything is right or wrong. It's all a rotten game, I know; and my sole kick is that you fellows are squealing now that you're down and labor's taking a gouge out of you. Of course I've taken the profits from the gouging, and, thanks to you, gentlemen, without having personally

to do the dirty work. You did that for me—oh, believe me, not because I am more virtuous than you, but because my good father and his various brothers left me a lot of money with which to pay for the dirty work.”

“If you mean to insinuate—” Brentwood began hotly.

“Hold on, don’t get all ruffled up,” Bertie interposed insolently. “There’s no use in playing hypocrites in this thieves’ den. The high and lofty is all right for the newspapers, boys’ clubs and Sunday schools—that’s part of the game; but for heaven’s sake, don’t let’s play it on one another. You know, and you know that I know, just what jobbery was done in the building trades strike last fall, who put up the money, who did the work, and who profited by it.” (Brentwood flushed darkly.) “But we are all tarred with the same brush, and the best thing for us to do is to leave morality out of it. Again I repeat, play the game, play it to the last finish, but for goodness’ sake, don’t squeal when you get hurt.”

When I left the group Bertie was off on a new tack tormenting them with the more serious aspects of the situation, pointing out the shortage of supplies that was already making itself felt, and asking them what they were going to do about it. A little later I met him in the cloak room, leaving, and gave him a lift home in my machine.

“It’s a great stroke, this general strike,” he said, as we bowled along through the crowded but orderly streets. “It’s a smashing body-blow. Labor caught us napping and struck at our weakest place, the stomach. I’m going to get out of San Francisco, Cerf. Take my advice and get out, too. Head for the country, anywhere. You’ll have more chance. Buy up a stock of supplies and get into a tent or a cabin somewhere. Soon there’ll be nothing but starvation in this city for such as we.”

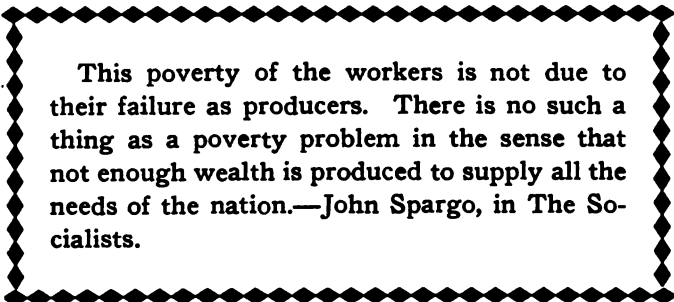
How correct Bertie Messener was, I never dreamed. I decided mentally that he was an alarmist. As for myself I was content to remain and watch the fun. After I dropped him, instead of going directly home, I went on in a hunt for more food. To my surprise, I learned that the small groceries where I had bought in the morning were sold out. I extended my search to the Potrero, and by good luck managed to pick up another box of candles, two sacks of wheat flour, ten pounds of graham flour (which would do for the servants), a case of tinned corn, and two cases of tinned tomatoes. It did look as though there was going to be at least a temporary food shortage, and I hugged myself over the goodly stock of provisions I had laid in.

The next morning I had my coffee in bed as usual, and, more than the cream, I missed the daily paper. It was this absence of knowledge

of what was going on in the world that I found the chiefest hardship. Down at the club there was little news. Rider had crossed from Oakland in his launch, and Halstead had been down to San Jose and back in his machine. They reported the same conditions in those places as in San Francisco. Everything was tied up by the strike. All grocery stocks had been bought out by the upper classes. And perfect order reigned. But what was happening over the rest of the country—in Chicago? New York? Washington? Most probably the same things that were happening with us, we concluded; but the fact that we did not know with absolute surety was irritating.

General Folsom had a bit of news. An attempt had been made to place army telegraphers in the telegraph offices, but the wires had been cut in every direction. This was, so far, the one unlawful act committed by labor, and that it was a concerted act he was fully convinced. He had communicated by wireless with the army post at Benicia, the telegraph lines were even then being patrolled by soldiers all the way to Sacramento. Once, for one short instant, they had got the Sacramento call, then the wires, somewhere, were cut again. General Folsom reasoned that similar attempts to open communication were being made by the authorities all the way across the continent, but he was non-committal as to whether or not he thought the attempt would succeed. What worried him was the wire-cutting; he could not but believe that it was an important part of the deep-laid labor conspiracy. Also, he regretted that the government had not long since established its projected chain of wireless stations.

(To be concluded in February number.)



This poverty of the workers is not due to their failure as producers. There is no such a thing as a poverty problem in the sense that not enough wealth is produced to supply all the needs of the nation.—John Spargo, in *The Socialists*.

Socialism for Students

By JOS. E. COHEN

III. SOCIALIST ECONOMICS



POLITICAL economy concerns itself with the bread and butter question. To study this question properly, to understand the material conditions of life, which Hegel termed "civic society," is the purpose of political economy. For, as Marx said: "The anatomy of that civic society is to be found in political economy."

Just now we are going to examine the anatomy of present day society—capitalist society. How can we distinguish capitalism from feudalism and chattel slavery? What is capital? "Capital," say the non-Socialist political economists, "is that part of wealth used to create more wealth." This definition is about as satisfactory as the old Greek's definition of man—"a featherless biped." It is true that man is a featherless biped, but there are other featherless bipeds—and all featherless bipeds are not men. Man is something more than a featherless two-legged animal. And, in the same way, capital is something more than "that part of wealth used to create more wealth."

We know that capitalists are not landlords and that capitalists are not slave owners. No one but a non-Socialist professor of political economy would think of speaking of the capitalists of the dark ages any more than he would think of speaking of the astronomy of Adam's day. A definition of capital, to be worth anything, must lay stress upon its historical character as well as its peculiar function; it can be true only of certain countries at certain times under certain conditions. Capital is a transitory arrangement and the laws of capitalist production apply only to capitalism. They do not apply to the finding of diamonds on the street, nor to handicraft, nor to the fine arts. The laws of capitalist production do not apply to all production carried on today, and do not apply to other systems of production, such as chattel slavery and feudalism.

Here is the definition of John A. Hobson: "Capitalism may provisionally be defined as the organization of business upon a large scale by an employer or company of employers possessing an accumulated stock of wealth wherewith to acquire raw materials and tools, and hire labor, so

as to produce an increased quantity of wealth which shall constitute profit."

Capitalism, therefore, requires: Production on a large scale; the workers divorced from the ownership both of the means of production and the product of their labor; the capitalist class owning the means of production, hiring the workers for wages and retaining the product of the workers' labor; production for sale and the profit of the capitalist class.

With that we are ready for Marx's strong sentence, which is a keynote to the critical analysis of capitalist production: "The wealth of those societies, in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity."

A commodity is something bought and sold. It is an article that satisfies some human want or fancy. It is a product of labor. But while every commodity is a product of labor, every product of labor is not a commodity.

Every product of labor that serves a useful purpose is a use value. Yet a thing may be very useful to the man who makes it, such as the raft of the backwoodsman, and not be a commodity.

To be a commodity, a product of labor must bring a price upon the market. It must be a common object of purchase and produced with the end in view of being exchanged for money—of being sold. In addition to being a use value, to be a commodity it must be an exchange value.

Use value is a personal affair; exchange value is a social relation.

It is the possession of exchange value that turns a labor product into a commodity. Under all systems of production are articles produced for their use value. It is the particular production of exchange values, or commodities, that distinguishes capitalism from feudalism, chattel slavery and primitive communion. In capitalist society exchange value is so much more important than use value, that whenever we speak of value we mean exchange value.

Let us now see how value is determined.

"Labor produces all wealth," say the professors of political economy. This is another "featherless biped" definition. For we must learn what labor produces use value and what labor produces exchange value. And on this point the professors maintain a dignified silence.

To produce use value, such as hats, it requires labor of a certain kind, the labor of hatters, not that of cigar makers. This labor of a certain kind, the labor of hatters in shaping hats or the labor of cigar makers in rolling cigars, is called concrete labor. Concrete labor produces use value.

Now, when we say of hats and cigars, "This hat is worth four dollars

while this box of cigars is worth only two dollars," it is because they have something in common, other than that they contain concrete labor. We take it for granted that the hat was made by hatters, not cigar makers, and that the cigars were made not made by hatters. Exchange value is not created by concrete labor. The problem here is not "what kind," but "how much?" Exchange values are quantities, not qualities.

Exchange value is determined by the amount of labor in the commodity. It is not the particular labor of hatters and cigar makers that you buy with dollars, so much as a certain amount of general labor. You pay four dollars for a hat and two dollars for a box of cigars, because twice as much average labor has been spent in making the hat as was spent in making the box of cigars, just as you pay twice as much for two boxes of cigars as you pay for one. This labor that you buy with money is called abstract labor. This, then, is the difference between the two:

Concrete labor produces use value. Abstract labor produces exchange value.

Further: All labor is not of one grade. But the more skilled can be reduced to the less skilled; one day's high class labor is worth, say, two days' simple labor. This is not a very difficult thing to do since, as Marx tells us, "Unskilled labor constitutes the bulk of all labor performed in capitalist society, as may be seen from all statistics." Nor do we deal with the actual labor of the individual. Production is for the market and the competition of other producers is involved. Value is a social relation. A more exact definition, therefore, would be: Exchange value is measured by the average amount of simple, abstract labor, socially necessary to produce the commodity.

Commodities produced, they are next exchanged. Money is the medium of exchange, accepted in all countries reached by capitalism; money is the universal equivalent. While the money paid for some commodities, their price, is above their value, and the price of others is below their value, value is at the bottom of the price and, taking the whole field of capitalist production into consideration, commodities may be said to exchange at about their value.

But if only labor creates value, and if commodities exchange at about their value, how does it come that Mr. Coldcash, who owns a factory, who does no labor, but is taking the rest cure at Monte Carlo, receives a very satisfactory yearly income?

Here another character steps upon the scene.

This character is the worker. He comes to the market where only commodities are bought and sold. He owns no commodities. He has no hats, cigars, or diamonds to sell—at least not in any considerable quan-

tity, and capitalism concerns itself only with production on a large scale. He cannot sell commodities, yet this is a commodity age. What can he sell?

He has something to sell which every capitalist is anxious to buy. The worker sells his labor power, the use of his brain and brawn, for wages. Wage-labor is the peculiar institution of capitalism, as opposed to serfdom or chattel slavery. And the worker throws his labor power upon the market as a commodity.

Mr. Coldcash is in business purely for business. And the price of the commodity labor power, like all commodities, rests upon its value. And the principal factor in determining its value is the amount of abstract labor it requires to produce that labor power and reproduce the species; that is to say, the amount of food, clothing and shelter it requires to sustain life in the worker during the time he is employed.

We say "principal factor," not the only factor. Socialists do not hold to Lassalle's "iron law of wages." For, to quote Marx, "There are some peculiar features which distinguish the value of the laboring power, or the value of labor, from the value of other commodities. The value of laboring power is formed by two elements—the one merely physical, the other historical or social. Its ultimate limit is determined by the physical element, that is to say, to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existence, the working class must receive the necessities absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying. . . . Besides this mere physical element, the value of labor is in every country determined by a traditional standard of life. It is not merely physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared up."

For the rest, that the cost of production is the principal factor in determining wages is illustrated by the fact that scales of wages change from town to town according to the different standards of living.

Labor power is sold as a commodity. What happens? Mr. Coldcash starts in business by paying so much for raw material, machinery, heat, light, etc., and so much for labor power. Let us say he invests \$1,000,000, of which \$200,000 goes for wages during the year. At the end of that time Mr. Coldcash's manager exultantly cables his employer: "Gross dividends \$40,000. Congratulations." By what magic did Mr. Coldcash's \$1,000,000 breed \$40,000 while Mr. Coldcash was taking the rest cure at Monte Carlo?

Once again, what entered into the production?

First of all, raw material, machinery, fuel, light, etc., worth \$800,000 and, let us say, all used up. Turn these commodities about as you will, equal values exchange for equal values, whether before or after produc-

tion. The \$800,000 worth of goods are worth just that amount in the finished products.

There was also \$200,000 worth of labor power. Let us follow that a little more closely.

When a worker sells his labor power, he sells it for about what it costs him to produce it. A day's pay is about what it costs the worker to live a day. But the amount of time he works that day has nothing to do with his cost of living. That is regulated by the competition of workers for jobs, the strength of unions, factory legislation, etc. And, mark it well, regardless of whatever influences may favor him, there is a considerable difference between the number of hours it takes him to produce value equal to his wages and the total number of hours, constituting the working day, for which he has to work for those wages. When the capitalist buys labor power for a day, he pays for the number of hours it takes the worker to produce the equivalent of his wages; he pays for, say, two hours. When the capitalist sells the worker's product, he sells the total number of hours the worker has toiled; he sells, say, eight hours. This difference of six hours' labor time and value the capitalist pockets. This is surplus value.

Thus while Mr. Coldcash's manager buys and sells labor power at its value, he nevertheless realizes \$400,000 worth of surplus value. "Surplus value is unpaid labor," is Marx's theory that revolutionized political economy. And unpaid labor is the corner stone of the present social order.

Let us follow Mr. Coldcash. That worthy gentleman does not pocket all of the \$40,000. He has rented the factory from Mr. Codfish, a member of the landed aristocracy. Mr. Codfish must maintain himself in a manner becoming his station, which means that he must not soil his lily white hands with work, and, to avoid doing so, he exacts rent. Moreover, Mr. Coldcash is under some obligations to Mr. Moneybags, the financier, who lent Mr. Coldcash the \$1,000,000 with which he started in business. Mr. Moneybags is also one of the pillars of society and must be supported in idleness. So Mr. Moneybags very graciously receives back his principal with interest at the current rate. What Mr. Coldcash retains as his share is industrial profit. While this division does not always take place, one individual often serving in two or even the three capacities, yet if for no other reason than to explain their different stages historically, we divide surplus value into rent, interest and profit.

The distinction between profit and surplus value should be emphasized. Profits are the dividends paid on the total investment. Surplus value represents the exploitation of labor and is based upon the wages only. In the case of Mr. Moneybags, the gross profits were \$40,000 on the \$1,000,000 invested, or 4 per cent. At the same time that \$40,000

was extracted out of the labor of the workers whose wages were \$200,000. The rate of surplus value was 20 per cent.

The distinction between profit and surplus value is so marked that one may increase while the other decreases. For example, take the "law of diminishing returns," offered to excuse Mr. Coldcash for pocketing his unearned increment. It happens that normally, in a number of commercial enterprises, by the increase of invested capital laid out in more expensive machinery, etc., as well as artificially, by over-capitalization, watering of stocks, lobbying and bribery of public officials, keeping a double set of books, and such other methods best known to the eminently respectable Mr. Coldcash, the average rate of profit may be shown to be dwindling from year to year. The rate of exploitation, however, constantly increases, due to labor-displacing machinery, the growth of the industrial reserve army and the consequent intenser competition for jobs, so that labor, and not capital, brings in diminishing returns. This, and this only accounts for the tremendous increase in the national wealth.

We may also, in passing, consider a few more of the explanations offered to show cause why Mr. Coldcash and his colleagues are entitled to retain their unearned increment. Here is one holy trinity frequently encountered: Wages of risk, superintendence and abstinence. Wages or risk—by which it is claimed that the worker should insure Mr. Coldcash against the risk of not realizing surplus value out of the worker. Wages of superintendence—which overlooks the fact that surplus values were never so meager as when Mr. Coldcash superintended the business and never so abundant as when Mr. Coldcash was taking the rest cure at Monte Carlo. Wages of abstinence—which overlooks the fact that Mr. Coldcash was only absinent when the surplus value was meager; now that it is plentiful he is no longer ascetic, but leads a life of debauchery—or, rather, takes the rest cure—at Monte Carlo.

But if Mr. Coldcash is to be remunerated for lack of risk, superintendence and abstinence, why not the workers who do run the risk of life and limb, do all the superintending, and whose wages compel them to be abstinent? Why is it that, for the workers, "virtue is its only reward?" The fact that dividends come to owners whether they be children, insane or degenerate, shows that profit is an income secured without returning an equivalent.

In view of the ground we have now covered, let us amplify our definitions. Here is what Marx says of capital: "Capital does not consist of means of subsistence, implements of labor, and raw materials alone, nor only of material products; it consists just as much of exchange values. All the products of which it consists are commodities. Thus capital is not merely the sum of material products; it is a sum of com-

modities, of exchange values, of social quantities." Hyndman and Untermann, as well as Marx, have developed this thought further, illustrating the many garbs in which capital appears, also the divers functions money perform.

As to value and price, Untermann quotes Kautsky upon an important point. "It is not the value, but the price of production, which forms under a developed capitalist mode of production the level, around which market prices fluctuate under the influence of demand and supply. The price of production, however, is not floating on air, but rests upon value." The price of production consists of the value plus the average rate of profit which the Coldcashes are able to secure at the particular time. In regard to value, price of production and market price, it is well to heed Marx: "By comparing the standard wages or values of labor in different countries, and by comparing them in different historical epochs of the same country, you will find that the value of labor itself is not fixed but a variable magnitude, even supposing the values of all other commodities to remain constant. A similar comparison would prove that not only the market rates of profit change, but its average rates."

Whatever the ups and downs of the market, such as supply and demand, "buying cheap and selling dear," the influence of monopoly and such other "higgling of the market," which affect prices and give one capitalist the advantage over another, however turbulent the sea of conflicting emotions upon which capitalists are tossed as to the desirability of securing a slow, small and sure return on their investments as against a quick, large, but uncertain return, the workers remain the sole producers of value and the capitalists remain the idlers and appropriators of surplus value. When commodities have been produced, exchanged and distributed (all of which is included in the term production), the only exploitation of the workers peculiar to capitalism has been accomplished.

With Marx's theory of surplus value as an X-ray, to borrow an idea from one of Rata Langa's masterly cartoons, we can lay bare the mechanism of capitalist production. It is the exploitation of labor, the accumulation of surplus values in the shape of exchange values in such quantity as to glut the market, that is the primary cause of commercial crises. A commercial crisis apprehends Messrs. Coldcash, Codfish and Moneybags in the act of "getting away with the goods." Here we may insert, both D. A. Wells and Hyndman note that the crisis of 1873 was the first to indicate that peoples remotely connected with capitalism are bound up with it in sharing the shock of an industrial disturbance. Capitalism scourges the whole world.

During the crisis, the smaller capitalists are assimilated by the larger ones. This also results from attacks upon the "malefactors of wealth,"

and from insurance scandal and "frenzied finance" exposures. For the timid, petty traders are always first to sell when the market takes a bad turn and thus play into the hands of the big holders.

Aside from any "illegal" measure, which is but the hissing steam signifying that the water, the current of commerce, has reached the boiling point—the point wherein amalgamation is inevitable—the tendency for capital to concentrate in every industry and to centralize into the hands of fewer capitalists, is only a higher form of the present system of production. Investment continues until an industry is saturated with capital, then independent companies are merged into one, the corporation next absorbs the business closely allied with it, the tentacles of the more successful promoters and captains of industry spread out in all directions until there comes "the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market and, with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime."

Vandervelde and, especially, John A. Hobson, describe the trust tendency. Hobson shows that in the manufacture of American agricultural implements, no less than in other manufactures, the number of establishments has declined appreciably from 1880 to 1900. Altogether, in that time, the dependent class has increased 73.6 per cent, while the employing or independent class has increased only 27.4 per cent. Curiously, data to show how rapidly the number of manufacturing establishments is decreasing creeps into the Republican Campaign Text Book for 1908. At the same time, it is true, as Hobson says further along, "We find that it is precisely in those trades which are most highly organized, provided with the most advanced machinery, and composed of the largest units of capital, that the fiercest and most unscrupulous competition has shown itself." Such death grapples for mastery end in still greater consolidation and serve notice that the time is ripe for making the means of production the collective property of the whole people.

In the hands of the Socialist, political economy ceases to be the "dismal science." The Marxian school, the historical school, vitalized political economy. More than that, the Socialist is not concerned with economic measures that oppress the capitalists of one country for the benefit of those of another country. He shows that exploitation has no fatherland. The Socialist is not a nationalist, but an internationalist. Only in his hands is political economy a social science.

Only by the aid of the Marxian theories can we fully understand capitalist production, account for the poverty of the working class and the riches of the idle capitalist class, explain the widening gulf between the two classes, the periodic industrial depressions and the rise of monopoly.

To the Socialist, the capitalist system fully developed is the point where it is in a condition of socialized production ready for socialized ownership, whereby the means of production will be stripped of their present class character as capital, whereby labor power will no longer be a commodity and exploitation of the producer will cease. Then the workers will receive the value they create, distress in the midst of plenty will be impossible, the world's productive forces will be scientifically and planfully controlled, and the problem of political economy will be solved: So to arrange the material conditions of life as to result in the happiness of the whole people.

Philadelphia, Pa.

A COURSE OF READING

The following list of works is recommended to the student. They cover the subject touched upon by the above article, and it is suggested that they be read in the order named.—J. E. C.

What Is Capital? By Ferdinand Lassalle. Paper, 5 cents.

Wage Labor and Capital. By Karl Marx. Paper, 5 cents.

Collectivism. By Emile Vandervelde. Cloth, 50 cents.

Evolution of Modern Capitalism. By John A. Hobson. Scribners, New York.

Commercial Crises of the 19th Century. By H. M. Hyndman. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.

Economics of Socialism. By H. M. Hyndman. Twentieth Century Press, London.

Marxian Economics. By Ernest Untermann. Cloth, \$1.00.

Poverty of Philosophy. By Karl Marx. Cloth, \$1.00.

Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. By Karl Marx. The International Library Publishing Co., New York.

Capital. By Karl Marx. Three volumes, cloth, each \$2.00.

(The books in this list will be mailed on receipt of price by Charles H. Kerr & Company, 153 Kinzie street, Chicago, except where the name of another publisher is indicated. We have a few copies of Hyndman's "Commercial Crises of the 19th Century," which we will supply at \$1.00, postpaid, while they last.)

The Utopian is one who, starting from an abstract principle, seeks for a perfect social organization.—George Plechanoff, in *Anarchism and Socialism*.

The Economic Aspects of the Negro Question

By I. M. ROBBINS

VI. LYNCH LAW



LYNCHINGS may be said to represent the most sensitive aspects of the entire negro problem. In the opinion of the North, as well as of Europe, they are the substance of the negro problem, for it is during these sudden outbreaks of race hatred and riot, that the outside world wakes up to the existence of the negro problem in the south, as it takes a pogrom in Kishenev or Odesso for us to realize the existence of the Jewish problem in Russia.

If the preceding installments of this study have been of any use at all, they must have sufficiently established the existence of a very real problem without any lynchings or race riots at all, which were intentionally left out of consideration, for it was the purpose to study first the normal aspects of the situation, leaving the sensational symptoms for special consideration. Nevertheless it remains true that the race conflict and the outlawed condition of the negro receive their most forcible expression in these dramatic occurrences. And the practice of lynchings is of such utmost importance in the understanding of the entire problem that a separate chapter will not be out of proportion to the subject as a whole.

That the history of the lynch law has waited until 1905 for the first systematic study (*Lynch Law, An investigation into the History of lynching in the United States*, by Professor J. E. Cutler, New York, 1905), is a sad but eloquent commentary upon the primitive condition of the study of social and institutional history of this country.

Neither the origin of the institution nor that of the name has ever been satisfactorily established. There is a common belief that this form of administration of justice has arisen in the far West during the forties. Such historical inquiries would be out of place here. But it is clear that the usurpation of that term by the south, as well as the throwing together of these two classes of phenomena is of very little help, since

it obscures the many differences for the sake of a few superficial similarities. It is true that both are (or pretend to be) forms of spontaneous administration of justice; but this does not bring us anywhere, for efforts at spontaneous administration of justice or vengeance are just as old as human society. In fact they are admitted to have been the forerunners of the more formal judicial procedure. Much more important is the fact that historically the lynchings of the South have very little to do with the administration of the lynch law in the primitive pioneer communities of the Wild West. The southern lynchings are an immediate development of the practices of the Ku Klux Klan, which have been described in a preceding chapter.

But in view of the general confusion on the subject it may perhaps be advantageous to underscore briefly the essential difference between the western and the southern administration of this quasi-judicial procedure. When in the middle of the XIXth century the rapid growth of the republic had created a rapidly shifting frontier, the fringe of civilization, and the weakness of the central authority, left these new places without a satisfactory system of protection for life and property. Thus the organization of citizens' vigilance committees was a matter of absolute necessity. This voluntary police organization at times of necessity brought forth its own judges, jurymen, and prosecuting attorneys. It is easy to find there an element of justice, openly administered, though without any knowledge of law, or of court procedure. Though the trial was quick and without appeal, the accused person had the right to present witnesses; the jury followed their conscience and judgment much more than any formal rules of evidence, but perhaps the results were just as satisfactory to society, and there was no delay in execution of the sentence.

At the present state of civilization there is no need for such primitive forms of justice and this form of lynch law has properly vanished. The southern lynchings belong to an entirely different form of phenomena.

Courts for a proper administration of justice exist in the South no less than in any other part of the country. In the days of reconstruction the Ku Klux Klan organizations found their justification in the fact that the entire governmental power, the legislative as well as the judiciary, was in the hands of the negroes, acting under the orders and the protection of the northern army officers, and government and courts could reasonably be supposed to be prejudiced against the traitors of yesterday. But the situation is very much different to day. The court in the South as in the North is a free elective court. With the absolute elimination of the negro or his representatives from the police, the administration, the legislation or the courts, or even the jury box, the white man should

have no difficulty in obtaining justice against the negro. Under such conditions it is difficult to apply to the lynchings of the South the same justifications which excuse the lynch law of the primitive West.

In the analysis of the lynchings some study of the statistics will be indispensable. Since 1885 the Chicago Tribune has been collecting such statistics, which are generally admitted to be fairly accurate. The number of lynchings for the last 23 years are shown in the following table:

1885.....	184	1893.....	200	1901.....	135
1886.....	138	1894.....	190	1902.....	96
1887.....	122	1895.....	171	1903.....	104
1888.....	142	1896.....	131	1904.....	87
1889.....	176	1897.....	166	1905.....	66
1890.....	127	1898.....	127	1906.....	69
1891.....	192	1899.....	107	1907.....	63
1892.....	235	1900.....	115		
				Total.....	3,143

These figures eloquently prove that the lynchings are not a local or temporary affair but a permanent feature of southern life. It is to be very much regretted that similar data are not available for the entire period after the war, since lynchings, which have occurred sporadically even in the eighteenth century, began to develop rapidly immediately after the civil war. But as they stand these data are eloquent enough. Nearly 3,200 lynchings during a quarter of a century present quite a vivid picture of southern life, for it must be remembered that these 3,200 lynchings represent so many crowds and mobs, each many hundreds and even thousands of people strong. But there are other interesting conclusions to be derived from these figures. The sudden aggravation of the lynching evil of which so much is said during the recent years is found to be only a result of greater attention to these occurrences, since no such increase in the number of lynchings is to be found. In fact, the contrary is true, if the data are reliable: for during the first five years period, 1885-1889, the average annual number of lynchings was 152, during the second five years period, the annual average was 189; during the third five years period, 1895-1899, the annual average was 140, during the five years period, 1900-1904, the average was only 107, and during the latest years less than 70.

On the other hand, the optimistic conclusion to be derived from these computations is somewhat exaggerated. For we are told by the compiler of the Chicago Tribune, that in 1906, for example, the 12 victims of the Atlanta slaughter, and an equal number of negroes killed a

few months later in Mississippi was not included. It is explained that "they had not committed any offense, and were not arrested charged with crime. They were killed by infuriated mobs, because of the crime of some unknown negroes. They were clearly race riots, rather than lynchings." But while this is all true of the Atlanta affair, it is no less true of a great many less sensational lynchings, and it will be the object of these lines to show that almost every southern lynching at the present time is no more or less than a race riot, an expression of the race relations between the two races.

The tables above include all the lynchings recorded in the United States. In the following table the distribution of the lynchings by race and territory is given since 1900 (data for 1904 and 1905 unfortunately not being available at this writing):

Year.	Total.	Whites.	Negroes.	North.	South.
1900	115	8	107	8	107
1901	135	26	107	14	121
1902	96	10	87	9	87
1903	104	17	86	12	92
1906	69	5	64	6	63
1907	63	3	60	2	61

This shows lynchings to be a southern institution and one primarily directed against the negro. The most frequent lynchings are found to occur in the least civilized states of Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana. This truth is not obscured by the few lynchings in the border states, or even in the southern counties of the northern states.

Now, then, since the problem of lynch law in the United States reduces itself mainly to the problem of lynching negroes in the South, the question inevitably arises: What peculiar conditions of a southern life are responsible for this peculiar condition? The thousands of men and women who have participated in such lynchings, and the millions of southerners who sympathize with such lynchings, have a ready stereotyped answer to this inquiry: "The lynchings are explained by very obvious causes, said that famous fanatic of negrophobia, John Temple Graves, in his celebrated speech before the Chautauqua Assembly in 1903: "The crime which causes the lynchings is the unspeakable crime against the southern women, a crime more terrible than arson, more killing than murder, the crime whose name we dare not mention here."

This opinion of the cause of lynchings in the South is very common, almost universally held in the South. It is not new, for twenty years ago the celebrated Frederick Douglass was forced to protest against this contention, as Booker Washington is forced to do now.

A certain share of truth in this accusation cannot be denied. Cases of criminal assault of white women by negroes sometimes do take place, and sometimes they do lead to lynchings. Unfortunately there are no statistical data concerning the extent of this crime, but the southerners insist that it is growing in frequency and is becoming a public menace. According to these statements it has reached such dimensions that a white farmer cannot leave his family in the house without a mortal fear as to their security. The white women of the South live in a state of constant fear of a possible attack by a black beast. This state of mind is very probable, and is easily explained by the effects of a continuous discussion of the so-called crime. The effect of each case, thanks to the great American publicity, is carried far beyond its geographical limits. It cannot be denied that some of these cases are perfectly awful in their details. Such is the case quoted by Mr. Nelson Page in a magazine article a few years ago. A negro was burned alive in a very quiet and progressive town of Texas. On the previous day he had picked up a little girl about five or six years old, carried her off, soothing her cries with candy, which he had bought for the purpose. When the child was found she was unrecognizable. With her little body broken and mangled he had cut her throat and thrown her into a ditch.

One case like this is sometimes sufficient to fill the heart of an unreasoning person with hatred for the entire negro race. But we do not intend to discuss the question, whether criminal assault upon little girls is justifiable. It would seem to be hardly in accord with twentieth century civilization to discuss a problem like that. Surely all taking of human lives is equally undesirable. Must a murderer, therefore, be lynched? And if not, must the beast who commits criminal assault, be lynched? How many cases of criminal assault are committed by white persons in the great city of New York alone? And are most of the lynchings in the South really caused by criminal assault?

The following table will supply some information on this question. (Again we must express our regret that data for 1904 and 1905 are not available at the present writing; but the data for the six years shown are really sufficient for all practical purposes.)

	Rape.	Attempted Rape.	Murder.	All Other.	Total.
1900	18	13	39	45	115
1901	19	9	39	68	135
1902	19	11	37	29	96
1903	18	10	47	29	104
1906	22	14	24	9	69
1907	12	11	18	22	63

One must remember that the Chicago paper does not investigate the causes of lynchings, but simply classifies them according to the cause given by the local newspapers. It is evident that criminal assault figures only in a small proportion of cases, in some years in only one-sixth or one-eighth of them. In case of murder committed by a negro, some darkey must be lynched, very frequently with a very unsatisfactory identification. But even outside the serious crime of murder there are hundred of minor offenses for which lynchings are necessary from the southern point of view. It is scarcely necessary to enter here into a very detailed statistical discussion of such causes; but it will be sufficient to quote here at length the list of causes as given by Professor Cutler, who is the recognized living authority on the subject of lynchings: According to him, colored persons have been lynched within the last decades for the following reasons:

Grave robbery, threatened political exposures, slander, self-defense, wife beating, cutting levees, kidnaping, voodooism, poisoning horses, writing insulting letters, incendiary language, swindling, jilting a girl, colonizing negroes, turning state's evidence, political troubles, gambling, quarreling, poisoning wells, throwing stones, unpopularity, making threats, circulating scandals, being troublesome, bad reputation, drunkenness, rioting, insults, supposed offense, insulting women, fraud, criminal abortion, alleged stock poisoning, enticing servant away (*sic!*), writing letter to white woman, asking white woman in marriage, conspiracy, introducing smallpox, giving information, conjuring to prevent evidence, being disreputable, informing, concealing a criminal, slapping a child, shooting at officer, passing counterfeit money, felony, elopement with white girl, refusing to give evidence, giving evidence, disobeying ferry regulations, running quarantine, violation of contract, paying attention to white girl, resisting assault, inflammatory language, resisting arrest, testifying for one of his own race, keeping gambling house, quarrel over profit sharing, forcing white boy to commit crime, lawlessness. It would evidently be quite difficult to find a crime or any act of misconduct so petty, but that the southerners would not sometimes think the lynching of a negro a proper punishment for it. In some cases it would be hard to define just where the crime or the act of misconduct had occurred. as, for instance, in the case of a negro lynched on account of his unpopularity or for being quarrelsome. Finally, it is worth while pointing out that the so-called typical negro crime, that of criminal assault of little girls of very tender age, is extremely rare, since during all these six years there were only five or six criminal assaults with fatal result.

Assuming the figures of the Chicago Tribune to be correct, we find that these six years there have been just about 175 criminal assaults, in-

cluding all the cases of attempted assault, which are, as often as not, simple cases of attempted robbery. With a negro population of over ten millions, this gives one assault or attempt at assault for each 60,000 or over of negro population for the entire six years, or one such case for each 300,000 to 400,000 persons of negro race annually. This proportion may be a high one. Nevertheless the peculiar negro crime remains after all a very exceptional one, perhaps no more frequent than it is among the white population of our cities.

The very large number of lynchings for all sorts and conditions of crimes, offenses and no crime or offense at all, should be sufficient evidence that the cause of lynchings must not be looked for in the nature of the negro criminality. Still better evidence is given by the many race riots, which have become quite common within recent times, and when the grievance against one negro, accused of some offence, immediately becomes a grievance against all the negroes and leads to the murder or abuse of admittedly innocent persons of the negro race. Thus one is often forced to look for the cause of lynchings in the white rather than the colored population of the place, as the lynchings of the West could be explained only by the condition of the entire western society rather than the depravity of the lynched criminal. Now, it is very easy to point at several peculiarities of southern white society which would explain the frequency of lynchings in the southern states. Thus there is the generally low level of culture and civilization which makes it enjoy the exercise of cruelty as such, and find an interesting entertainment in the sight of a burning negro. Perhaps the following little story might help to illustrate this point.

The burning of a negro at the stake in Wilmington, Delaware, some years ago will probably be remembered by many. A few days after this affair had taken place, a young southern gentleman with his fond papa were passing through that town. The train stopped in Wilmington, and looking out of the car-window, this young gentleman noticed a negro porter on the platform. The gentleman beckoned to him to come nearer, and then cried: "Hey, porter, bring me some roast nigger on toast!" The best part of this story is that the fond papa of the bright youngster told this story to me and was quite proud about it.

Thus, with a reduction of the number of cases of criminal assault, by means of education of the negro, and perhaps by the elimination of the bad whiskey that is being sold to him by white manufacturers, and on the other hand by the rise in the general level of culture and civilization of the white population of the South, a gradual reduction in the number of lynchings may be expected. Yet this solution is evidently as

unsatisfactory, as was the explanation given of the causes of lynchings. for the greatest factors have not yet been mentioned.

There are two of these factors: first there is the white man's hatred of the negro, and secondly the legal condition of the negro. This may appear to be the same factor, stated in two different ways, yet there is a decided difference between the two. Surely their separate existence may be imagined no matter how closely they are connected in actual life. To draw again some parallels between the negro and the Jew, though our Jewish comrades may be displeased by such juxtaposition: There is in Germany and France a great deal of the antijewish feeling, though there are no legal restrictions upon his rights; and on the other hand we are told that in Russia, where every step of the Jew is restricted by special legislation, the masses of the people have no inborn dislike against the Jew. Yet antijewish riots take place in Russia, and not in Germany or France, and we may here get a hint as to real and final cause of lynchings in the southern states. Perhaps it is not necessary to go so far for an illustration; for in Washington, where the feeling against the negro is about as strong as anywhere else in the South, no lynchings have taken place or are expected. In other words, though we do not intend to throw any suspicions upon the valor of the southern gentlemen, lynchings are encouraged by the general consciousness that the negro is a defenseless being before the law, that he is legally and socially an outcast, that the white judge and white jury will not convict, that the white governor will not make any effort to repress the lynchers; for the entire South, with comparatively few exceptions, when not speaking for publication, approves of the lynchings.

Very few southerners will admit this explanation, preferring to put the entire blame upon the negro race. Inevitably the remedies they suggest are as far from the mark as the explanations of the causes. There is for instance, the Hon. John Temple Graves, a southern celebrity, who has suddenly achieved national prominence as Mr. Hearst's personal candidate for the Vice-Presidency, supposedly a man of progressive and radical ideas. "Lynchings are crimes," says John Temple Graves. "No sane man will deny it. It is a disgrace to our constitution. It is breaking the law. It is sad, terrible, disgusting. But it is here. And it is here to stay. The lynch law is not what should be, but what is, was, and will be." And immediately Graves proceeds to show why it should be. The premises are familiar. The cause of lynchings is the unspeakable crime. More than that, the unspeakable crime is the choice crime of the negro. If a more moderate southern publicist like Page, or Clarence Poe, be satisfied to point to the "facts," the fanatical Graves proceeds to build a whole sociological and even anthropological theory upon these

facts. All southern writers upon the subject like to insist that there were no lynchings nor criminal assaults by negroes before the war. From which the conclusion is inevitable that liberty is a thing the negro is not fit to make use of. The reasoning may be right, but the facts in the case are unfortunately wrong; for both assaults and lynchings have taken place in the South long before the war. They were not so frequent, for one thing, because the negro represented a considerable outlay of capital, while now it costs very little to hang or burn a nigger, who does not belong to anybody.

Even Thomas Nelson Page expresses himself much more clearly on the subject. "The intelligent negro may (*sic!*) understand what social equality really means; but to the ignorant and brutal negro it signifies but one thing; the opportunity to enjoy equally with white men the privilege of cohabiting with white women." Of course, John Temple Graves makes it much stronger. Thousands of negroes have decided, he says, that they are willing to die if they could but once possess a white woman.

When such is the explanation given to lynchings by the white southerner, what shall be expected of the remedial measures proposed? The most fairminded ones advise that education of the negro will destroy his tendency to commit the unspeakable crime; though the "educated" white southerner has been committing the same crime towards the negro for centuries. Others suggest a system of rural police with the same object in view, or stricter vagrancy laws, so as to get rid of the bad negro. Even so careful and sober a writer as the editor of the Review of Reviews has seen fit to ask of the educated negro: Why are you so much concerned about the lynchings, and pass by in silence the unspeakable crime of assault?

Now in justice to the majority of the southerners, it must be said that they are very sceptical as to the efficacy of all such measures. Education! they sneer. Education only increases criminality among the negro. Mr. Wardaman, the governor of Mississippi, has obtained a national notoriety, if not reputation, by asserting this point of view with all the weight his official position lends to his views. More radical measures for the suppression of negro crime are demanded. And perhaps, nothing better illustrates the awful harm done to a republic by slavery and race hatred than these proposals for the suppression of negro crime. In order to satisfy the mob's desire for blood and violence, greater severity of law is demanded. In a country which has about ten times as many executions annually as has entire western Europe, suggestions come from all sides for the extension of capital punishment. It is asked now, not only for criminal assault, but even attempt to kill and attempt at criminal assault. But the introduction of such measures does not alto-

gether satisfy the mob, for it frequently storms the prison to rob justice of its victims and lynch a negro sentenced to death. Then, the southern publicist begins to analyze the cause of this mob action. Evidently the mob is not satisfied with the normal process of law. The mob is impatient, it wants to hasten the process of justice. Therefore the demand is made for swifter court procedure. Swift justice was always an ideal of jurisprudence, but in the interest of the accused. Here it is advocated in the interest of the blood-thirsty mob. Judges of the highest court begin to attack the leniency shown to the criminal. Speed is required, says a southern journalist, in commenting upon some recommendations of Justice Brewer of a similar nature, because punishment is sure only when it is speedy. The legal principle of an eye for an eye, and a life for a life can be enforced only when there is a vivid realization of the victim's loss. In other words blind revenge is advocated instead of rational treatment of the criminal. That is the latest American contribution to scientific criminology.

And when this is the tenor of the remarks in regard to the treatment of criminals in general, suggestions in regard to the treatment of the negro criminal necessarily are more cruel. The negroes are a lower race, argues Graves, they stand approximately upon a seventh century level of civilization. *Therefore*, it is ridiculous to apply to them the modern conceptions of justice and legal procedure. Here is a new plea for the old institution of a separate criminal code for negroes. Both special punishments and special methods of procedure are necessary. The suggestion has seriously been made more than once, that in cases of criminal assault of white women, the lynch law be legalized, that is, that the South consciously return to mob law. Finally an organization known by the appropriate name of the Universal Peace Union has evolved the idea that the only fit punishment for criminal assault or attempted criminal assault was castration, and it found in Graves an ardent supporter of this idea before the Chautauqua Assemblies of the country.

It is not necessary to agree with Graves in his suggestions as to remedies, but we can well subscribe to his main point of view that lynching is not a specific problem in itself and can only be settled as the negro problem is settled. But starting from this point one can strike many different paths. Graves' argument runs as follows: As long as the two races live side by side, so long will there be the usual cases of rape. And as long as there will be rape upon the white woman, there also will be lynchings. The only way to prevent rape and lynchings, reasons Graves, is to accomplish a complete separation of the races, by means of a forcible transportation of the black into some separate territory, whether within or without the United States. One may be sceptical as to the possibility

of an early solution of the negro problem in this country; but if the situation were as hopeless as is the probability or even the possibility of accomplishing this plan, then it would be hardly worth while even spending the time for any serious study; then the only thing left would be to throw up one's hands, and let things drift in the same old way.

But we are not yet prepared at this stage to discuss any suggestions as to the solution of the negro problem. Having in mind, then, specifically the problem of lynchings, one cannot help finding two great breaks in the logic of Graves' reasoning. On one hand there does not exist that close relation between the negro race and the crime of rape, nor is the relation firmer between rape and lynchings. All cases of lynchings do not follow the crime of rape; and all crimes of rape need not be followed by lynchings.

It is noteworthy that the educated negroes seem to understand much better the real nature of the lynchings, their causes, and the necessary remedies. They very properly consider them as an act directed not so much against the individual negro, as against the entire negro race. The recent tendency for the "lynching bees" to assume the much graver aspects of race riots, leading to great upheavals, heavier losses of life, and much greater embitterment between the two races, are very convincing evidence of the truth of this point of view.

The details of these conflicts are too recent, too vivid in the minds of the American public to need repetition. But the murder of perfectly innocent negroes, preferably negro tradesmen, is perhaps an indication that the excitement of the feeling against the negro has come to be recognized as a very efficient method of partisan and factional political propaganda.

Of course, it is quite evident to any one who is at all familiar with the peculiar civilization of the South, that the survival of the savage instincts in the white men is partly responsible for the frequency of the lynchings, and that with better schools, with a smaller consumption of alcoholic liquors, the average southerner may lose a great part of the pleasure he now receives when seeing a live man burned to death. But a mob is a mob for all that, and it has its own psychology, which is often very much more savage than that of its individual members. It is true that were greater efforts made to suppress anti-negro riots, many lynchings could have been avoided, and that notwithstanding many solemn promises, the police and higher authorities only too often neglect to do their duty. Nor is it surprising, since expressions of hatred for the negro became the greatest stock in trade of the cheap demagogic politician. But to advocate a bigger and more efficient police force, is to forget that after all the inefficiency of the existing authorities to pro-

fect is due to the same causes which make for lynchings in the first place.

And this cause is the helpless legal and social position of the negro, which make a defenseless creature of him. A social group has but little to hope for, when the preservation of its rights depends only upon the charity and good will of those surrounding it and possessing the power. At present the negro has no legal weapon with which to seek redress for the wrongs he suffers. In the courts he has no representation, the political authorities are not afraid of his influence; in everyday life the outlawed position is only too manifest. As long as these conditions persist, the negro will remain the most convenient material for the playing of popular frenzy.

In other words, there is no lynching problem as such, and there can be no special remedies for its solution.

With very little effort it may be broken into its component elements. A little of southern savagery, a little of the universal mob feeling, a little of official inefficiency and connivance, but above all the knowledge of the outlawed position of the negro and a great deal of deliberate excitement of the racial antagonism by persons and parties who derive a personal benefit therefrom. Without dwelling therefore too long upon these more or less exceptional expressions of the racial relations, we will now turn to a more careful analysis of these relations as we find them in the normal everyday life of the South.

(To be continued.)

A social reform can very well be in accord with the interests of the ruling class. It may for the moment leave their social domination untouched, or, under certain circumstances, can even strengthen it. Social revolution, on the contrary, is from the first incompatible with the interests of the ruling classes, since under all circumstances it signifies annihilation of their power.—Karl Kautsky, in *The Social Revolution*.

Race Suicide in France

By ELIZA BURT GAMBLE



HERE has recently been inaugurated in France a movement known as "The Popular League of Fathers and Mothers of Numerous Families," and in connection with this movement there has been formed an allied titled organization designated as the "National Alliance for Increase of the French Population." The evident object of this entire movement is to stimulate and encourage to the fullest extent the reproductive energies of all classes in France regardless of environment or conditions, such stimulation being for the "good of the country."

A year or two ago a number of of intelligent and thoughtful women in France carried on an active crusade against existing conditions in the overcrowded districts in the large cities of the country, one of the avowed objects of this crusade being to diminish, so far as possible, the birthrate in those localities where the propagation of the human race means only the multiplication of poverty, ignorance, vice and crime. These women visited the factories and other places where female wage-earners were being exploited, and exhorted them to desist from longer continuing to propagate the human species while in a condition of slavery. It was pointed out to these overburdened women that they were not only bringing unnecessary suffering and misery upon themselves, but that they were committing a crime against society. It is believed that this later movement mentioned above is an attempt to thwart, or at least to counteract, the work done by these women. Whether or not it will succeed remains to be seen.

After setting forth the dangers which threaten France because of her diminishing population, Dr. Jacques Bertillon, head of the statistical bureau in Paris and president of the "National Alliance for the Increase of the French Population," gives to the public the results of his "extended observations" concerning the causes which have led to the declining birth rate in France. The kind of reasoning which has been employed in this report to account for the "great national evil" would be amazing were it less common, and the remedies proposed for this evil would be amusing if the matter under consideration were less serious.

Throughout Dr. Bertillon's entire observations no mention is made of French women. In a report dealing with the causes underlying a declining birth rate, those who bear and rear the whole French people are absolutely ignored. He says that because of the laws of succession and inheritance which are unfavorable to the family, "French fathers have selfishly limited the size of their families," and adds: "This ill-conceived ambition of the fathers for their children is the cause of the decreasing birth rate in France," and asks: "How is the French father to be galvanized into a proper sense not of his duty to his family but to his country?"

Not only are the causes of a declining birth rate traceable to French fathers, but the remedies proposed are to be applied only to them. The government must aid the fathers of France in solving the problem of too few children. He says: "Frenchmen with large families have a prior claim to the good will of the state," therefore all of the minor state and municipal employments should be given to the fathers of large families. Policemen, concierges, rural policemen and postmen should be rewarded according to the size of their families. As there are about 400,000 state servants in France it is believed that such preferment would greatly augment the population.

As a result of his investigations, Dr. Bertillon finds that the richest and most fertile sections of France, in Normandy, Burgundy, and the valley of the Garonne, the birth rate is lowest and that in the poorer cantons, in Brittany, the Lozere, Aveyron and the slums of Paris, where the people have had no opportunity to rise from the degraded conditions which are the legitimate result of poverty, it is the highest. Dr. Bertillon seems to regard these facts as involving some inscrutable mystery. He says: "The very wealth, the equal distribution of which throughout all ranks and classes in France has so long been the envy of the other less favored countries of Europe, is the root of the whole evil!" The conclusion is inevitable that to this writer ever increasing numbers, although they remain in squalor and ignorance, are preferable to a somewhat diminished population among which intelligence is the guiding principle. Nor is this idea confined to this one writer. It is the heritage of the capitalist class everywhere, and why? Simply because our present wasteful economic system demands vast numbers for its maintenance. It is insatiable in its demand for children and reckless in its expenditure of human life. When Napoleon Bonaparte was asked what woman he regarded as greatest, he unhesitatingly replied: "The woman who has borne the greatest number of children." His army must be supplied. To him war was the paramount consideration, and men to

fight his battles the most urgent necessity. France still needs soldiers and so the cry continues for more children.

There is a tradition that away back in the dim past President Roosevelt once expressed himself as favoring the enfranchisement of women, but since he has become powerful and has taken upon himself the responsibility of maintaining the capitalist regime, nothing has been heard from him relative to the self government of women. His only advice to them is: "Bear children."

Everywhere under the capitalist system is observed the same wasteful extravagance in human life, and women are expected to furnish these millions without a murmur. Not only are vast numbers required for war, but according to C. N. Crittenden, founder of the Florence Crittenden Mission, in this country alone, eighty thousand of young girls are required every year to fill up the ranks of vice wherein that many of their predecessors have died after brief careers." Add to this the vast numbers of children needed to carry on the various industries in which they are engaged for the production of wealth, and we may judge somewhat of the extravagance in human life and energy which everywhere prevails.

When we observe that one-third of all the children born die in infancy for no other cause than that the conditions surrounding them are unfavorable to life, and when we reflect that all the vital energy required for this useless and worse than useless reproduction must be furnished by women, we are not surprised at the attitude of the leaders in the capitalist regime toward the question of woman's enfranchisement. It is readily seen that they are quite consistent in persistently refusing to grant to women the key to independence. Only slave mothers could be induced to perform the duties required of women under the present economic system.

France is slowly becoming a civilized nation, and whether her birth rate is increased or diminished will depend upon French mothers. Under higher human conditions the desire for offspring among women, and their willingness to assume the responsibilities of reproduction will regulate the birth rate. When women are free they will not be forced into motherhood to satisfy the demands of either lust or greed.

Orchard Lake, Mich., September 25.

Do We Need a Political Revolution?

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING



IN MANY countries socialist organizations put in the foreground the agitation for a political revolution to establish democratic government. Such is the case not only in Russia, but also in Austria, Germany, Italy, Belgium and many other countries.

In none of these countries is it thought that this political revolution movement is necessarily of a profoundly socialistic character. Nevertheless, it has been found everywhere that only the socialists had the courage to fight for the preservation of the original institutions of democratic government.

Now recently it has been confessed by some of the world's leading publicists that the government of the United States is very far indeed from being a democratic one. Undoubtedly the best work extant on the American political institutions is Ostrogorsky's "Democracy, or the Origin of Political Parties in England and the United States."

With other modern writers on the subject, he makes it clear that we are absolutely bound and tied not only by the intensely undemocratic constitution forced on later generations by our fathers, but also by the unexpected and monstrous development of the system of government by two great political parties.

It is this antiquated system that not only divides the democratic forces of the country, but even results in the establishment of several contradictory tendencies within the socialist party. If we had a genuine democratic constitution, clear-cut economic questions would be placed before the people and the nation would divide on each question according to the conscious economic position of the various social classes. As it is, each campaign brings up such a confusion of issues, that the elections are valueless even as an indication of public opinion, to say nothing about obtaining any real advance.

The conference of Radicals held at St. Louis December 3rd, 4th and 5th, proposed a plan which may result in a wide national agitation for the institution of a democratic government in the United States. Its plan was at once presented to the leading socialist papers, as well as the progressive labor press and all other radical publications that might be interested.

The inaugurators of the movement were under no illusions as to its chances for immediate success; and if it should never succeed, that makes it all the more valuable from a socialistic standpoint. Undoubtedly if a legally instituted constitutional convention were called at the present moment, the people are not enough educated to take a very advanced political stand and there might even be some reaction, for the President's message and all other official statements of the ruling class show that our rulers have decided to prevent not only the organization of a convention but even a general discussion of the constitution. It is therefore certain that while this movement will have the support of all honest and courageous radicals, it will have the violent and bitter opposition of all the conservative and capitalistic press.

Every step then, that is made towards making this action a lively political issue, will be an eye-opener for every element of the American people that still believes that we have any control whatever over our political destinies at the present time.

Ten years of such an agitation might lead to a revolutionary crisis indeed!

We shall not attempt even to mention possible objections, with one exception. If the constitution were in the foreground, public discussion of fundamental economic change, it will be claimed, would be temporarily obscured. The first answer to this objection is that fully half of the immediate demands of the present socialist program are political in character and that the proportion of the political to the economic demands is growing all the time. The second answer is that according to the materialist conception of history, the only economic reforms that will be granted or even seriously considered are those that harmonize with the interests of the capitalist class. On the other hand, we have in America a lying political tradition which says that political democracy and political liberty exist in the United States; and while the capitalists would fight any fundamental political change in actual legislation as hard as they would any proposed economic change, they have not yet dared to fight political democracy in the open.

If by a movement like the present one, we can force the two old parties to attack democracy in the open just as the socialists of Germany have forced the National Liberals to do, we can strengthen tenfold the appeal of the socialist movement to the producing classes of the United States. For a large part of our people of all classes still believe in the existence of political democracy in this country in spite of the many facts pointing to the contrary.

The call issued at St. Louis speaks for itself. A number of socialists were present and felt that there was nothing objectionable in the move-

ment while it might prove of the greatest possible service to this party. Any interested in the project can address Jay Forrest, Chairman of the American Provisional Committee, at Albany, N. Y.

TEXT OF THE CALL

The American people are politically discontented and dazed!

The last campaign was the climax of forty years of continual discouragement. Every movement for radical reform since 1865 has been ruthlessly destroyed by the class that rules. Every hope of the common people to control the national government has been defeated. All are agreed, without exception, that the cause of our political impotency is the division in our own ranks. Not only were the forces of radical reform scattered among the so-called third parties, but millions were compelled by the utterly unworkable nature of our now thoroughly outgrown constitution to cast their ballots for one of the two plutocratic parties, with the complete knowledge and profound realization that they were voting, not according to their conscience, not even for the remote possibility of any reform, but merely to defend themselves from some immediate menace of catastrophe.

The leaders of the American workingmen urged their followers to vote the Democratic ticket, while confessing its criminal hostility to labor wherever and whenever in power—because they were rightly in terror of the greater and more immediate threat to the labor organization by the re-election of a Republican president, congress and judiciary.

The leading American farmers urged their followers to vote the Republican ticket, while confessing that the Republican party had refused absolutely to give them even so cheap and empty a

thing as a "political promise" of the reform which they and their followers know to be absolutely necessary for the establishment of a truly democratic government in the United States—because they knew that the Democratic party is now and has been for forty years absolutely under the whip of the violently undemocratic, reactionary and plutocratic Bourbons of the South, and the slum politicians, the liquor interests and common criminals of Tammany Hall—the political mouthpiece of the giant traction trust and the pliant tool of Wall street.

While there appears to be division and even fundamental difference of opinion among the forces of radical reform, the slightest examination into all of their demands demonstrates absolutely that all such movements, which have been dignified by a large following of the American people, held in common many identical interests.

"What honest radical party of large following is hostile to any of the leading democratic social reforms? What radical opposes any of the following reforms?

- (1) The Initiative and Referendum.
- (2) Proportional Representation.
- (3) The Right of Recall.
- (4) The direct election of:

The Judges of the Supreme Court.

The President.

The United States Senators.

- (5) The prohibition of the newly extended and iniquitous use of the injunction.

Or:

- (1) The Graduated Income Tax.
- (2) The Graduated Inheritance Tax.
- (3) Taxation of ground rent.
- (4) The national ownership—by a people's government—of the railroads and monopolized industries.
- (5) The issuing of money direct by the government without the intervention of national banks as a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Not only are all reformers as one in advocating these measures, but they urge that political reform accompany economic reform. It is absolutely essential that the government pass into the hands of the people.

A closer examination of these demands shows that all radical reform movements not only hold most of their demands in common, but will inevitably be forced—before a single radical reform can be realized—to common action. Every social or democratic reform runs dead against the Constitution of the United States!

Sooner or later, with the fateful regularity of clock work, the now consolidated interests that govern us, guided by corporation lawyers, will take shelter behind one of the innumerable "useful" clauses or judicial interpretations of the Constitution.

It is evident that not any one—but many changes are needed in our system of government. What we require to establish equity and democracy in this land is not verbal changes in our outgrown constitution, but a completely new spirit of true democracy in our government—a new constitution

Indeed the greatest dangers to united action among the radicals are the proposals now being made for isolated amendments. The majority of one of the plutocratic parties—a large minority in the other—demand an amendment for the direct election of senators.

Even the plutocrats need a change in

their own interests. Well-known writers of both the old parties are considering how amendments can be made to the constitution without danger to their peculiar interests. They are already demanding that it shall be done behind closed doors—so that the people can be excluded from voicing their wishes. The shrewdest of their corporation lawyers are even now plotting how they can make the changes desired by the monopolized money interests, and at the same time defeat the reforms demanded by the people.

Above all, they wish to avoid an open constitutional assembly. They will insist on amendment by congress and the state legislatures. The outgrown constitution must be changed, but it must be changed in the open for the benefit and by the effort of all the people.

What is needed is a simple constitution, one easily conformable to the changing needs of the nation and free from limitations and restrictions on the power of the people of this and succeeding generations to adopt such laws as may seem to them desirable.

Even if a constitutional assembly is forced from the ruling class by threatening waves of popular opinion, still they will hope by legal jugglery—and even without constitutional warrant—arbitrarily to limit the discussion of the convention to detailed amendments instead of allowing a complete revision of all its antiquated and discredited elements and the establishment of a new constitution adapted to the political and economic principles and present-day needs of the American nation.

A popular constitutional assembly—this must be our war cry.

Despite the fundamental unity among all honest and progressive citizens we may be faced by a long and difficult struggle before we succeed in democratizing our form of government. And this is despite the fact that the American people has already made up its mind to

what it wants. It is because of the violently conservative nature of the constitution which above all things obstructs amendment. It requires three-fourths of the states to change the constitution. A bare majority of the enfranchised citizens of thirteen states can prevent any change, and if the states were carefully chosen—for in this respect Delaware and Nevada are as strong as Ohio and Illinois—an easy calculation shows that one-twentieth of our people, if they were controlled by the money interests, could block the enactment of any fundamental reform. It is as easy to get a new constitution as to get an amendment to the existing one.

No man who is sincerely democratic can question the right of this generation to govern itself. The Rights of Man cry out against the binding of today and smothering of tomorrow by the dead of yesterday! Our nation has certain obligations to the past which none of us wish to ignore. But we have greater obligations to the present, and above all we are the parents of the new generation.

We cannot be contented with the statement that: "A century ago our country was the freest on earth." We demand that it shall be so today! We demand

that our children to come shall be born and shall live their lives in the freest country on earth!

A century-old constitution binds us!

The democracy of 1776 was short-lived.

It was cut down in its infancy by the aristocrats and plutocrats of 1789.

At few and exceptional intervals the original revolutionary spirit has revived. But only to be inundated by the general tide of reaction. The reaction which has always been fortified by the constitution and entrenched in the Supreme Court.

Although we, as a nation, have grown in many directions—the constitution has stood still.

Do you agree with those who are on every hand asserting that the Declaration of Independence is a lie?

If not—join us to make that declaration a living reality.

Join us to make this—in living reality—a country of, by and for the people.

Do you accept the fundamental religious teachings of all ages—the brotherhood of man?

If so, join us to defend it.

Join us for the fight for a popular constitutional assembly."

The value contained in a certain commodity is equal to the labor-time required for its production, and the sum of this labor consists of paid and unpaid portions.—Karl Marx, in *Capital*, Volume III.

The Oklahoma Vote

By F. P. O'HARE



THE results of the vote in Oklahoma indicate the efficiency of "intensive" agitation work, as opposed to the ordinary methods.

Years ago our Oklahoma agitators went into the "brush" as the most likely place to expound the class struggle. In the towns it will be found that there is as yet no definite movement toward Socialism. In states like Illinois, the small towns are largely dominated by retired farmers, a most conservative and capitalistically minded class. The denizens of these communities are "established." In Oklahoma, however, the towns are filled with a pushing, aggressive set of people, on the lookout for the nimble dollar. In the older states the attitude toward Socialism is hatred, but in our little towns tolerance largely prevails.

In the older communities *class* interests dominate, while in our communities TOWN interests, town loyalty is strong.

This is true because each community is fighting every other community for trade supremacy.

So as yet there is but little foundation for a proletarian movement in our towns. But all classes give Socialism a respectful hearing.

But in the mining districts, and the rural districts, we find a true proletarian class—landless farmers and toilless laborers—and among these workers the socialist thought is making tremendous strides.

In 1900 there were 768 socialist votes in Oklahoma Territory, and probably the same number in Indian Territory, or a total of 1,500. At this election 21,750 votes were cast for Debs, and this, too, in the face of the fact that the Democratic party had met all of organized labor's demands and placed bona fide labor men in office as Commissioner of Labor and Mine Inspector.

So it is safe to say our vote is a true Socialist vote.

In the mining county of Coal, our vote was 24.3 per cent, and in the cotton county of Marshall, our vote was 24.2 per cent of the total.

Our membership has carried on the most thorough agitation of probably any state. Our state and national dues are 15 cents per month, and in spite of high dues, our comrades contributed about \$850 for the Red Special.

We have had as high as twenty speakers in the field at one time, and many of our counties took speakers for thirty days at a time, covering practically every voting precinct. Only nine of our counties cast less than 100 votes each, and we have seventy-five counties.

A unique step was taken by our force of field workers. At the last meeting of the state executive committee that body recognized the "Oklahoma Field Workers Association," composed of "all state speakers recognized as such by the Oklahoma Socialist State Committee." The O. F. W. A. framed a series of recommendations having in view the greater economy of effort and greater efficiency of its membership, and these recommendations were adopted *in toto* by the State Executive Committee.

From June 15 to June 30, 1909, the field workers will conduct a school in some rural retreat, and each speaker is to be assigned to some department of socialist thought, to investigate and to deliver three lectures on it to the class.

Among the subjects to be assigned are: "The Race Question"; "The Farmer"; "Socialist Activity in Legislation"; "The Land Question"; "Women"; "Trade Unions"; "Single Tax"; "Theory of Value"; "Theories of History," etc.

O. F. Branstetter, J. O. Watkins and the writer were made a committee on program and will arrange for the handling of each subject by the twenty or more speakers expected to be present.

From now on our effort will be to develop county secretaries and county organizers, as the routing of the speakers has assumed such proportions that it is necessary to divide the work. The ideal way, of course, is for the state secretary to assign a speaker to a given county for fifteen or thirty days and have the county secretary make the dates in his county.

We have a tremendous undertaking before us, but we have such a big bunch of tireless workers that the prospects look joyful indeed, and we all start in the campaign of 1910 with renewed enthusiasm and great expectations.

Disfranchising the Workers

A CONDITION THAT DEMANDS ACTION

By WILLIAM McDEVITT



POLITICAL action is the most important weapon in the armory of the working class organized. The ballot is an important *formal* factor in the political struggle of the class war. The worker's vote is an outcome of long struggle for political "rights" and civic standing; and the preservation of the ballot of the working man against direct or insidious attacks must necessarily be one of the greatest concerns of the socialist movement.

Undoubtedly the most serious and most practical questions springing out of the results of the recent general election, are these: Is the working class losing the ballot? Are the workers being disfranchised? What is the rate of disfranchisement? What is the cause? Is there a remedy?

The most casual study of the figures cited in this statement will demonstrate that the workers ARE being disfranchised. These figures, drawn from the best available records of the vote and the population of this country prove, beyond the power of denial, that there is an immense fall in the ratio of total votes to total persons. Since the relative size of the working class is increasing in geometrical proportion, the loss of voting power falls almost entirely upon the men who produce the country's wealth and bear the nation's burdens.

Where the population is most congested, there the proletariat prevails in numbers; where the workers are most numerous, there the vote is most restricted. Rhode Island, for example, is the most densely populated state in this country; it has only 1 vote for each 7 persons, Massachusetts ranks second in density of population; it has about the same ratio of votes to persons as Rhode Island. Both of these states have a maximum of city or proletarian population, and a minimum of agricultural or rural population. Needless to say, their socialist vote is a pitiful percentage of the mass.

Now, then, for some figures that illuminate this decline of the suf-

frage. Take the latest nine presidential elections; group them in periods of three, 1876 to 1884, 1888 to 1896, 1900 to 1904; then note the startling development in the process of disfranchising the worker and divorcing the man from the ballot, the producer from the vote.

In 1876 the total vote was 8,412,732, the population (estimated) 45,000,000, the ratio of voters to persons 1 to $5\frac{1}{4}$. In 1880 the vote was 9,209,406, population 50,155,783, ratio 1 to $5\frac{1}{2}$. In 1884, vote 10,044,985, population (estimated) 55,000,000, ratio 1 to $5\frac{1}{2}$. The average ratio for this period of three general elections is 1 to 5 $5\text{-}12$, or about 5 voters for every 27 persons.

For the second three-elections period the figures stand as follows: 1888, 11,280,860, 60,000,000—1 to 5 $2\text{-}7$; 1892, 12,059,351, 65,300,000—1 to $5\frac{1}{2}$; 1896, 13,913,102, 70,500,000—1 to 5. (The abnormally large vote of 1896 has never been accounted for, except on the basis of Altgeld's demonstration of enormous ballot-box stuffing by the accomplished lieutenants of the late lamented Mark Hanna.) Allowing for abnormal conditions in 1896, we figure the ratio for the second three-elections period at 1 to $5\frac{1}{4}$. Apparently the vote has become less restricted; actually, however, this was simply the golden age of ballot-box stuffing and repeaters. More money was spent on votes in 1896 than in any previous campaign in American history.

But now the tide turns. The figures for the latest three-elections period are as follows: 1900, 13,952,896, 76,303,387—1 to $5\frac{1}{2}$; 1904, 13,510,708, 83,000,000—1 to 6 $1\text{-}6$; 1908, the vote, estimated liberally, is 14,400,000, the population 88,000,000, the ratio 1 to 6 $1\text{-}7$.

Now note the contrast: Every one of the latest three elections shows a *smaller* comparative vote than the average for the preceding six elections, or for the preceding three (1888, 1892, 1896), or for the preceding two (1892-1896). From 1888 to 1908 (twenty years), the rate has fallen from 1 to 5 $2\text{-}7$ to 1 to 6, or from 100 votes for 528 persons, to 100 votes for 600 persons. In other words, for every 600 persons 72 *more* than in 1888 are *now* disfranchised, an increase in disfranchisement of at least 12 per cent.

Taking the *present* population and using the ratio of the period 1888-1896 (1 to $5\frac{1}{4}$), the vote in 1908 should be 16,800,000 instead of 14,400,000 (or thereabouts). The number of the newly disfranchised, therefore, foots up to the appalling total of 2,400,000. These figures don't require emphasis—they cry aloud for themselves. Remember, also, that this number, 2,400,000, represents only the *additional* disfranchisement over 1888-1896.

Further light is thrown upon the condition of disfranchisement by a consideration of these figures: Voting population of the United

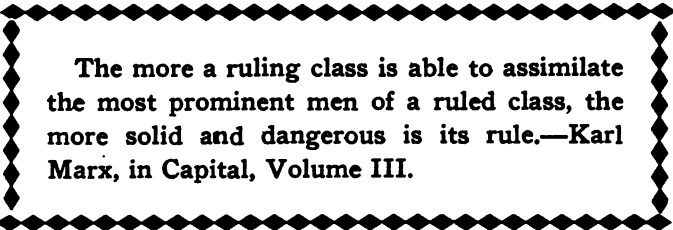
States in 1900, 21,329,819 (males of voting age); actual voters in 1900, 13,952,896. Over 7,000,000 voters didn't vote in 1900.

Such figures as the foregoing prove conclusively, then, that the workers are being disfranchised—progressively and effectually. Possibly the quantum of disfranchisement is less than some perfervid *agitators* have claimed; but it is certainly appalling enough to demand systematic and immediate action on the part of the socialists of this country.

Of the 2,400,000 persons disfranchised by reason of recent economic conditions and political trickery—loss of work, loss of residence, throwing out of ballots, suppression of the count, *unnatural* naturalization laws, and all of the insidious methods of robbing the workers of their franchise—it is certainly conservative to say that 20 per cent would vote the Socialist ticket. Adding this 480,000 to the cast-and-counted Socialist vote, we get at least one million as the actual Socialist vote of today. This calculation is far too conservative; but it presents a situation that requires planful and energetic action NOW. A systematic campaign during the next four years, to *save* our voting force, will do more to increase our votes in 1912 than the most strenuous Red Special campaign that we can conduct in 1912.

The most logical immediate demand of the Socialist Party is the demand for the vote for the worker—whether male or female. If we are ready to tolerate the increasing robbery of the workers' votes, we must also be ready to make a fundamental change in our political tactics.

Shall it be Ballots or Bullets?



The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of a ruled class, the more solid and dangerous is its rule.—Karl Marx, in *Capital*, Volume III.

The Education of the "Devil"*

By EDLINGTON MOAT



BRIMFUL and bubbling over with energy—whistling, singing, dreaming—working hard for sheer delight of swift action—ramming the sheets into the "eighth medium" with an exaggerated motion that might better befit a juggler—now "throwing in"—now jogging stock—now sweeping up—now running errands—but always whistling and singing and dreaming; such was the devil at the end of his first year with Getit & Holdit, Printers and Stationers.

Whether the presses were time-worn, or the type face-worn, or the men care-worn, the devil paused not to consider. Did the full-jowled pressman complain of foul air? The devil slammed open the window—and sniggered. Did the consumptive "comp." damn God's fresh air as it played about his bald head? The devil jammed up the window, and incidently snorted his disgust, noting the while the contrast between these two—just like the "before and after" pictures gotten up to advertise quack nostrums!

So it seemed to him. The gin-engendered puffiness of the one passed for health; the slow, consuming fever of the other he was as yet incapable of understanding. No chiaroscuro of human joy and sorrow found place in his canvas. Enough for him was the reward of each day, with its rhythmic pulsing of machinery that seemed attuned to his own abounding vitality; with its probabilities of pie and ice-cream when he should take the proof of the bill-of-fare to the baker at the hotel around the corner; with its possibilities of swimming the mud-pond, or of batting the ball with "Sheeney" Rowley, or of reading the adventures of some impossible hero when the day's work was done.

But like the majority of devils just out of swaddling clothes, the specimen in question was doomed to learn sad realities by experience. In the midst of his working and his whistling, he heard much talk about "hard times." That they were mysteriously connected with the occasional weepings of his mother and the swearings of his father, he soon surmised, especially as his younger brother was taken from school and set to work. Then, suddenly, the pressman disappeared. The devil found himself doing the pressman's work. Needless to say, it

* "Devil"—A printer's apprentice.

pleased him not a little to find himself thus promoted. Later, it struck him that the pressman had been getting \$15 a week. So he asked the boss for a raise, and received—his first lesson in economics. The boss told him of a young hopeful who would consider \$4 a week a very satisfactory wage.

Did the devil find another position? Not exactly. The position found him. At that time there were still a few vacancies—a few jobs looking around for wiry youngsters willing to be engulfed in murky pits—to be warped and worn by machinery—for a few ounces of silver. And this particular job, at the prospect of lassoing, and swallowing, and digesting piecemeal so tempting a morsel as the faithful, unsophisticated little devil, through the medium of its business manager choked down its glee, rubbed its hands, and said:

“* * * Ah! Yes, yes. There’s every possible chance here. Of course you’ll find it rather close shaving to get along on \$4 a week, now that you have left home. But others have done it. You can, if you are economical. And as I said before, your advancement is only a question of time, providing you are industrious and faithful, as your references and your appearance lead me to believe you are * * *. This concern is growing rapidly. We want you to grow with it. We want you to stay with it, not for a month or a year, but for ten, twenty, thirty years * * *.”

As for the devil, poor innocent that he was!—a stranger both to axe-grinders and flesh-grinders, unaware of the subtle influence of environment, or of the chaining power of habit—he thanked his nativity for being taken in by so beneficent a job.

And taken in he soon discovered himself to be, much to his enlightenment—enlightenment in spite of the dark, gleaned through chilling months beneath the sickly flame of smoking gas jets; behind unwashed, unopened windows—abode of vitiated, dust-laden air; under fragments of colored posters that vainly strove to hide decaying walls; amidst the time-yellowed stock, and the rheumatic old machines that creaked and moaned in dismal cadence; amongst the stink of ink, of type, of benzine and of gasoline; and amongst the unlovely men—the “fixtures”—who frowned hideously at “pi,” and swore impotently because of their benumbed fingers.

Nor was that all. He experienced the inconvenience of chilblained fingers. He came to know how it feels to be cheated out of a week’s pittance on an ingenious pretext; to have your hand battered by a machine and your wages cut down for the time you spend at the hospital; to say nothing of eyes dimmed for want of proper light, or of lungs pronounced diseased by supposedly competent physicians.

Then for the first time the devil began to take stock of himself. And with the stock-taking came his decision to escape. But alas! What will-buttressed resolve can withstand the battering-ram of hunger? The next moon saw him ready to be swallowed up by another job. But as he valued himself more highly, and as he appeared less robust than formerly, the jobs seemed less eager in their pursuit of him; so that he almost despaired of being captured—unless it were by the undertaker.

By and by, however, being chased by hunger to a bigger city, the devil fell plump into the clutches of a bigger job—an up-to-date job—where the double rows of cylinders—huge drums of steel—rolling round and round with a snoring hum, seemed effectually to submerge his natural buoyancy, and to plough deeper convolutions in his brain. Then, too, the cranky Harris presses, and the clattering "Hoe's," and others still, such as he had never dreamed of, served for a time to feed his curiosity. What a pandemonium their combined voices did kick up! And how they did "deliver the goods"—reams upon reams of it, ceiling high, like windowless miniatures of down-town skyscrapers! * * * And the men, some of them, why did they rush about in that half distracted manner? Why that peculiar sharpness of feature, that unwonted brightness of eye? It struck the devil as rather strange. Moreover, it troubled him, Speed he had always admired, in both man and machine. It was the heritage of youth, one of the means of victory. Yet these men, with concrete floors to walk upon, and electric arcs for sunshine, and modern machinery to conquer by—these men, though they worked with speed and precision, took no apparent pride or pleasure in their dexterity, in their ability to breast the untiring pace of steam-driven wheels. Nor did it seem the joy of victory, nor even the prospect of the week-end wage, that spurred them on. There must be some pivotal force behind it, some fetish of ear or favor to which they all bowed. What could it be?

Long the devil pondered. Then, little by little, the delusive magic which kept these plodders plodding made itself plain to him. Result: A new point of view, followed by a revulsion of feeling. His faith sickened, his hope grew suddenly anemic, as it dawned upon him that men could be tricked, bribed, and intimidated into committing all sorts of unworthy follies; into thinking by proxy and worshipping at the behest of authority; into voting for masks and championing their best enemies; and out of it all expecting good to come * * * * These machines were the incarnation of the spirit of the age; these men, the servitors, some willing, some unwilling, each working for himself, but each giving more than he got, and all together surren-

dering themselves a pabulum at the shrine of property. Slaves they were, the young among them straining their utmost; the old, jealous alike of generations swift of hand and eye, and of the pæc-making machine—of its indifference to human slaughter—of its power to feed and clothe or to send forth naked into the dungeon or the wilderness. To work for it and with it meant strife among themselves, meant the matching of muscle against muscle, of nerve against nerve, of mind against mind. What if a muscle became paralyzed now and then, or a nerve wrecked, or a mind unbalanced? What of it? How poor, how limited are the potentialities of the mere homo! How much less worthy of development is his coarse and crude mechanism in comparison with the smooth-running machine and the great Thing it stands for. Should not body, mind and soul be dedicated to that, and to that alone? soul be dedicated to that, and to that alone?

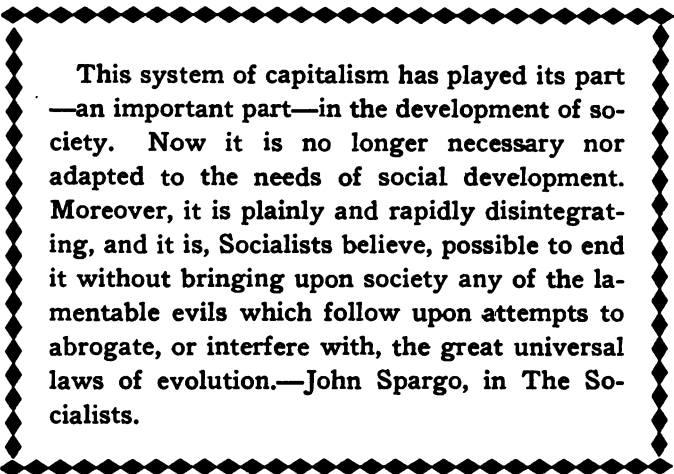
Right or wrong, the devil fashioned a new resolve, which he cinched with an oath. Others could bow if they liked, but henceforth he would bow only in semblance * * * Good-bye, pride of speed! good-bye, industry! good-bye, faithfulness in the interests of the job! Sisyphus' lot is yours. Yours also is the tenement, and Potter's field. * * * * From now on the slogan should be self—the development of self by hook or crook—self always and all the time. The contempt of the behemoth of property he would counter with his own, insignificant by comparison though it might be. And then, in the ripeness of time, should heaven vouchsafe him the gift of tongue or pen, or the power of office, he would use that gift to propagate his doctrine of self-development—development not of a few selves at the expense of the many, but of all for all; and that power he would try to harness to the Niagara of machines, and the slaves of machines, for the purpose of profit—profit not in soulless coin or dividends, but in a nobler race of men and women.

Magnificent dream of a nameless devil! Base notion of a vulgar mind that seeks development "by hook or crook!" But hold. It was merely a measure of self defense, only a means to start the ball a-rolling. Not to cloak his guilt, after the manner of the oppressor, did the devil use deceit, fraud, and hypocrisy, but as a crutch, until he should be strong enough to do without. When a "permanent" job offered to shelter him if he would only sell himself at a low price, the devil agreed—with reservations. When a "big future" was held out to him if he would only overwork himself *now* in the interests of the job, the devil *appeared* to believe. But for permanent enslavement, with a big future several leagues ahead, always ahead, like a mirage in the desert, he cared not at all. Instead, he acquired a passion for con-

sulting the books, and, what was evidence in part of his deceit, fraud, and hypocrisy, for consulting them during the hours that the job was trying to get its money's worth out of *him*. Always did his overalls bulge with pocket-editions of the classics, and his mind with ideas serious and fanciful. Hands were raised in horror at such methods of self-help; tongues lacked not that predicted a sorry future for him—as a devil; while the jobs, one and all, when they became aware of his passion, and divined his purpose, got rid of him without delay.

* * * * *

According to recent accounts, the education of the devil was progressing rapidly. Certain it is that that part of it which was seared in as with a hot iron can never be forgotten. And not less certain is it that destiny must cast his lot with those whose combined weight shall one day so tilt the balance as to bring the magnificent dream down to earth.



This system of capitalism has played its part—an important part—in the development of society. Now it is no longer necessary nor adapted to the needs of social development. Moreover, it is plainly and rapidly disintegrating, and it is, Socialists believe, possible to end it without bringing upon society any of the lamentable evils which follow upon attempts to abrogate, or interfere with, the great universal laws of evolution.—John Spargo, in *The Socialists*.

To Capitalistic Critics of Socialism

By LINCOLN BRADEN



DEAR SIR: Allow me to congratulate you upon your determination to interest yourself in Socialism, as that determination is made manifest by your criticisms of the movement. It has been said that "a superficial knowledge of political economy usually goes hand in hand with bad manners." At the risk of being accused of both, I address you to suggest that, while your refutation of what you take Socialism to be is quite complete, nevertheless every Socialist will contend that you have not stated Socialism's case as fully as it deserves to be—as fully as it must be stated if its supposed fallacies are to be exposed.

May I present to you what Socialists generally will acknowledge to be the basic principle of Socialism as it is to-day?

Let us take what society has already done on the political field as a starting point, and prove what society might, and ought to do, for itself on the industrial field.

If I present to you as a political axiom this proposition:

"No people can truly say that they are politically free until they are masters of their means of government," will you accept it?

You would not say that we were a FREE people, politically, if all the positions in the legislative, judicial and executive departments of our government were privately "owned" by our officials, would you, especially if those positions were hereditary, or could be bought and sold?

Now, that great and impracticable citizen, Eugene V. Debs, the much maligned, has said:

"No one can truly say that he is FREE until he is master of the means that support his life."

Do you accept this aphorism of Debs as axiomatic? If you do, how can you justify private ownership beyond the reasonable needs of the individual?

The intelligent Socialist will concede you that his party has not agreed to accept our present form of political government as its own, and has not, to date, proposed any other as a substitute therefor. He will also concede that his party has no official industrial program for the

new system proposed by him. And further, he will frankly admit that Socialism, as a system, is all in the air; that its past is the history of a vision, an "ideal," if you will, and that its future no man can foretell, except—EXCEPT, that in the future the majority shall rule, both industrially and politically; and, quite likely, rule intelligently and in their own interests.

It is not likely that the majority of our people will long continue in the belief that it is right and just for any man, no matter what his services to society have been, to privately own another man's means of life.

Lincoln said:

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent."

The Socialist makes this declaration include every form of government, social and industrial as well as political. If it is unjust to derive an income from ownership of the man himself, then it is equally, even though less apparently, unjust to derive a like income from any other form of ownership, which gives power to coerce the man as effectively as though he were a slave. The lash was the slave owner's means of "energizing" labor; hunger, or the fear of hunger, is capitalism's "incentive." And it is capitalism's incentive, hunger or the fear of hunger that the Socialist proposes to use in his system as "incentive," with this difference; under Socialism the worker to feed himself, will not be under the necessity, as at present, of first feeding someone else.

A stock "argument" against Socialism is the contention that Socialism takes no account of the law of population and its twin brother, the law of diminishing returns. Now, let us concede that men breed too fast, and that "labor applied to natural resources in constantly increasing amount must meet with a continually decreasing reward;" or, what amounts to the same thing, with continually decreasing natural resources. Does it follow, because the Socialist cannot show that these laws will be inoperative under his system, that they are any the less operative, perniciously operative, under capitalism?

Does it lessen the force of his assertion that society, as a whole, might easily decide, even under these laws, what is good for itself as a whole with as much certainty of deciding aright as the small minority who now presume to solve all of society's bread and butter problems, for the small consideration of all that society produces over and above bread and butter for the producers?

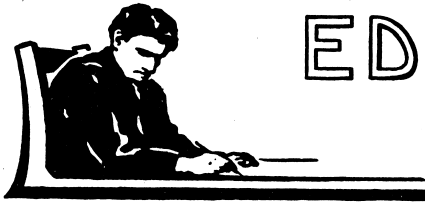
For him who believes that the future has for us majority rule, there is no escape from the conclusion that Socialism is inevitable, unless he professes to believe that the majority of mankind will indefinitely remain blind or indifferent to their own interests. The problem is not "how may

we stop an irresistible force," but "how may we guide it into safe channels as speedily as possible."

Let us hope that this upward growth of the race may not, like every other that has been made before it, be watered by the blood and fertilized by the bodies of martyrs. Let us fervently pray that, for once in the world's history, the trained intellects of the race may be found drawing the chariot of progress instead of becoming clogs upon its wheels or being crushed beneath them.

Carbon, Calif.

Capitalist production has divorced two functions which once were indissolubly united; on the one side it puts the manual workers, who become more and more servants of the machine, and on the other the intellectual workers, engineers, chemists, managers, etc. But these two categories of workers, however different and contrary they may be in their education and habits, are welded together, to the point that a capitalist industry can not be carried on without manual laborers any more than without intellectual wage-workers. United in production, united under the yoke of capitalist exploitation, united they should be also in revolt against the common enemy. The intellectuals, if they understood their own real interests, would come in crowds to socialism, not through philanthropy, not through pity for the miseries of the workers, not through affectation and snobbery, but to save themselves, to assure the future welfare of their wives and children, to fulfill their duty to their class.— Paul Lafargue, in "The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies."



EDITOR'S CHAIR

The Official Vote. The following table is as accurate as can be compiled from the data now at hand. It is taken from the Chicago Tribune of December 16, but a few manifest errors in the Socialist column have been corrected by using the figures credited to W. J. Ghent in the Chicago Daily Socialist. The table as printed in the Tribune presented us with 20,000 extra votes by an error in the footing, but omitted our Alabama vote and deprived us of several thousand in California, beside a few minor errors:

	Taft.	Bryan.	Chafin.	Watson	Debs.	Gilhaus	Hisgen
Alabama	25,308	74,374	665	1,565	1,399		495
Arkansas	56,947	87,043	1,000	500	5,842		500
California	182,064	107,770	6,443		28,659		4,278
Colorado	123,700	126,649	5,559		7,974		
Connecticut	112,815	68,255	2,380		5,113	608	728
Delaware	25,200	22,134	650		240		50
Florida	10,654	31,104	1,356	1,946	3,747		553
Georgia	41,692	72,350	1,059	16,965	584		77
Idaho	50,091	34,609	1,740		6,305		207
Illinois	629,932	450,810	29,364	633	39,711	1,630	7,724
Indiana	348,993	338,262	18,045	1,193	13,476		514
Iowa	275,210	200,771	9,837	261	8,287		404
Kansas	197,166	161,209	5,032		12,420		
Kentucky	235,711	249,092	5,887	333	4,060	404	200
Louisiana	9,958	63,568			2,538		73
Maine	66,987	35,463	1,487		1,758		790
Maryland	111,253	111,117	3,000		2,500	643	450
Massachusetts	265,966	155,543	4,373		10,778	1,011	19,237
Michigan	333,313	174,313	16,705		11,527	1,086	734
Minnesota	195,736	109,433	10,114		14,469		523
Mississippi	4,463	64,250		1,309	1,408		
Missouri	346,915	345,884	4,222	1,165	15,398	967	597
Montana	32,333	29,326	827		5,855		443
Nebraska	126,608	130,781		5,179	3,524		
Nevada	10,214	10,655			2,029		415
New Hampshire	53,144	33,655	905		1,299		584
New Jersey	265,298	182,522	4,930		10,249	2,916	2,916
New York	870,070	667,468	22,667		38,451	3,877	35,817
North Carolina	114,887	136,928			345		
North Dakota	57,771	32,900	1,453		2,405		38
Ohio	572,312	502,721	11,402	160	33,795	721	439
Oklahoma	110,550	123,907		434	21,752		274
Oregon	62,350	38,049	2,632		7,430		289
Pennsylvania	745,779	448,785	36,694		39,913	1,222	1,057
Rhode Island	43,942	24,706	1,016		1,365		1,005
South Carolina	3,847	62,289			101		43
South Dakota	67,466	40,266	4,039		2,846		83
Tennessee	118,287	135,630	360	1,081	1,878		332
Texas	69,229	227,264	1,792	1,042	8,524	3,361	164
Utah	61,021	42,601			4,895		87
Vermont	39,552	11,406	799		820		804
Virginia	52,573	82,946	1,111		225	25	51
Washington	106,062	58,333	4,700	105	14,177		248
West Virginia	137,869	111,418	5,107		3,676		46
Wisconsin	248,673	166,707	11,579		28,146		
Wyoming	17,708	12,772			1,306		63
Totals	7,637,676	6,393,182	241,252	33,871	433,289	15,421	83,186
Plurality	1,244,494						

Socialists and Radicals. What attitude shall we as socialists take toward the "radicals" who are now restlessly casting about for a new program? This is a question we are obliged to face, and it is for this reason that the editor of the *Review* has thought it worth while to give space to the "Call" on pages 516-518 of this issue. It is a vivid picture of the confusion in the minds of the little capitalists and their politicians, helpless as they are before the greater forces that have grasped the industries of the United States and the laws and constitutions along with them. The writer of the call seems to be unaware that political institutions inevitably conform to the mode of production, and will be modified as the mode of production changes. Billion-dollar trusts are too big to be dominated by granger legislatures; the extension of the powers of the Supreme Court was necessary if business is to be done in a large way by modern methods. And one must be very simple and trustful to imagine that the "money power" will let a new constitution be enacted by a combination of "honest and progressive" citizens. But let the Radicals continue to agitate. Every rebuff will bring them nearer to the economic facts they can not yet see. When they come to see those facts, they will be recruits worth having. As for the constitution, when the wage-workers unite, they will go after the means of production, and when they get them they will write a new constitution to suit themselves if they think they need it.

Socialist Gains and Losses. The gains and losses of 1908 are a distinct encouragement to us of the "left wing," who prefer to say much of the class struggle and little of "immediate demands," who think it is more important to awaken the wage-workers to the fact that it is to their interest to destroy the whole capitalist system, than to agitate for municipal ownership, scientific reforestation and tax reforms. Massachusetts is the state where "municipal socialism" arose in a blaze of glory a few years ago. Two cities were "captured," the congressional vote of 1902 was about 35,000, a number of comrades were elected to office, and they did in office all that could reasonably have been expected of them. But they could not meet the unreasonable expectations raised by the wrong emphasis in our propaganda. The movement there has dwindled until it is weaker than in states of like population in which we have never elected a man to office. Here in Chicago our large vote of 1904 resulted in diverting the energies of our most experienced workers from the revolutionary propaganda in which Chicago had been foremost into elaborate schemes of precinct organization which have nothing to do with

the revolutionary work of the Socialist Party, but which may be essential to the election of our members to local offices. And here in Chicago is the heaviest loss that the party has sustained. Our most notable gain is in the states of Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma. Here the economic conditions are no more favorable to us than in twenty other states, but a vigorous revolutionary and educational campaign has been carried on continuously, with a view to building up a strong organization. Incidentally, this work has brought the votes. We have large gains in Idaho and Colorado, where the party threw itself unreservedly into the fight of the Western Federation of Miners against organized capital. In most of the north central states, including Wisconsin, we scarcely held our own, but in Michigan and Minnesota, where the "left wing" is in control, our gains are large. In the east, the best record is made in Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania is the one eastern state in which the party organization is circulating Marxian literature on a considerable scale. On the whole, we have every reason to feel encouraged at the general result. The collapse of the Hearst, Watson and DeLeon movements leaves ours the only party likely to attract those who come to see that Republicans and Democrats alike stand for the interests of the employing class. Let us keep to the one issue of the class struggle, and the votes will come.

The Party Election. One more National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has to be elected under the old constitution. Every Local has had a chance to nominate seven candidates. The name of every candidate who has accepted, even though he may have been nominated by but a single Local, appears on the official ballot. There are no less than 204 of these names, out of which each party member must mark seven. The seven who receive the highest number of votes will be declared elected, no matter how small a proportion of the total vote they may receive. Last year, with only two-thirds as many names on the ballot, some of the successful candidates received less than 3,000 votes out of a total of over 20,000. This year, with a membership of over 50,000, the total vote should be much larger, but a minority is still likely to decide the make-up of the committee. The successful minority last year was organized from Milwaukee, and worked in the main through private correspondence. We have no personal reflection to make on any comrade elected through these methods, and we believe that every member of the National Executive Committee has acted for the best interests of the Socialist Party as he sees them. But we should like to see the

Committee strengthened. So we suggest that those who agree with us mark on their ballots the names of Thomas Sladden of Oregon, Morris Kaplan of Minnesota, Robert Hunter of Connecticut and Stanley J. Clark of Texas. It has been urged, we believe with reason, that at least one woman should be chosen on the Executive Committee. There is one woman among the candidates who is remarkably well qualified, and that is Lena M. Lewis of California. If every reader of the **Review** who is a party member votes for the five candidates just named they will be elected, along with the two most popular members of the present board. Remember that if you vote for a local candidate not widely known you are simply letting others decide who shall constitute the Committee when you might decide it for yourself. One word in closing. Not one of the comrades whom we have mentioned knows that this paragraph is to appear. The editor of the **Review** makes the suggestion solely upon his own responsibility.

If our ideas are to adapt themselves to truth, or to reality, instead of reality or truth adapting itself to our notions or thoughts, we must understand that the mutability of that which is right, holy, moral, is a natural, necessary and true fact. And we must grant to an individual the theoretical freedom which can not be taken from it in practice, we must admit that it is as free now as it has ever been, that laws must be adapted to the needs of the social individual and not to vague, unreal and impossible abstractions, such as justice or morality. What is justice? The embodiment of all that is considered right, an individual conception, which assumes different forms in different persons.—Joseph Dietzgen, in "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy."



INTERNATIONAL
NOTES
WILLIAM E. BOHN



GERMANY. The Social Democracy and the Ministerial Crisis—The German governmental crisis is of far-reaching importance. A person depending upon American newspaper reports would hardly think so, but it is the whole scheme of administration which is at stake. When the present Reichstag was organized a year and a half ago Chancellor Von Bulow and the Junkers saw before them a long stretch of uninterrupted power. The bloc promised a solid majority for the government. The Social Democrats might make more or less trouble among the people; but the conservative regime stood secure. And now behold what a great flame a little fire has kindled! An interview with the Emperor has appeared in a London daily, and all the face of things is changed. The Social Democrats, who had been got out of the way, suddenly appear as the head and front of a great popular movement.

In more than one European country there has been strenuous protest of late against irresponsible foreign policies. It has been pointed out that the great powers might be plunged into war by the action of a small clique, a clique not bound to make explanation before any representative body. But in Germany matters stand worse than in the other countries of western Europe. The government is absolutely irresponsible, both as to internal and external affairs. Ministers are appointed by the Emperor and their tenure of office depends entirely on his favor. Sometimes they deliver formal addresses to the Reichstag, but they

are not bound to listen to parliamentary discussions or take heed of parliamentary resolutions. The tribune set aside for governmental representatives is often empty. Oftener it is occupied by ministers, princes or officers who get what amusement they can out of the academic debates held on the floor. The rules of German parliamentary procedure are so autocratic that effective protest can be raised but seldom. So far as actual legislation is concerned the popular assembly can do nothing but discuss measures laid before it by the Bundesrat. The constitution of the Bundesrat is controlled by the Prussian Landtag. And this Landtag, in turn, is elected under the three-class electoral system and is thus in the hands of the landed aristocracy, or Junkers. So Germany has not even a bourgeois government in the modern sense. The Emperor and the Junkers, though willing to sacrifice anything but their own position for national aggrandizement, really represent the governmental notions of the Middle Ages. To be sure they depend on the Reichstag for their budget and so could be coerced. But the budget has never been denied them. The weapon which the English found so effective three hundred years ago the Germans are afraid to use today.

In the ordinary course of events things might have gone on indefinitely without a change. The German people are so thoroughly disciplined and regulated that it takes something spectacular, something dramatic, to stir them. Well, early in November the something dramatic oc-

curred. The interview published in the London Daily Telegraph suddenly presented the Emperor to them as both knave and fool. Way back in 1898, it appears, he played false to the Boers, and at the present time his lack of discretion makes him the laughing-stock of all Europe. The national pride was hurt by the revelation. And the Emperor's conduct while under fire served to widen still further the gulf between him and the people. While they were wrought up to the highest pitch he was hunting in the Schwartzwald and witnessing balloon ascensions. The press of an entire nation was calling for explanations—and for all the attention it got it might as well have been a sparrow on the wall. This was the break-down of the German governmental system. No one could deny that, so far as expressing the national will was concerned, it had proved a complete failure.

A German, just an ordinary respectable German not at all in sympathy with socialism, told me recently that the Social Democratic Party is the only progressive force in German politics. This opinion, already pretty generally held, has been visibly strengthened by the parliamentary discussion of the ministerial crisis. When practically the whole nation cried out for change innocent bystanders expected determined action on the part of the Reichstag. But Socialists were not surprised at the disappointment of innocent by-standers. The parliamentary Junkers and Clericals naturally grew frantic at the very suggestion of change. "We don't want your help," cried Herr Weimer to the Socialists. As for the Liberals, the representatives of the modern bourgeoisie, they are in such a tight place that not much is to be expected of them. The autocratic government does not always serve their purposes, but a new constitution with responsible ministry and modern electoral system would be sure sooner or later to throw power into the hands

of the Socialists. So what were they to do? They protested vigorously against the Emperor's behavior, but that was all. They were concerned for the present system; they did not want it made unpopular by the behavior of its representatives.

So it remained for the Socialists to represent the popular will. That they did not fail in the discharge of their duty even the American press dispatches bear witness. Comrade Ledebour has become the leader of the Socialist faction on the floor. With overpowering eloquence and biting sarcasm he pictured the failure of the German system and taunted the assembled statesmen with their own evident weakness. Of course the discussion has achieved no constitutional result. The Emperor is understood to have promised to be good. That is all. The editor of the Liberal *Freisinnige Zeitung* writes that if the effect on His Majesty does not prove lasting neither he (the editor) nor any of his successors "will wish to be held responsible for the results." That is, there has been no governmental change; the Emperor has merely had a chance to learn a lesson.

But in the popular consciousness there has been a great change. The Liberals now stand revealed in their true character. In the future the proletarians will know the Social Democrats as their only representatives. And when the time for another election comes round the results of this change may take very definite form.

ENGLAND. Socialists and Laborites—These are critical days for English socialism. In the midst of active propaganda our English comrades are examining the framework of their organization and carefully considering their relation to the other wings of the labor movement. Last month I recorded the fact that the International Socialist Bureau gave full recognition to the English Labor party.

Union between this organization and the Social Democratic party has long been a subject of speculation. Interest in this matter was heightened recently by the action of the Miners' Federation. This union numbers 500,000 men and is at present represented in Parliament by a small group of Labor-Liberals. At a recent conference the Federation came into the Labor party and adopted at the same time a socialistic objective. It went so far as to demand that future miners' candidates be required to pledge themselves to socialism. Of course this strengthens the socialist element in the Labor party and thus brings nearer the possibility of union.

Thus far the leaders of the Social Democratic party have steadily resisted the temptation to join with the Labor party. They maintain that within this organization, and especially within the Independent Labor party, there are those who wish to lead it "bag and baggage into the Liberal camp." They are willing to work with the Laborites at election time, but do not wish to be bound to support all candidates the latter may put up.

Of course the situation must clear itself before long. As was remarked recently in *Justice*, the Labor party must go one way or the other—either to Liberalism or Socialism." In the mind of anyone who has given any attention to the English labor movement there can be little doubt as to which direction it will be. The English workingmen are no great theorists; their political expression takes form but slowly. If they move slowly, however, it is with the greater sureness, for they move in solid phalanx. That their movement is in the direction of socialism is proved by the resolutions of the great labor federations. Surely the Labor party cannot long remain behind the unions which support it. And herein lies the great hope of English socialism.

Edinburgh and other cities come tales of mob and riot. Will Thorne has been bound over to keep the peace for addressing a crowd of unemployed. The House of Commons dawdles along preparing middle-class reform measures, which the House of Lords promptly rejects. The papers talk wise of the administration of charity. And all the time 10,000,000 persons live constantly on the brink of starvation. Quite characteristically the Liberal government has issued a yellow-book to prove that English workingmen are better off than their German comrades. It is shown by means of endless statistics that the Englishmen who have employment get a little higher pay and work shorter hours than laborers of the same class in Germany. And this is supposed to comfort the unemployed!

Incidentally a controversy has arisen between Comrades Blatchford and the editors of *Justice*. The former, in *The Clarion* has suggested a plan for the distribution of charity. *Justice* cries out, "Curse their charity!" and demands that the government recognize the obligation of the nation to care for its poor. Nothing seems certain but that the poor are to go on starving.

FRANCE. Socialism, Syndicalism and the Government—Last month the *Review* reported two great conventions of the French proletariat, that of the Socialist party at Toulouse and of the Confederation General de Travail at Marseilles. During the weeks just past the actions of these two gatherings have been a storm center of discussion. As to the compromise resolution adopted by the Socialists there seems to be little difference of opinion: In the papers and at public meetings it has been received with unbounded enthusiasm. One who remembers how but a few years ago the Socialists were torn by dissensions, how one group was sitting in parliament cheek by jowl with the radicals, how the

workingmen had lost faith in politicians, cannot but congratulate our French comrades on the progress they have made. Their party stands today united for revolutionary socialism.

Most significant of all is the effect of the convention on labor leaders and others who have heretofore held aloof from the movement. It will be remembered that the convention gave full recognition to non-parliamentary forms of activity. In fact it stated explicitly that the chief purpose of the political conflict is to aid in, and register the effect of, the hand-to-hand conflict of labor and capital. An editorial writer in *L'Humanite* hails this as "a new appeal to the proletariat, a new invitation to the workers to act directly, not through their representatives, but in their own persons," and goes on to say that the new program is broad enough to include all the temperaments and views of the working class. Already this appeal is strengthening the position of the revolutionists who have heretofore stood aloof. It is doing something toward bridging the gulf between socialism and syndicalism, to which Comrade Langerock drew attention in last month's Review.

As to the radical motion on international war adopted at Marseilles opinion is naturally divided. The discussion of the convention is simply prolonged in the press and on the platform. On the one hand it is maintained that, having now become thoroughly antimilitarist, the Confederation may be expected to go on to be "anti-religious, anti-patriotic, anti-parliamentary and anti-legalist."

That is to say, the Confederation has gone outside the economic field; it has dealt with war and such like matters which belong entirely to the realm of the political party. This, it is said, will drive away the workers, will hinder the growth of the organization. It is answered that war is an economic matter; that a labor organization can never conquer so long as it fails to see beyond its immediate ends. And it is pointed out that the Confederation has gained 91,000 members since its former convention.

There can be no doubt of the fact that the French labor movement needs more than ever to present a united front. There is a multiplicity of strikes all over the land. Just recently 4,000 men working on a new line of the Paris subway have been called out. The government continues its persecutions. Paul Hervé has served his sentence in prison, but has not been set at liberty. Eight of those taken prisoner after the massacre of Draveil are still held for trial. The police and army are being trained to serve as strike-breakers in a number of trades. More than this, radical reform measures make progress even more slowly than in England. For months the senate has had before it a workingmen's pension law. After numberless investigations and debates a make-shift substitute has been introduced, and the whole weary business will have to be gone through with again. As the program of the Socialists has become more clean-cut the radicals have lost the fine edge of their reformatory zeal. The proletariat is being taught that it must stand alone.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

The affiliated railway organizations having formed a distinct department of the American Federation of Labor, another nail has been driven in the coffin of the old-fashioned idea of trades autonomy. The printers made the first move in centralizing when they organized the Allied Printing Trades Council; then came the builders with their Building Trades Department, followed by the formation of the Metal Trades Department, now the Railroad Department, and perhaps in the near future the marine trades will form an alliance, and later on the clothing trades. The journey-men tailors have also taken a step in advance in voting by referendum on the question of affiliating with their fellow-craftsmen of Europe.

The present movement in the A. F. of L. differs somewhat from the ambitious program mapped out by the ill-starred Industrial Workers of the World in that the component organizations in the departments will have complete jurisdiction over their own affairs, an important essential, but there is no predicting what will develop when the memberships begin to get accustomed to each other. However, the centralization trend is on despite the fulminations of extremists who would adhere either to the autonomy of anarchism or to zodiacal departmentalism.

Instead of anticipated trouble in the anthracite region only, next spring, the indications are that a desperate struggle

will be precipitated on the Great Lakes as well. Nothing has developed during the past month that would tend to prevent a clash between the miners and the hard coal monopolists of Pennsylvania. As has been mentioned in the Review, the miners demand an eight-hour day, a minimum rate of wages, recognition of the union, collection of members' dues by the companies and lesser reforms, and they advance good reasons why their propositions should be accepted. But the operators fold their hands and announce that they will not grant the slightest concession. No conference between representatives of the opposing forces has been held as yet, and it is not certain whether the operators will agree to meet the miners officially. Meanwhile the men are organizing and are also piling up a big surplus for their masters, which the latter will depend upon to tide them over the period of national suspension, adding to their riches meanwhile through increased prices.

During the past season, as was pointed out in this department, the marine trades were engaged in a sort of guerrilla warfare with the ship and dock owners to preserve their organizations. They have been fairly successful despite the open shop system that was forced upon them by the master class. Now the latter intend not only to maintain their position of refusing to treat with the unions, but they are planning to inaugurate features that will draw the men from their organizations. In other words, the vessel owners intend to introduce benefits

similar to those that usually obtain in trade unions. Assembly or club rooms are to be established at all large ports, which will be equipped with books, papers, games, etc. An insurance plan is to be adopted, whereby \$30 to \$50 will be paid seamen and officers in case of shipwreck, and in case of death or total disability \$75 to \$500, according to grade of workman, can be drawn by relatives or beneficiaries. The total cost to ordinary seamen will amount to but 1-3 cents per month, officers proportionately higher. As an additional attraction to the unionists the vessel owners promise that wages will not be reduced. The masters are adopting this scheme because their open shop declaration last season did not have very much effect. Not only did but few seamen actually withdraw from the union, but they went on board ship "under cover" and forced the incompetent scabs out of their jobs. Whether or not the masters' latest bait will land suckers is problematical.

At least two sides can play the game of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." For at least four years Sam Gompers will be persona non grata in administration circles at Washington. Both Roosevelt and Taft have told him in so many words that he needn't come around. While Sam'l is out in the cold world, sad and forlorn, wondering what will become of "our men of labor," Dan Keefe will be feasting at Uncle Sam's pie-counter as commissioner of immigration, that being his reward for aiding Taft to punish his enemies. Samuel B. Donnelly, formerly president of the International Typographical Union, has also been rewarded by being appointed head of the government printing office. Donnelly has taken no active part in union affairs during the past few years, serving as trouble adjuster for the New York building contractors. John D. Pringle, editor of the Pittsburg Labor

World, is still another good and faithful servant who has been blessed with an easy job, that of appraiser of merchandise. Pringle's claim to fame dates from the issuance of Roosevelt's "undesirable citizens" letter, which the Pittsburg editor warmly applauded. During the recent campaign it was Pringle's chief duty to show that Taft was slowly becoming a skeleton because of his consuming love for the workingman, and to garble and distort every criticism of Bryan or Gompers as an indorsement of the father of injunctions.

Of course, Dan Keefe, because of his position in the labor world, is being denounced in picturesque language by that section of the labor press that supported Mr. Bryan. Mr. Keefe is held up to scorn as a Judas Iscariot, a Benedict Arnold, a traitor, double-dyed scoundrel and boodler all rolled into one, and by newspapers, too, that are forever whining about the "abusive and slandering socialists" whenever a fair criticism is aimed at their methods or alleged principles. What makes the situation all the funnier is that a good many of these same organs that are now throwing the harpoon into Keefe printed columns upon columns of the junk that was prepared by Pringle for the Republican literary bureau, and they took the boodle handed out by Republican politicians quite as freely as the boodle that came from Democratic sources to pay for "valuable" space. They printed Republican and Democratic dope in previous campaigns and will probably pursue the same "independent" policy in the future. These harpies are usually Democrats in one column and Republicans in the next column—depending upon which "friend of labor" sees them first, or last—and anti-socialists all the time. Under the guise of picking out the "lesser evil" or the "best man" these charlatans who pose as **leaders and educators** have not only befoiled their own nests, but have discredited and disgraced the labor move-

ment, and have played their part in confusing and beclouding the real issues that divide the wealth producers from the wealth grabbers.

In all this turmoil there is nevertheless supreme satisfaction to that element in the trade union movement that stands for working class political action. The great leaders and the so-called labor papers can no longer masquerade under the cloak of pure and simpledom. They are Republicans and Democrats, and no amount of cowardly denial will longer mislead the rank and file. They are in politics up to their necks and will be required to defend their parties, policies and principles. They can evade the issue no longer, and during the next few years there will be some interesting developments.

It's a safe bet that no reader of the Review will shed more than a bucketful of tears to learn that ex-Governor Peabody, of Colorado, is reported bankrupt. Not only is he said to be down and out financially, but he has been discarded by the mine owners, and was even unable to obtain a political spittoon-cleaning job paying a hundred dollars a month for which he applied to his former friends. Retributive justice is usually slow, but the petty Colorado czar slid into the depths of infamy reserved for ingrates more rapidly than is ordinarily the case. It should not be overlooked that Peabody was originally elected governor of Colorado as a "workingman's friend," and sold out body and soul to the union-hating mine owners before he got his gubernatorial seat warm. It was Peabody who inaugurated a reign of terror in Telluride, Cripple Creek and other places that the average American would hardly know were on the map but for the brutalities practiced by this political prostitute and his hirelings. Because of the stirring scenes enacted in those little mining towns, the names of Cripple Creek and

Telluride are now notorious throughout the civilized world and are associated with such names as Kishinev and from the odium of which it will require years to recover.

Nor is Peabody the only one who is meeting his reward. The little parasite business men of Cripple Creek, who did the bidding of the mine operators by organizing a Citizens' Alliance to drive the union miners from the district and welcome the strike-breakers and thugs to their midst, are also being paid in full. I was informed by one of the few small capitalists in the Cripple Creek district, who sympathized with the miners and who had been driven out, that a mass meeting was recently held by the business men still remaining in that region for the purpose of outlining plans to "restore prosperity." A professional gent who had been very conspicuous in persecuting the miners was the chief speaker. He bemoaned the discouraging business conditions that prevailed in the district, and he hoped that the mine operators would co-operate with them in establishing a "live and let live" policy. "Now that we have won a victory by enforcing the card system of the mine operators and wiping out the tyranny of trade unions," he declared, "the operators ought to withdraw their card system and invite all classes of workmen, union or non-union, to come into the district to secure employment." His remarks were unanimously approved.

The small capitalist referred to above, who had returned to Cripple Creek a few days previously, was invited to make a few remarks. He did. He congratulated them on the splendid "victory" they had won in establishing the scab card system that they were now crying to have revoked. "It's a great 'victory' that you have won," said the speaker, "and for proof all you have to do is to look out of the window and see a dozen empty store rooms across the street. It's a magnificent 'victory' indeed when you

are tearing down dwelling houses for the purpose of utilizing the lumber in them and to save purchasing new materials. It's a marvelous 'victory' to learn that your population is decreasing and that scores of business men engaged in pulling chestnuts from the fire for the mine owners have been bankrupted." Nobody essayed to reply to the biting sarcasm of the speaker. Everybody knew that he was telling the gospel truth. Two years ago the petty plutes would have mobbed him for daring to utter such sentiments. Now they silently acquiesced in his indictments.

"The reason that the business men of Cripple Creek who did the bidding of the operators have been or are being ruined is that under the card system of the mine barons no employe is certain of holding his job from one week to another," my informant explained further.

"The consequence is that the non-union miners do not spend one penny more than is actually necessary. They do not invest in homes, furnishings, clothing, food, etc., in the same liberal manner that the union miners did, but hoard their money and are ready to jump out of the district at a moment's notice, for if they lose their jobs in one mine they cannot secure employment in another. The result is that the contemptuous little business tools of the operators are worrying their lives out as they observe the cowed and penurious scabs pass their doors."

While it may not conform strictly to Christian doctrine to wish anybody harm, still it is rather soothing and satisfactory to know that the whole caboodle, from Peabody to the dirty little pack of profit-mongers in Cripple Creek, having sowed the wind, are now reaping the whirlwind. God—bless 'em!

The ethic of the proletariat flows from its revolutionary efforts, and it is these which have strengthened and ennobled it. It is the idea of the revolution which has brought about the wonderful elevation of the proletariat from its deepest degradation. . . . To this revolutionary idealism we must above all else cling fast, then, come what will, we can bear the heaviest, attain the highest and remain worthy of the great historical purpose that awaits us.—
Karl Kautsky, in "The Social Revolution."

LITERATURE ART



BY JOHN SPARGO

During the strenuous weeks of the campaign, while rushing from meeting to meeting, I found it helpful to while away the tedious journeys involved reading two books of a wholly different nature. They were—peace, O cynic!—Mary Baker Eddy's "Science and Health; With Key to the Scriptures," and H. G. Wells' new romance, *The War in the Air* (The Macmillan Co.). Of the first of these books I shall only say that I found it very amusing. Setting the contradictory passages against each other was, in its way, as interesting as putting a picture puzzle together.

Wells' new novel is a delightful return to his old romantic mood. As its title implies, the story deals with the triumph of aerial navigation, and the use of airships in war. To those who are familiar with the earlier works of this latter day Jules Verne it will not be necessary to give any assurance of his unique fitness to make a romance out of such a theme. The hero of the story, if hero he may be called, is a greengrocer's son, Bert Smallways, a type of the degenerate, inefficient product of modern England, who, by a queer chance, finds himself up in the air in a runaway airship—the first truly practical airship—without the slightest knowledge of its mechanism. By a most plausible chain of events—Mr. Wells is always so plausible!—he is drawn into the world-wide war, which, beginning with Germany and the United States, soon involves all the civilized world and ends in the dominance of China. The description of this aerial

warfare is equal to the best that Mr. Wells has ever done. And that is saying enough to commend the book to any lover of a thrilling romance.

I have long intended to mention in these pages Simon O. Pollock's little volume, *The Russian Bastille* (Charles H. Kerr & Company) one of the issues of the popular Standard Socialist Series. As an introduction to the study of the Russian revolutionary movement, as described in such works as Walling's for example, Mr. Pollock's little book is to be warmly commended. It gives a very sympathetic and interesting sketch of some of the principal chapters in the history of the movement, and a good deal of useful biographical information concerning some of the most prominent revolutionists. The little sketch—for it is no more than a sketch—is illustrated by a number of interesting photographs which greatly add to its value. The author, Mr. Simon O. Pollock, is an authority upon the subject, and is at the present time acting as one of the counsel in the famous—or infamous!—Poureen case.

Quite the most authoritative and reliable description and analysis of the cooperative movement which has yet been published in the English language is Mr. C. R. Fay's *Co-operation at Home and Abroad*. Mr. Fay is an Englishman and writes from the English point of view, but his work will have great value for American students, nevertheless. The

work opens with an exhaustive account of the co-operative banks now so common throughout European countries. Mr. Fay seems to have been at no end of trouble to get complete information from reliable sources, and he adds a very exhaustive bibliography which will enable the student who so desires to check the account for himself. There are other chapters on co-operative workshops and co-operative stores and the various agricultural co-operative societies in Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and France. This chapter on agricultural co-operation is perhaps the most suggestive and permanently useful for American readers. It will be a great surprise for most American readers of the book, I imagine, and especially for Socialists, to learn from Mr. Fay the extent of this agricultural co-operation. There are co-operative societies for purchasing the costly agricultural machinery and implements, co-operative dairy farms; co-operative factories for the production of bacon, cheese, wine and spirits, sugar and fruit preserves; co-operative agencies for marketing products, for insuring stock, improving soils, and so on. Of each of these a most detailed account is given, and there is a valuable appendix in which a full account of the laws relating to co-operative societies in the principal countries is given. No reference is made to the co-operative societies in the United States.

In reviewing Arthur Morrow Lewis's *Evolution, Social and Organic*, in these pages some months ago, I had occasion to make some reference to his somewhat superficial knowledge of Herbert Spencer's work as indicated by the chapter of his very useful little volume devoted to that great thinker. I regret that I must make a somewhat similar objection to his treatment of Carlyle in his latest volume, *Ten Blind Leaders of the Blind* (Charles H. Kerr &

Co.). In a chapter which contains much useful and illuminating criticism of Carlyle's "Great Man" theory of history, Lewis observes: "Because Carlyle occasionally expressed radical sentiments (usually in private) his uncritical admirers have failed to note how reactionary he is (sic!) at bottom, though his defense of the brutal treatment of prisoners should have warned them." My friend Lewis had better not throw stones at the "uncritical" until he himself is removed from the house of the uncritical with its tremendous glass areas! It will not do to copy too closely, and without much careful thought, the brilliant, but often biased, pronouncements of John M. Robertson ("Modern Humanists," Chapter 1). I, too, enjoy Robertson's fine critical severity, and was pleased to see his familiar hand in Lewis' pages, between the lines. But one must take Robertson "with a grain of salt," just as one must take Carlyle himself!

Echoing Robertson, Lewis falls in the lamentable error of insinuating that Carlyle had not the courage of his convictions, that he expressed radical sentiments "usually in private." This is moonshine, of course. Carlyle had many weaknesses, but lack of the courage of his convictions was not one of them. Nor is it evidence of other than an uncritical mind to say that Carlyle was at heart a reactionary. I have long since realized how much our youthful enthusiasm and worship exaggerated Carlyle's "radicalism," but if it was uncritical for us then to mistake the isolated trumpet blasts of the great Sage of Chelsea for a system of radical thought, it is equally uncritical to mistake his occasional dyspeptic lapses into pessimism and conservatism for fundamental reactionism. The truth is that Carlyle represents in his person and thought the chaos, the change of the age of transition in which he lived, inclining now to the flow, and now to the ebb, of the great tide of thought.

Superficially, indeed, by the method which my friend Lewis adopts, Carlyle can be either proved to be a radical or a reactionary, according to the bias of the critic. All that is needed is the patience to collect suitable passages to prove one's case as men search for Bible texts for a similar purpose. And that is an easy task, out of Carlyle's forty volumes! But the critic who goes deeper than the word to the spirit, who comprehends the drift of his thought as a whole, and disregards the occasional contradictory utterances—often mere spasms of torture—will not fail to see that Carlyle was, even when he himself neither knew nor suspected it, one of the great radical forces of his time. Surely, as a Socialist, Lewis ought to recognize that Carlyle's prophetic perception that the new era was bound to be industrial in its character, that its problems must be industrial problems, and its politics industrial politics, was of far more fundamental importance than his attempt to formulate an industrial policy, resting upon the genius of some industrial Cromwell. When an Individualist of the most extreme type, such as Mr. Robertson is, fails to perceive this great fundamental merit in Carlyle, we can readily understand him, but how understand the failure of one who has learned his lesson at the feet of Marx? Was it nothing that Carlyle, in his day, penetrated the shams of Manchesterism, and exposed the folly of its gospel of cheapness? Did not even Marx himself draw from that same great mine of criticism for his indictment of Manchesterism?

Lewis's little volume is, despite this protest of mine against his too ready acceptance of a warped and biased judgment of Carlyle, a very worthy addition to our literature. Many comrades, and others interested in Socialism, will find its perusal an advantage. At some later time, I hope to return to this interesting volume, to a consideration of Lewis'

treatment of some of the other leaders of the blind with whom he deals.

Mr. John Graham Brooks, whose earlier volume, *The Social Unrest*, exasperated many of us by its tantalizing manner of stating half-truths, and by its sweeping generalizations which could neither be proved nor disproved, since they were derived from facts and personal experiences which were not open to the investigation of the reader, is out with a new volume, *As Others See Us* (The Macmillan Co.), which does not appear to have yet received the amount of attention to which it is justly due. For it is a good book and a very suggestive one, albeit it deals with a subject of less vital and urgent importance than the earlier volume. Mr. Brooks has a lively, scintillant, literary style, and he gives us a most vivacious resumé of the most important criticisms of American institutions and the American character which have been made by such distinguished foreign critics as Brissot de Warville, the Duc La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Chateaubriand, Lafayette, Talleyrand, De Tocqueville, Cabet and Chevalier, from France; Robert Owen, Harriet Martineau, Dickens, Thackeray, Cobden, Cobbett, Matthew Arnold, and others, from England.

As the reader scans this list of names, selected somewhat arbitrarily from Mr. Brooks' much longer and more cosmopolitan list, memories of much sensitive anger upon the part of Americans who resented the manner in which some of these distinguished foreign visitors held up American institutions and customs to the ridicule of their countrymen will rise in his mind. Well, Mr. Brooks takes these criticisms and considers them in what Matthew Arnold (himself one of the offenders) used to call "the dry light of history." He finds an element of truth in them, much larger than was admitted by Americans of the generation

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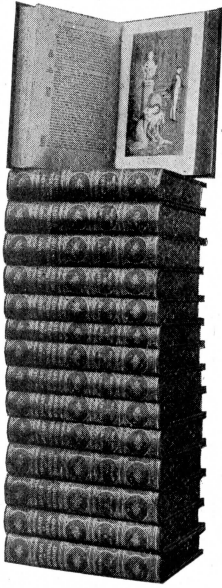
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to which the criticisms referred. In the last two chapters he considers what he regards as evidences of national optimism. He partakes of our national optimism, and rather glories in yet, withal, he rather regrets our overmastering self-confidence, and regards it as being, in its extreme forms, an obstacle to progress. He would have just a little more humility—just a spice of it, enough to make us more willing and ready to learn from other lands. The book is well illustrated with portraits.

VICTIMS OF THE SYSTEM, by Dorothy Johns, is an attractive little booklet that will be of interest to every Socialist in the movement. Mrs. Johns will long be remembered as the brave little woman who was thrown into jail during the fight of the comrades at Los Angeles, California, for free speech. During the period of her incarceration Mrs. Johns made a "stepping stone" of what a less clever woman might have found a check to her activities and her enthusiasm. She became acquainted with the inmates of the Los Angeles jail and discovered the causes leading to their misfortunes. No Socialist will be surprised to learn that these causes can all be laid at the door of Capitalism, at once the father and punisher of "crime." This little book by Mrs. Johns contains some excellent data for socialist propaganda and is well worth the small price (15 cents) charged for copies. Published by the author, 649 South Main street, Los Angeles, Cal.—M. E. M.

ONE SUGGESTION—I would like to see the Review in the hands of every Socialist in the United States. I have learned more about scientific socialism since I have been taking that publication than from all others—W. G. Burt, Grant's Pass, Oregon.

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NEWS & VIEWS

VOTE-CATCHING OR EDUCATION?

—One of the other socialist periodicals returned this article to me not long ago and ever since, I have been wondering whether the Jimmie Higginsees of the party are to be frozen out of the press. For one, I am not at all pleased with the election returns and if there is not a change made in the party before long many a Jimmie Higgins will see a great light. Ernest Poole strikes the key-note in one of his stories, when he asks one of our shining lights if his words are "Marxian." "No," came the reply, "but they catch votes." But now, right after election I want to say that they didn't. The election returns fail to show it and a little more of this kind of a game will let me out of the party. I want a Marxian program. It is not my intention to pave the way for a seat in Congress for any theological graduate if I can help it. I firmly believe that the day of Marxian socialism will be delayed if we spend our energies putting up men for office outside of President, for a number of years to come. What we want is education and not officeholders—education and organization. Let the vote-catching (?) (as per election returns in our large cities) phrasemaker—the college graduate—fight the game shoulder to shoulder with men like me and take his pay in socialism, when every worker's pay is due him. Let us have a democratic organization in which each dues-paying member can feel that its officers are the servants and not the bosses of the organization. Give us Marxian so-

cialism. This is wanted by the intelligent workers now in the ranks of the socialist party. J. H. M.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW—Comrade Fred Shaw of Huddersfield, England, sends us another interesting letter upon the situation in England. He also encloses the following, written by George Bernard Shaw for the *New Age*, of which Victor Grayson is now political editor:

"It was proved that what John Stuart Mill's patient reasoning, high character and admitted authority as a political theorist had failed to do for women's political rights, could be done by a handful of women who resolved to be unreasonable, disorderly, unladylike and even personally violent.

"I have always thought it a pity that though the French governments of the eighteenth century would not allow their attention to be diverted from Marie Antoinette's gambling debts to the poverty of the common people by the reasonings of Turgot, Montesquieu, Condorcet, Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopedists, they forgot them at once when the Bastille was pulled down and the country houses burnt about their ears by people with no manners and less sense. I have often wondered why Mr. Gladstone did not undertake his Irish legislation (all wrong as it mostly was from beginning to end) on its merits, instead of waiting until some mischievous person irrelevantly blew up Clerkenwell Prison.

"Carlyle and Ruskin and Dickens appealed to the consciences of our 'lords and masters' and got nothing from them but 'sympathetic interest,' invitations to dinner, and offers of knighthood. But the moonlighter, the dynamitar, the en-

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vious ruffian bold enough to destroy any good thing that he does not share and assault every man who does not buy him off, has always been able to count on their prompt and terrified attention.

"When the House of Commons says to Mr. Grayson. 'We shall do nothing unless you intimidate us; and we know you are too much of a gentleman to do that,' it is open to Mr. Grayson to reply, 'Gentlemen be blown! I want to get something DONE,' just as much as it is open to the Labour party to murmur a polite assurance that the horny-handed, reefer-jacketed representative of Labour can be depended on to behave himself as genteelly in the face of starvation as the flower of Eton and Oxford. One cannot but wonder gloomily whether Mr. Grayson's action will be sufficient, or whether the unemployed problem will be ignored until an English city is burnt and half the inhabitants stoned and beaten to upset order and the other half shot and sabered to restore it."

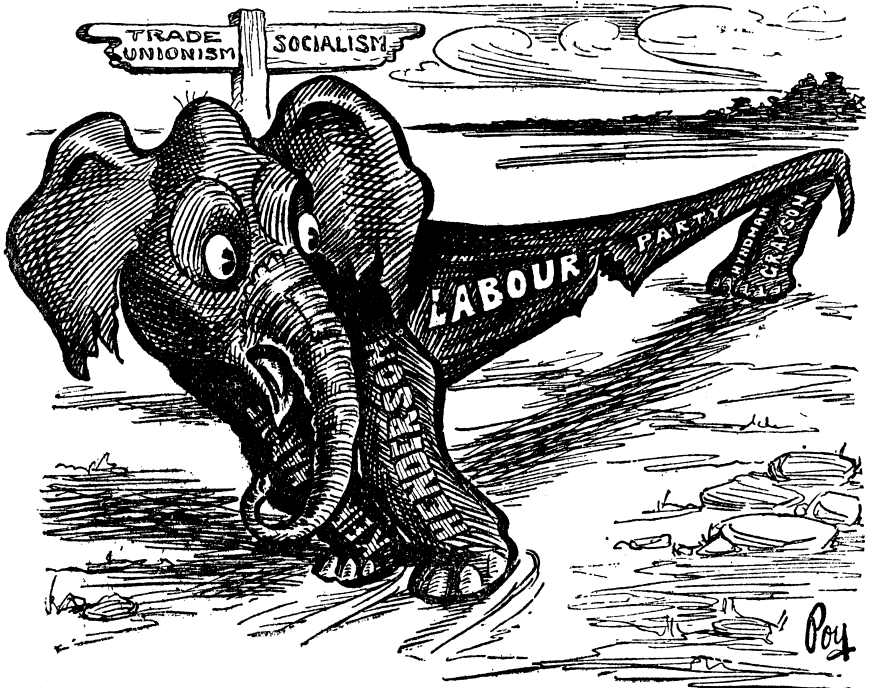
Comrade Fred Shaw desires to make the following explanation regarding a

paragraph by him which appeared on page 396 of the November Review. He is a member of the Social Democratic party, and wishes it understood that when he said "we" are now running ten candidates he referred in a general way to English socialists, and did not mean to imply that his own party indorses the tactics of the I. L. P. or Labor party. The relations between the parties are strained almost to the breaking point, as indicated in the cartoon from the Manchester "Dispatch" which Comrade Shaw sends us and which we reproduce on this page.

JAIL TERMS GIVEN TO LABOR'S BIG MEN

This is the heading of a Washington Dispatch in the Chicago Tribune of December 23, just as we are going to press with the last pages of the Review. We quote a few paragraphs giving the most important facts in the case.

"Samuel Gompers, president; John



Mitchell, vice-president, and Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, today were adjudged to be guilty of contempt by the Supreme court of the District of Columbia, a regular branch of the federal judiciary, for violating an injunction forbidding the publication of a boycott notice against the Buck Stove and Range Company of St. Louis.

Gompers was sentenced to serve one year, Mitchell nine months, and Morrison six months in the district jail. The defendants have appealed, and now are out on bail pending a decision by the District Court of Appeals, first as to the legality of the injunction itself, and, when that is decided, as to the question of contempt.

By these proceedings, which have created a profound sensation here in Washington, the most famous labor case in the history of the United States courts has been brought to a crisis. It was within the power of Judge Wright, who handed down the decision, to send the men to jail at once, but he tempered justice with mercy on the understanding that they were not of the character of people who would run away, and that they, too, were fighting for what they conceived to be a principle, although, in the opinion of the court, they were guilty of an organized attempt to break down all the courts of the country.

Now, the three defendants have been sentenced to jail, and from that sentence they have also appealed. This being a contempt case, the appeal is extremely limited.

In point of fact, the question at issue is a simple one. The Buck Stove and Range Company of St. Louis was what is known as an "open shop." In August, 1906, the metal polishers' union struck. The men had been working ten hours a day at piece rates. They struck for a nine hour day, although that would have involved less money for each man, the object of the union being to employ more men. The stove company refused to accede to the demand. The men remained out, but the strike was a failure because there was a plentiful supply of nonunion men to take the places of the strikers.

Then came the application of the boycott. About two months after the declaration of the strike the products of the stove company were publicly boycotted, and in the American Federationist of

July, 1907, they were included in the unfair list of that publication. On December 17, Justice Gould of the federal court here in Washington granted a temporary injunction restraining the American Federation of Labor, its officers and members from prosecuting a boycott against the products of the stove company and from publishing its name as unfair or placing it on the "we don't patronize" list in the American Federationist. This temporary injunction was made permanent on March 22 of the present year.

* * *

In the opinion of good lawyers there is no possible question as to the outcome of the present case. They say that the District Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court will, beyond all question, decide that the lower tribunal had jurisdiction and that the decree of injunction was rightfully issued.

The same courts, it is said, will without hesitation uphold the sentence of Judge Wright for contempt, so that the three labor leaders in the long run will have to go to jail unless Judge Wright himself mitigates the sentence, because the president has no pardoning power to cover contempt proceedings, which are strictly within the process of the judicial branch of the government and are entirely free from interference, either by congress or by the executive."

We believe that the decision of the court was strictly logical, and we hope that the jail sentences will have a salutary effect on the officers of the A. F. of L. They have for years been acting on the theory that the interests of capital and labor were identical, that no revolution was necessary to protect the interests of the workers. They were practical men with a sublime contempt for socialist theories. They needed a practical object lesson. Now they have it. What are they going to do about it? What are the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor going to do about it? They are at the parting of the ways. They can back down and agree to run their unions hereafter in the way the capitalist courts direct. Or they can recognize the class struggle with the same intelligence as the capitalists who

are fighting them. They can transform the Federation into a revolutionary union that will discard all cant phrases of capitalist "justice," and will refuse to recognize capitalists as having any rights that workers are bound to respect. If they do not take this stand, the Federation will die, as Jack London predicts in his story, and its place will be taken by an organization that will fight to a finish.

UNIVERSITY GETS VALUABLE LIBRARY.

The University of Wisconsin has just received a valuable addition to its large



HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD.

library for the study of the labor movement by the gift of the extensive library collected during a life time by Henry Demarest Lloyd, noted writer and reformer. The collection is given to the university by the heirs of Mr. Lloyd who are interested in the work of the American Bureau of Industrial Research which has its headquarters in this city. The

Lloyd collection is particularly rich in material on trade unions, co-operation, socialism, municipal ownership and monopolies. It includes also thousands of books, pamphlets, papers, manuscript letters and boxes of special clippings dealing with allied topics, and will strengthen materially the historical and university libraries in economics, political science and history, which are recognized as the best in the country for the study of public utilities and the labor movement.

Few characters in American history have added more to the sane discussion of social reform than did Henry D. Lloyd. During the last twenty years of his life he journeyed up and down this country and around the world, to Europe, to Australia, and to the distant islands of the sea, and everywhere he sought signs of better ways to do and to live. Because his purpose was to teach these new lessons to his fellow Americans, he brought back with him the evidences of new growth. His pockets and trunks were filled with discriptions and documents. In 1890 he published "A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners," a little book in which he describes the plot of wealthy mine owners against the starving miners of Spring Valley. From New Zealand he brought back the original materials which served as the basis for "A Country without Strikes," and "Newest England." He spent months in Switzerland, England and Ireland, before writing "Labor Co-partnership," and "A Sovereign People."

THE WORK THAT COUNTS—Real socialism, the socialism that counts, the socialism of the socialists, the socialism that is impregnable in its convictions, uncompromising in its methods, unswervable in its determination, unquenchable in its long, ardent, enduring enthusiasm—this sort of socialism is not produced by sensational campaigns, by the hypnotism of magnetic oratory, by

the personalities of its spokesmen. No, this sort of socialism—genuine, durable, understanding, dependable socialism—is produced only by educational methods; by a laborious propaganda directed towards the end of making workmen and their sympathizers understand the struggle of opposing classes throughout the social body—a struggle sometimes conscious, more often unconscious, but always present even in the remotest ramifications of life; by making them understand the class character of existing society and all its institutions, the mean, subtle, ignoble class character of government, law, politics, religion, existing educational systems—and the nobler, revolutionary working class character of the socialist movement, the completely revolutionary spirit of the movement; and by making them understand the underlying causes of social evolution, arousing their consciousness of the historic mission of the modern working class, inspiring their whole souls with the new moral ideal of proletarian class-consciousness.

The satisfactory increase that we did get at this election is probably in large part the harvest of the solid educational work done before this campaign, and is therefore all the more trustworthy and encouraging.

COURTENAY LEMON.

New York, Nov. 15.

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA—We are getting splendid reports from the comrades in Melbourne, Australia, of the debating ability of Comrade W. H. Emmett. Comrade Emmett stands upon a firm Marxian footing and we understand that the fiercest onslaughts of the reform advocates have only served to strengthen his position. Portions of one of his speeches have been sent us by one of his friends, and if this is a sample of the goods he delivers, we want to congratulate the local of which he is a member. The only man who can make

“DON'T BE A SOCIALIST”

unless you know **WHY** you are one. The cause of Socialism has been tremendously injured and retarded by the ignorance of those who talk and write about it without a proper understanding of its principles. The foolish notion of “dividing up” and the story of the “Irishman’s two pigs” come from this source. The capitalist writer and the speakers deliberately misrepresent our principles, but if every comrade thoroughly understands Socialism, it will hasten the coming of liberty for all.

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sweeps away the bigotry and superstition that has accumulated around Religion, Government, Law, Social Science, etc.—brings to light the naked truth and shows why Socialism is coming. “The documents” cover as well the **ENTIRE FIELD** of thought.

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WALTER LOHRENTZ (Sec. Longshoreman’s Union, Seattle, Wash.): “A boon to the working class who have neither time nor money to secure a university education.”

SEYMOUR STEDMAN: “It stands ilike a pyramid in a desert.”

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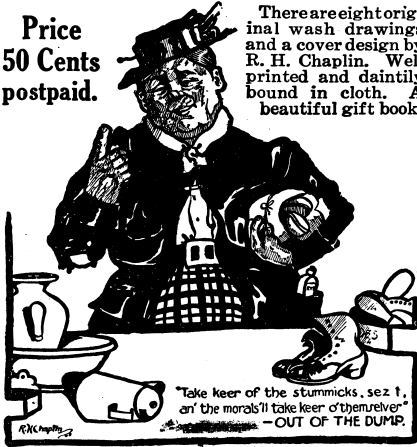
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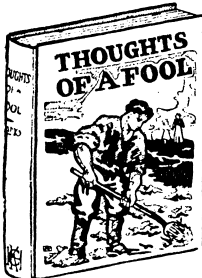
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a good debater upon subjects of socialism is the one who studies scientific socialism of which Marx and Engels are still the best exponents. We wish that space permitted the reprinting of his lecture. It is the kind that makes permanent socialists.

INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY—George A. Kirkpatrick has assumed the work of organizer for the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. He desires to secure names and addresses of students in all parts of the country who are socialists or political liberals or who are taking their first course in economics, also, names of comrades—collegians or otherwise—in college towns who are willing to distribute some of our leaflets among the students. Branches of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society are requested to send in their names and addresses of organization headquarters to Comrade Kirkpatrick, care Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 112 East 19th street, New York, N. Y.

Note—We will send free the first portion of Joseph E. Cohen's course—Socialism for Students, to any member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society upon request.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA now owns the Western Clarion, published at Vancouver, B. C. The party is to be congratulated for the Western Clarion is one of the clearest exponents of socialism in America. We hope that Comrade E. T. Kinsley and the old contributors will continue to write for the paper.

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS NEEDED

—The article by Albert E. Averill in the December Review contains food for thought. The important question, to my mind, is, shall the proletariat organize on the economic field, as per the I. W.



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W., and also on the political field, or shall it concentrate all its strength upon the one industrial form of organization, on the economic field? I have been an active member of the Socialist party for five years, but I can see that the party is rapidly getting into the bogs and quagmires of opportunism. This I attribute in large degree to the party's failure to endorse the industrial form of unionism as against the craft form of "pure and simple" trade unions. The recent election emphasizes the fact that the A. F. of L. does not promote unity at the ballot box, for wherever the A. F. of L. was the best organized, there the Socialist vote was less than it was four years ago. The A. F. of L., instead of uniting the workers where they are employed, divided them into crafts, thereby promoting trade jealousies and war. As long as the workers are divided on the industrial field, just so long will they be divided on the political field.

The proletariat must achieve its own emancipation, but I hold that the ballot is not an all-sufficient means to that end. I further hold that while political action is useful and necessary to Socialism, the ballot alone is inadequate to accomplish the social revolution. For this I believe that the class-conscious and industrially organized economic union is absolutely essential. I look upon the union as a permanent institution, which should embody the framework of the Socialist republic. The proletariat must be organized correctly where employed, so that production can be carried on when the present system collapses.

Yours for industrial freedom,

D. B. MOORE.

Granite, Oklahoma.

AFTER THE BATTLE—"And behold the Lord passed by and a great and strong wind rent the mountain and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but

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the Lord was not in the wind, and after the wind, an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice, and it was so. . . . Yea, I have left me seven thousand in Israel. All the knees have not bowed unto Baal and every mouth hath not kissed him." XIX Chapter, I Kings. Probably there is not a thoughtful Socialist in the land who has not felt a shade of disappointment at the result of the last ballot, but since the dust has brushed away we realize that there are at least 500,000 who have not bowed the knee to the Capitalist Baal. Wendell Phillips said that 50,000 earnest men, with but one thought, could do what they willed with America. Within a decade slavery was driven from America. Ten times 50,000 is 500,000 and who is not brave enough to say that 500,000 earnest men, conscious of class antagonisms, may destroy wage-slavery within ten years. We are not going to do it with wind, earthquake nor fire, but through the still small voice born of knowledge of our class power which shall crown our efforts with victory. We have had too much effort to create a political earthquake, to set the country on fire. Campaign illuminations do not bear conviction. Our recruits must come from the sober, overburdened, whose very attitude is a cry for deliverance. Multitudes of these—numbered like Benhadad's Army, by the sands of the sea—are repelled, not attracted, by displays of fourth of July fireworks in a Socialist Party campaign of education. Look soberly, comrades, at the Bryan-Taft chariot race in the closing days of the campaign in New York and Ohio. Does it not remind you of the gladiatorial contests of Ancient Rome in its decline? What part have we, that we should imitate our enemies?—C. B. Stone, Grace Park Farm, Avon, Colo.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT



TO NEW READERS.

This issue of the REVIEW will reach many thousand new readers, and a word of explanation regarding its past, present and future may not be amiss.

It is owned and controlled by a co-operative association of working people, over two thousand in number, who have each subscribed a small sum, in most cases just ten dollars, for the sake of publishing the literature of Marxian Socialism. When we entered on this work, in 1899, Socialism was thought to be a foreign product which no American need take seriously. The literature of modern International Socialism was practically unknown in America. The writings of Marx, Engels, Dietzgen and Kautsky could scarcely be had at any price in the English language. No capitalist publisher would issue them and no Socialist had the money.

Our co-operative plan has solved the problem. The greatest works of European socialists are now within easy reach of American workmen at low prices, and an American Socialist literature is gradually taking shape. Meanwhile socialism in America has been growing at a pace far quicker than indicated by the vote. Capitalists and politicians already see in the international movement of the working class a force to reckon with, and the resistless progress of industrial development is day by day recruiting the number of those who, in the words of our Communist Manifesto, have nothing to lose but their chains, and the world to gain.

It is to these proletarians and to those who wish to join *their* movement that the REVIEW is addressed. We started its publication in 1900, but we made one mistake which limited its growth for years. We thought that the problems of social evolution must be deliberated on in advance by a select few of superior brain power, who should later on diffuse the results of their deliberations among the common mass. We imagined that there might be some thousands of these superior brains in the United States. These we sought to discover and for them we edited the REVIEW. That in spite of this mistake the magazine survived, is due partly to the fact that we said some vital things, and partly to the fact that the growing book publishing business has been drawn upon until lately to help support the REVIEW.

We have seen a new light. We have begun to realize that the ordinary working people have an instinctive sense of what is good for them that is more to be trusted than the most exquisite of theories. We have begun to suspect that if what we have had to say has failed to interest the discontented workers, the fault was probably ours rather than theirs. This sounds simple, but from the moment we came to a realizing sense of it, the support we have received from the REVIEW's readers has been warm and enthusiastic instead of languid and perfunctory. The circulation of the REVIEW a year ago was less than in 1901. But during 1908 it doubled three times, and we are beginning 1909 with with a rush

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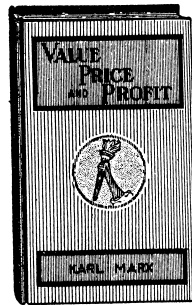
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For the last few months the circulation of single copies of the REVIEW in the larger cities has been promoted mainly through the work of members of the Socialist Party Locals. Wherever this work has been actively pushed, as in Oakland, San Francisco and Seattle, the sale has been large. In most places, however, it has not been undertaken systematically, and some better method had to be found. We have now arranged to supply copies through the various branches of the American News Company. These are located as follows:

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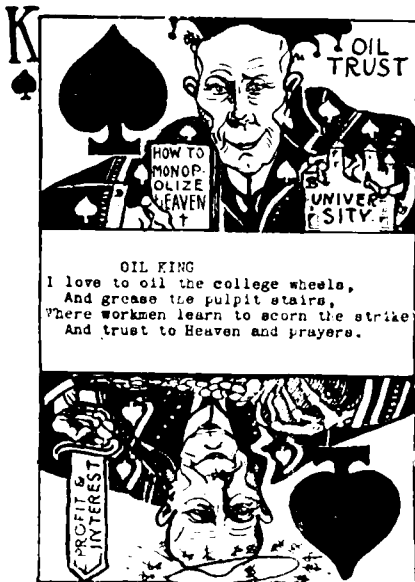
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